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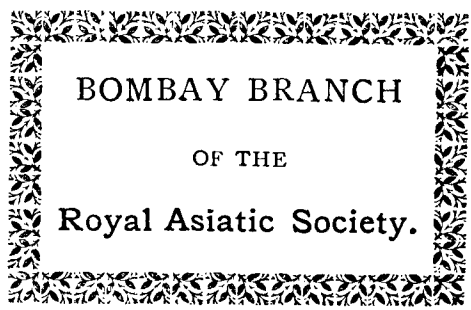

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Hakluytus Posthumus

or

Purchas His Pilgrimes

In Twenty Volumes

Volume III

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Hakluytus Posthumus

or

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a History of the World
in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells
by Englishmen and others

By

SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D.

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VOLUME III

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THE THIRD VOLUME

OF

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning the Navigations and Voyages of Englishmen to the Red Sea, the Abassine, Arabian, Persian and Indian Shoares, Continents and Ilands; with English Voyages beyond the East-Indies, to the Ilands of Japan, China, Cauchin-China, the Philipinae with others, and the Indian Navigations further prosecuted

Chap. VII. [I. iii. 206.]

Captaine William Hawkins, his Relations of the Occurrents which happened in the time of his residence in India, in the Country of the Great Mogoll, and of his departure from thence; written to the Company.

§. I.

His barbarous usage at Surat by Mocrebchan: The Portugals and Jesuits treacheries against him.

AT my arrivall *unto the Bar of Surat, being the foure and twentieth of August, 1608. I presently sent unto Surat Francis Buck, Merchant, with two others, to make knowne unto the Governour, that the King of England had sent me as his Embassadour unto his King, with his Letter and Present: I received the Governours answere, both by them, and three of his Servants sent me from Surat, that he, and what the Country affoorded, was at my command: and that I should be very welcome, if I would vouchsafe to come on shore. I went accompanied with my Merchants, and others, in the best manner I could, befitting for the honour of my King and Country. At my comming on shore, after their barbarous manner I was kindly received, and multitudes of people following me, all

Captain Keeling and he had kept company together al the voyage before related (& not needfull to bee repeated) to the Roade of Delisa in Socatora, whence on June the 24. Captaine Keeling departed in the Dragon, as you have heard; the other in the Hector for Surat (the meane while built a Pinnasse) on the fourth of August, having received from the Generall a duplicate of the Commission under the Great Seale. He commeth on shoare the 28. of August, 1608.

desirous to see a new come people, much nominated, but never came in their parts. As I was neere the Governors house, word was brought me that he was not well, but I thinke rather, drunke with Affion or Opion, being an aged man. So I went unto the chiefe Customer, which was the onely man that Sea-faring causes belonged unto (for the government of Surat, belonged unto two great Noblemen; the one being Vice-Roy of Decan, named Chanchana; the other, Vice-Roy of Cambaya and Surat, named Mocrebchan, but in Surat hee had no command, save onely over the Kings Customes) who was the onely man I was to deale withall. After many complements done with this chiefe Customer, I told him that my comming was to establish and settle a Factory in Surat, and that I had a Letter for his King from His Majesty of England, tending to the same purpose, who is desirous to have league and amitie with his King, in that kind, that his Subjects might freely goe and come, sell and buy, as the custome of all Nations is: and that my ship was laden with the commodities of our land, which by intelligence of former travellers, were vendible for these parts. His answere was, that he would dispatch a Foot-man for Cambaya, unto the Nobleman his Master: for of himselfe he could doe nothing without his order. So taking my leave, I departed to my lodging appointed for mee, which was at the Custome-house; In the morning, I went to visit the Governour, and after a Present given him, with great gravity and outward shew of kindnesse, he entertained me, bidding me most heartily welcome, and that the Countrey was at my command. After complements done, and entring into the maine affaires of my businesse, acquainting him wherefore my comming was for these parts: he answered me, that these my affaires did not concerne him, because they were Sea-faring causes, which did belong unto Mocrebchan, unto whom hee promised me to dispatch a Foot-man unto Cambaya, and would write in my behalfe, both for the unlading of my shippe, as also concerning a Factorie. In the meane while, he appointed me to lodge in a Merchants house, that

Chanchana.
Mocrebchan.

understood the Turkish, being at that time my Trouchman, the Captaine of that shippe which Sr Edward Michelborne tooke.

The Captaine of the ship that Sir Edward Michelborne tooke.

It was twentie daies ere the answer came, by reason of the great waters and raines that men could not passe. In this time, the Merchants, many of them very friendly feasted me, when it was faire weather that I could get out of doores: for there fell a great raine, continuing almost the time the Messengers were absent, who at the end of twenty daies brought answer from Mocrebchan, with Licence to land my goods, and buy and sell for this present Voyage: but for a future Trade, and setling of a Factorie, he could not doe it without the Kings commaundement, which he thought would be effected, if I would take the paines of two moneths travell, to deliver my Kings Letter. And further, he wrote unto his chiefe Customer, that all, whatsoever I brought, should be kept in the Custome-house, till his Brother Sheck Abder Rachim came, who should make all the hast that possibly could bee, for to chuse such goods as were fitting for the King: (these excuses of taking goods of all men for the King, are for their owne private gaine.) Upon this answere, I made all the hast I could, in easing our shippe of her heavy burthen of Lead, and Iron, which of necessitie must be landed. The goods being landed, and kept in the Customers power, till the comming of this great man, perceiving the time precious, and my ship not able long to stay, I thought it convenient to send for three Chests of Money, and with that to buy Commodities of the same sorts, that were vendible at Priaman and Bantam, which the Guzerats carry yearely thither, making great benefit thereof. I began to buy against the will of all the Merchants in the Towne, whose grumbling was very much, and complaining unto the Governour and Customer, of the leave that was granted me, in buying those Commodities, which would cut their owne throates at Priaman and Bantam, they not suspecting that I would buy Commodities for those parts, but onely for England.

Excessive rain.

[I. iii. 207.]

At the end of this businesse, this great man came, who gave me licence to ship it: before the shipping of which I called a Councell, which were the Merchants I had, and those that I thought fitting for the businesse I pretended, demanding every ones opinion according to his place, what should be thought convenient for the delivery of his Majesties Letter, and the establishing of a Trade. So generally it was agreed and concluded, that for the effecting of these waighty affaires, it neither would, nor could be accomplished by any, but by my selfe, by reason of my experience in my former travels and language: as also I was knowne to all, to be the man that was sent as Embassadour about these affaires. After it was concluded, and I contented to stay, I made what hast I could in dispatching away the ship, and to ship the goods. This done, I called Master Marlow, and all the company that was on shore before mee, acquainting them with my pretence, and how they should receive for their Commander Master Marlow: willing them that they obey and reverence him, in that kind as they did me. This done, I brought them to the water side, and seeing them imbarke themselves, I bad them farewell.

Our two Barks taken by the Portugals, and thirtie men in them. This not fighting, was upbrayded to our men by the Indians with much disgrace, since recovered with interest by our Sea-fights with the Portugals.

The next day, going about my affaires to the great mans brother, I met with some tenne or twelve of our men, of the better sort of them, very much frighted, telling me the heaviest newes, as I thought, that ever came unto me, of the taking of the Barkes by a Portugal Frigat or two and all goods and men taken, onely they escaped. I demanding in what manner they were taken, and whether they did not fight; their answer was no: M. Marlow would not suffer them, for that the Portugals were our friends: and Bucke, on the other side, went to the Portugall without a pawne, and there he betrayed us, for he never came unto us after. Indeed, Bucke went upon the oath and faithfull promise of the Captaine, but was never suffered to returne. I presently sent a letter unto the Captaine Major, that he release my men and goods, for that we were Englishmen and that our Kings had peace and amity together. And

that we were sent unto the Mogols countrey by our King, and with his letter unto the Mogol, for his subjects to trade in his Countrey: and with his Majesties Commission for the government of his subjects. And I made no question, but in delivering backe his Majesties subjects and goods, that it would be well taken at his Kings hands: if the contrary, it would be a meanes of breach. At the receit of my letter, the proud Rascall braved so much, as the Messenger told me, most vilely abusing his Majestie, tearming him King of Fishermen, and of an Iland of no import, and a fart for his Commission, scorning to send me any answer.

The intollerable pride of the Portugall Captaine.

It was my chance the next day, to meete with a Captaine of one of the Portugal Frigats, who came about businesse sent by the Captaine Major. The businesse, as I understood, was that the Governour should send me as prisoner unto him, for that we were Hollanders. I understanding what he was, tooke occasion to speake with him of the abuses offered the King of England, and his subjects: his answer was, that these Seas belonged unto the King of Portugall, and none ought to come here without his license. I told him, that the King of Englands license was as good as the King of Spaines, and as free for his Subjects, as for the King of Spaines, & he that saith the contrary, is a traytor, and a villaine, & so tel your great Captaine, that in abusing the King of England, he is a base villaine, and a traytor to his King, and that I will maintaine it with my sword, if he dare come on shore. I sending him a challenge, the Mores perceiving I was much mooved, caused the Portugal to depart. This Portugal some two houres after, came to my house, promising me, that he would procure the libertie of my men and goods, so that I would be liberall unto him: I entertained him kindly, and promised him much, but before he departed the Towne, my men and goods were sent for Goa.

The English prisoners sent for Goa.

I had my goods readie, some five dayes before I could be cleare, and have leave, for they would not let them be shipped, untill this great man came, which was the third

The third of October.

The ship departeth leaving M. William Hawkins and his servants in the Countrey.

of October: and two dayes after, the ship set sayle, I remaining with one Merchant William Finch, who was sicke the greater part of his time, and not able to stirre abroad to doe any businesse: the rest were two servants, a Cooke, and my Boy. These were the companie I had, to defend our selves from so many enemies, which lay daily lurking to destroy us: aiming at me for the stopping of my passage to the great Mogol. But God preserved me, and in spight of them all, I tooke heart and resolution to goe forwards on my travels. After the departure of the ship, I understood that my goods and men were betrayed unto the Portugal, by Mocreb-chan, and his followers: for it was a plot laid by the Jesuite and Mocreb-chan, to protract time till the Frigats came to the Bar, and then to dispatch me: for till then, this dogge Mocreb-chan his brother came not: and the comming of these Frigats was in such secrecy, that till they had taken us, we heard no newes of them.

The perfidy & treason of Mocreb-chan and the Jesuit Peonier.

[I. iii. 208.] After the departure of my ship, I was so misused, that it was unsufferable, but so long as my ship was at the Bar, I was flattered withall. But howsoever, well used or ill, it was not for mee to take thought for any thing, although remaining in an heathen Countrey, invironed with so many enemies, who daily did nothing else but plot to murther me, and cosen me of my goods, as hereafter you shall understand. First, misused by Mocreb-chan, as to have possession of my goods, taking what he pleased, and leaving what he pleased, giving me such a price as his owne barbarous conscience afforded: that from thirtie five would give but eighteene, not regarding his brothers bil, who had full authoritie from him: and how difficult it was to get money from his chiefe servant, after the time expired, as it is best knowne to us, who tooke the paines in receiving a small part thereof, before his comming to Surat: and after his comming, I was barred of all: although he outwardly dissembled, & flattered with me almost for three moneths, feeding me with faire promises of payment, and other kindnesses. In the meane time, he came to my house three

times, sweeping me cleane of all things that were good, so that when he saw, that I had no more good things left, he likewise by little and little degraded me of his good lookes. Almost all this time, William Finch was extreame sicke of the Fluxe, but thankes be to God recovered past all hope, I, on the other side, could not peepe out of doores for feare of the Portugals, who in troops lay lurking in by-wayes, to give me assault to murther me, this beeing at the time that the Armada was there.

The first plot of the Portugals to kill me.

The first plot laid against me, was: I was invited by Hogio Nazam to the fraughting of his ship for Mocha, as the custome is, they make at the fraughting of their ships great feasts, for all the principallest of the Towne. It was my good hap at that time a great Captaine belonging to the Vice-Roy of Guzerat resident in Amadavar, being sent about affaires unto Surat, was likewise invited to this feast, which was kept at the water side: and neere unto it, the Portugals had two Frigats of their Armada, which came to receive their tribute of the shippes that were to depart, as also refreshment. Out of these Frigats, there came three gallant fellowes to the Tent where I was, and some fortie followers Portugals, scattering themselves along the Sea side, ready to give an assault when the word should be given. These three Gallants that came to the tents, armed with coats of Buffe downe to the knees, their Rapiers and Pistols by their sides, demaunded for the English Captaine: upon the hearing of which, I arose presently, and told them that I was the man, and perceiving an alteration in them, I laid hand on my weapon. The Captaine Mogol, perceiving treason towards me, both he and his followers drew their weapons: and if the Portugals had not been the swifter, both they and their scattered crew (in retiring to their Frigats) had come short home.

The second plot.

Another time, they came to assault me in my house with a Friar, some thirty or fortie of them: the Friars comming was to animate the souldiers, and to give them absolution. But I was alwaies wary, having a strong house with good doores. Many troopes at other times, lay lurking for me

and mine in the streetes, in that kind, that I was forced to goe to the Governour to complaine, that I was not able to goe about my businesse, for the Portugals comming armed into the Citie to murther me: which was not a custome at other times, for any Portugals to come armed as now they did. He presently sent word to the Portugals, that if they came into the City armed againe, at their owne perils be it. At Mocreb-chan his comming, with a Jesuite named Padre Pineiro in his company (who profered Mocreb-chan fortie thousand Rials of eight, to send me to Daman, as I understood by certaine advise given me by Hassun Ally, and Ally Pommory) I went to visit him, giving him a Present, besides the Present his brother had: and for a time, as I have above written, I had many kind outward shewes of him, till the time that I demanded my money. After that, his dissembling was past, and he told me plainely, that he would not give mee twentie Manadies per Vare, but would deliver me backe my cloath. Upon which dealings, I dissembled as wel as I could with him, intreating leave for Agra, to the King, telling him that William Finch was the man that I left as my chiefe in this place: and in what kind soever his pleasure was to deale with me, he was the man to receive either money or ware. Upon which answer, he gave me his license and letter to the King, promising me fortie horsemen to goe with me, which hee did not accomplish. After license received, the Father put into Mocreb-chan his head, that it was not good to let me passe: for that I would complaine of him unto the King. This he plotted with Mocreb-chan to overthrow my journey, which he could not doe, because I came from a King: but he said, that he would not let me have any force to goe with me. And what else hee would have him to doe, either with my Treuchman and Coachman, to poyson or murther me, if one should faile, the other to doe it: this invention was put into Mocreb-chans head by the Father. But God for his mercie sake, afterward discovered these plots, and the Counsell of this Jesuite tooke not place. Before the plotting of this, the Jesuite and I fell

Padre Peneiro a Jesuite, a paterne of Jesuiticall sanctitie. How franke would the Jesuites have bin to Judas, beyond those Priests which gave but thirty pieces for the price of bloud, and those but of two shillings sixe pence the piece? whereas this Jesuite offers forty thousand Royals (who can deny them Royall Merchants?) at foure shillings sixe pence the piece. Jesuites policy. Just Jesuitisme.

out in the presence of Mocreb-chan, for vile speaches made by him of our King and Nation, to bee vassals unto the King of Portugall: which words I could not brooke, in so much, that if I could have had my will, the Father had never spoken more, but I was prevented.

§. II.

[I. iii. 209.]

His Journey to the Mogoll at Agra, and entertaynment at Court.

NOw finding William Finch in good health, newly recovered, I left all things touching the Trade of Merchandizing in his power: giving him my remembrance and order, what he should doe in my absence. So I began to take up Souldiers to conduct mee, being denyed of Mocrebchan, besides Shot and Bowmen that I hired. For my better safety, I went to one of Chanchanna his Captaines, to let mee have fortie or fiftie Horsemen to conduct me to Chanchanna, being then Vice-Roy of Decan, Resident in Bramport, who did to his power all that I demanded, giving me valiant Horsemen Pattans, a people very much feared in these parts: for if I had not done it, I had beene over-throwne. For the Portugals of Daman had wrought with an ancient friend of theirs a Raga, who was absolute Lord of a Province, (betweene Daman, Guzerat and Decan) called Cruly, to be readie with two hundred Horsemen to stay my passage: but I went so strong and well provided, that they durst not incounter with us: so likewise that time I escaped.

He setteth forward on his Journey from Suratt toward Agra.

Another dangerous Plot of the Portugals.

Cruly Province.

Then at Dayta, another Province or Princedome, my Coachman being drunke with certaine of his Kindred, discovered the Treason that hee was to worke against mee, which was, that hee was hiered to murther me: he being over-heard by some of my Souldiers, who at that present came and told me, and how it should be done in the morning following, when we begin our travell: (for wee use to travell two houres before day) upon which

Dayta another Province.

They use to travell two houres before day.

notice, I called the Coachman unto me, examining him, and his friends before the Captaine of the Horsemen I had with mee: who could not deny; but hee would never confesse who hired him, although hee was very much beaten, cursing his fortune that he could not effect it: for he was to doe it the next morning, so I sent him Prisoner unto the Governour of Suratt.

The Jesuites bloudie plot discovered. Virtus an virus, quis in Jesuita requirat?

But afterward by my Broker or Truchman, I understood that both hee and the Coachman were hired by Mocrebchan, but by the Fathers perswasion, the one to poyson me, and the other to murther me: but the Truchman received nothing till he had done the deed, which hee never meant to doe, for in that kind hee was alwayes true unto mee: thus God preserved me. This was five dayes after my departure from Suratt, and my departure from Suratt was the first of February 1608. So following on my travels for Bramport, some two dayes beyond Dayta, the Pattans left me, but to be conducted by another Pattan Captaine, Governour of that Lordship, by whom I was most kindly entertained. His name was Sherchan, beeing sometime a Prisoner unto the Portugall, and having the Portugall Language perfect, was glad to doe mee any service: for that I was of the Nation, that was enemie unto the Portugall. Himselfe in person, with fortie Horsemen, went two dayes joureney with mee, till hee had freed mee from the dangerous places: at which time he met with a troupe of Out-lawes, and tooke some foure alive, and slew and hurt eight, the rest escaped. This man very kindly writ his Letter for me, to have his house at Bramport, which was a great curtesie, otherwise I could not tell where to lodge my selfe, the Towne being so full of Souldiers: for then began the Warres with the Decans.

M. Hawkins departeth from Suratt. The first of February 1608.

His arrivall at Bramport.

The eighteenth of the said Moneth, thankes be to God, I came in safetie to Bramport, and the next day I went to the Court to visit Chanchanna, being then Lord Generall and Vice-Roy of Decan, giving him a Present; who kindly tooke it: and after three houres conference with him, he made me a great Feast, and being risen from

the Table, invested me with two Clokes, one of fine Woollen, and another of Cloth of Gold: giving mee his most kind Letter of favour to the King, which avayled much. That done he imbraced me, and so we departed. The Language that we spoke was Turkish, which he spake very well.

He stayeth in Bramport till the second of March.

I remayned in Bramport unto the second of March; till then I could not end my businesses of Monies that I brought by exchange, staying likewise for a Carravan, having taken new Souldiers, I followed my Voyage or journey to Agra: where after much labour, toyle, and many dangers, I arrived in safety the sixteenth of Aprill, 1609. Being in the Citie, and seeking out for an house in a very secret manner, notice was given the King that I was come, but not to bee found: He presently charged both Horsemen and Footmen in many troupes, not to leave before I was found, commanding his Knight Marshall to accompany mee with great state to the Court, as an Embassador of a King ought to be: which he did with a great traine, making such extraordinary haste, that I admired much: for I could scarce obtayne time to apparell my selfe in my best attyre. In fine, I was brought before the King, I came with a slight present, having nothing but cloth, and that not esteemed: (for what I had for the King, Mocreb-chan tooke from me, wherwith I acquainted his Majestie.) After salutation done, with a most kinde and smiling countenance, he bade me most heartily welcome, upon which speech I did my obeysance and dutie againe. Having his Majesties Letter in my hand, he called me to come neere unto him, stretching downe his hand from the Seate Royall, where he sate in great Majestie something high for to be seene of the people: receiving very kindly the Letter of me, viewing the Letter a prettie while, both the Seale, and the manner of the making of it up, he called for an old Jesuite that was there present to reade it. In the meane space, while the Jesuite was reading it, hee spake unto mee in the kindest manner that could bee, demanding of mee the

His arrivall at Agra the sixteenth of Aprill, 1609.

He came before the King.

[I. iii. 210.]

contents of the Letter, which I told him: upon which notice, presently granting and promising me by God, that all what the King had there written, he would grant and allow withall his heart, and more if his Majestie would require it. The Jesuite likewise told him the effect of the Letter, but discommending the stile, saying, it was basely penned, writing Vestra without Majestad: my answere was unto the King, and if it shall please your Majestie, these people are our enemies: how can this Letter be ill written, when my King demandeth favour of your Majestie? he said, it was true.

Jesuiticall Charitie.

Perceiving I had the Turkish Tongue, which himselfe well understood, hee commanded me to follow him unto his Chamber of Presence, being then risen from that place of open Audience, desiring to have further conference with me: in which place I stayed some two houres, till the King came forth from his women. Then calling mee unto him, the first thing that hee spake, was that he understood that Mocrebchan had not dealt well with mee, bidding mee bee of good cheere, for he would remedie all. It should seeme, that Mocrebchans enemies had acquainted the King with all his proceedings: for indeed the King hath Spies upon every Nobleman. I answered most humbly, that I was certaine, all matters would goe well on my side, so long as his Majestie protected me. Upon which speech he presently sent away a Post for Suratt, with his command to Mocrebchan, writing unto him very earnestly in our behalfes: conjuring him to bee none of his friend, if hee did not deale well with the English, in that kind, as their desire was.

The Mogoll skilfull in the Turkish tongue.

Spyes upon every Nobleman.

This being dispatched and sent, by the same Messenger, I sent my Letter to William Finch, wishing him to goe with this command to Mocrebchan: at the receit of which he wondred that I came safe to Agra, and was not murthered, or poysoned by the way, of which speech William Finch advertised me afterward.

It grew late, and having had some small conference with the King at that time, he commanded that I should

daily be brought into his presence, and gave a Captaine named Houshaberchan charge, that I should lodge at his house, till a house were found convenient for me: and when I needed any thing of the King, that he should bee my Solicitor. According to command, I resorted to the Court, where I had daily conference with the King. Both night and day, his delight was very much to talke with mee, both of the Affaires of England and other Countries, as also many demands of the West Indies, whereof hee had notice long before, being in doubt if there were any such place, till he had spoken with me, who had beene in the Countrey.

M. Will. Hawkins had bin in the West Indies.

Many dayes and weekes being past, and I now in great favour with the King, to the griefe of all mine enemies, espying my time, I demanded for his Commandement or Commission with Capitulations for the establishing of our Factory to be in mine owne power. His answere was, whether I would remayne with him in his Court, I replyed, till shipping came: then my desire was to goe home, with the answere of his Majesties Letter. Hee replyed againe, that his meaning was a longer time, for he meant to send an Embassador to the King of England, at the comming of the next shipping: and that I should stay with him untill some other bee sent from my King, to remayne in my place, saying this: Thy staying would be highly for the benefit of thy Nation, and that he would give me good maintenance, and my being heere in his presence, would bee the cause to right all wrongs that should be offered unto my Nation: and further, what I should see beneficiall for them, upon my petition made, hee would grant: swearing By his Fathers Soule, that if I would remayne with him, he would grant me Articles for our Factorie to my hearts desire, and would never goe from his word. I replyed againe, that I would consider of it. Thus daily inticing me to stay with him, alleaging as is above written, and that I should doe service, both to my naturall King and him, and likewise he would allow me by the yeare, three thousand and two hundred pounds

The Kings stipendary wages and honorable Pensions to his Nobles.

sterling for my first, and so yeerely, hee promised mee to augment my Living, till I came to a thousand Horse. So my first should be foure hundred Horse. For the Nobilitie of India have their Titles by the number of their Horses, that is to say, from fortie to twelve thousand, which pay belongeth to Princes, and his Sonnes. I trusting upon his promise, and seeing it was beneficiall both to my Nation and my selfe, beeing dispossessed of that benefit which I should have reaped, if I had gone to Bantam, and that after halfe a doozen yeeres, your Worships would send another man of sort in my place, in the meane time, I should feather my Neast, and doe you service: and further perceiving great injuries offered us, by reason the King is so farre from the Ports, for all which causes above specified, I did not thinke it amisse to yeeld unto his request. Then, because my name was something hard for his pronuntiation, hee called me by the name of English Chan, that is to say, English Lord, but in Persia, it is the Title for a Duke, and this went currant throughout the Countrey.

Now your Worships shall understand, that I being now in the highest of my favours, the Jesuites and Portugals slept not, but by all meanes sought my overthrow: and to say the truth, the principall Mahumetans neere the King, envyed much that a Christian should bee so nigh unto him. The Jesuite Peniero being with Mocrebchan, and the Jesuites here, I thinke did little regard their Masses and Church matters, for studying how to overthrow my Affaires: advice being gone to Goa by the Jesuites here, I meane in Agra, and to Padre Peneiro at Surat or Cambaya, hee working with Mocrebchan to be the Portugals assistance, and the Vice-Roy sending him a great Present, together with many Toyes unto the King with his Letter. These presents and many more promises, wrought so much with Mocrebchan, that he writeth his Petition unto the King, sending it together with the present, advertising the King, that the suffring of the English in his land, would be the cause of the losse of his

Jesuiticall Christianitie. [I. iii. 211.]

The practice of the Portugals against our Trade.

owne Countries, neere the Sea-Coasts, as Suratt, Cambaya, and such like: and that in any case he entertaine me not, for that his ancient friends the Portugalls murmured highly at it: and that the same is spread amongst the Portugalls, that I was Generall of ten thousand Horsemen, readie to give the assault upon Diu, when our shipping came.

Lying, a great stratageme.

The Vice-Royes Letter likewise was in this kind: the Kings answere was; that he had but one English-man in his Court, and him they needed not to feare, for hee hath not pretended any such matter: for I would have given him Living neere the Sea parts, but he refused it, taking it neere me heere. This was the Kings answere, upon which answere, the Portugalls were like madde Dogges, labouring to worke my passage out of the World. So I told the King, what dangers I had passed, and the present danger wherein I was, my Boy Stephen Gravener, instantly departing this World, my man Nicholas Ufflet extreame sicke, and this was all my English Company, my selfe beginning to fall downe too. The King presently called the Jesuites, and told them that if I dyed by any extraordinary casualtie, that they should all rue for it. This past, the King was very earnest with me to take a white Mayden out of his Palace, who would give her all things necessary with slaves, and he would promise mee shee should turne Christian: and by this meanes my meates and drinkes should be looked unto by them, and I should live without feare. In regard she was a Moore, I refused, but if so bee there could bee a Christian found, I would accept it: At which my speech, I little thought a Christians Daughter could bee found. So the King called to memorie one Mubarique Sha his Daughter, who was a Christian Armenian, and of the Race of the most ancient Christians, who was a Captaine, and in great favour with Ekber Padasha, this Kings Father. This Captaine died suddenly, and without will, worth a Masse of Money, and all robbed by his Brothers and Kindred, and Debts that cannot be recovered: leaving the Child but only a few Jewels. I seeing shee was of so honest a Descent, having

The Kings answere.

Nicholas Ufflet.

Mubarique Sha an Armenian Christian.

Ekber Padasha.

Hee taketh a Christian Gentlewoman to Wife. Shee came over with him for England, but he dying by the way, shee was after marryed to M. Towerson.

passed my word to the King, could not withstand my fortunes. Wherefore I tooke her, and for want of a Minister, before Christian Witnesses, I marryed her: the Priest was my man Nicholas, which I thought had beene lawfull, till I met with a Preacher that came with Sir Henry Middleton, and hee shewing me the error, I was new marryed againe: so ever after I lived content and without feare, she being willing to goe where I went, and live as I lived. After these matters ended, newes came hither, that the Ascention was to come by the men of her Pinnasse, that was cast away neere Suratt, upon which newes, I presently went to the King and told him, craving his Licence, together with his Commission, for the setling of our Trade: which the King was willing to doe, limiting me a time to returne, and be with him againe.

The Pinnasse of the Ascention cast away neere Suratt.

But the Kings chiefe Vizir Abdal Hassan, a man envious to all Christians, told the King, that my going would be the occasion of warre: and thus harm might happen unto a great man who was sent for Goa, to buy toyes for the King. Upon which speach, the Kings pleasure was I should stay, and send away his Commission to my chiefe Factor at Surat, and presently gave order, that it should be most effectually written. In fine, under his great Seale with Golden Letters, his Commission was written, so firmely for our good, and so free as heart can wish. This I obtained presently, and sent it to William Finch. Before it came there, newes came that the Ascention was cast away, and her men saved, but not suffered to come into the Citie of Surat, Of that likewise I told the King, who seemed to be very much discontented with that great Captaine Mocreb chan, my enemy: and gave me another commandement for their good usage, and meanes to be wrought to save the goods, if it were possible. These two commandements came almost together, to the great joy of William Finch and the rest, admiring much at these things. And now continuing these great favours with the King, being continually in his sight, for the one halfe of foure and twentie houres serving him day and

The Kings Commission in the favour of the English under his great Seale with golden Letters. The Ascention cast away.

night, I wanted not the greater part of his Nobles that were Mahumetans, to be mine enemies. For it went against their hearts, that a Christian should be so great & neere the King: and the more, because the King had promised to make his Brothers children Christians, which two yeares after my comming he performed, commanding them to be made Christians. Awhile after came some of the Ascentions Company unto me (whom I could have wished of better behaviour, a thing pryed into by the King.) In all this time, I could not get my debts of Mocrebchan, till at length he was sent for up to the King, to answere for many faults, and tyrannicall In-justice, which he did to all people in those parts, many a man being undone by him, who petitioned to the King for Justice. Now, this Dogge to make his peace, sent many bribes to the Kings sonnes, and Noble-men that were neere the King, who laboured in his behalfe. After newes came that Mocrebchan was approached neere, the King presently sent to attach all his goods, which were in that abundance, that the King was two moneths in viewing of them, every day allotting a certaine quantitie to be brought before me: and what he thought fitting for his owne turne he kept, and the rest delivered againe to Mocrebchan. In the viewing of these goods, there came those Peeces and Costlet, and Head-peece, with other Presents that he tooke from me for the King of mine owne, not suffering mee to bring them my selfe: at the sight whereof, I was so bold to tell the King what was mine. After the King had viewed these goods, a very great complaint was made by a Banian, how that Mocrebchan had taken his Daughter, saying; she was for the King, which was his excuse, deflowring her himselfe: and afterwards gave her to a Brammen, belonging to Mocrebchan. The man who gave notice of this Child, protested her to passe all that ever he saw for beautie. The matter being examined, and the offence done by Mocrebchan, found to be true, hee was committed to prison, in the power of a great Noble-man: and commandement was given,

The greater part of the Kings Nobles are Mahumetans.

Some of the Ascentions Company and M. Alexander Sharpy their Generall came to Agra.

[I. iii. 212.]

that the Brammene his privy members should be cut off.

Before this happened to Mocrebchan, I went to visite him divers times, who made me verie faire promises, that he would deale very kindly with mee, and be my friend, and that I should have my right. Now being in this disgrace, his friends daily solliciting for him, at length got him cleere: with commandement, that he pay every man his right, and that no more complaints be made of him if he loved his life. So Mocrebchan by the Kings command, paid every one his due, excepting me, whom he would not pay, but deliver me my Cloath, whereof I was desirous, and to make, if it were possible, by faire meanes, an end with him: but he put me off the more, delaying time till his departure, which was shortly after. For the King had restored him his old place againe, and he was to goe for Goa, about a faire ballace Ruby, and other rare things promised the King.

§. III.

The Mogols inconstancie, and Captaine Hawkins departure with Sir Henrie Middleton to the Red-Sea: Thence to Bantam, and after for England.

ALl my going and sending to Mocrebchan for my Money or Cloath, was in vaine, I being abused so basely by him, that I was forced to demaund Justice of the King, who commanded that the Money be brought before him: but for all the Kings commaund he did as he listed, and doe what I could, he cut me off twelve thousand and five hundred Mamadies. For the greatest man in this kingdome was his friend, and many others holding on his side, murmuring to the King, the suffering of English to come into his Countrey: for that we were a Nation, that if we once set foot, we would take his Countrey from him. The King called me to make answere to that they said: I answered his Majestie, that

if any such matter were, I would answer it with my life: and that we were not so base a Nation, as these mine enemies reported. All this was, because I demaunded my due, and yet cannot get it. At this time, those that were neere favourites, and neerest unto the King, whom I daily visited, and kept in withall, spake in my behalfe: and the King holding on my side, commanded that no more such wrongs be offred me. So I thinking to use my best in the recovery of this, intreting the head Vizir that he would be meanes that I receive not so great a losse; he answered me in a threatning manner: that if I did open my mouth any more, hee would make me to pay an hundred thousand Mamadies, which the King had lost in his Customes by entertaining mee, and no man durst adventure by reason of the Portugall. So by this meanes I was forced to hold my tongue, for I know this Money was swallowed by both these Dogges. Now Mocrebchan being commaunded in publicke, that by such a day he be ready to depart for Guzerat, and so for Goa, and then come and take his leave, as the custome is: in this meane time, three of the principallest Merchants of Surat, were sent for by the Kings commaundement, and come to the Court about affaires, wherein the King or his Vizir had imployed them, being then present there when Mocreb chan was taking his leave; this being a plot laid both by the Portugals, Mocrebchan, and the Vizir. For some sixe daies before a Letter came unto the King from the Portugall Vice-roy, with a Present of many rare things. The Contents of this Letter were, how highly the King of Portugall tooke in ill part the entertaining of the English, he being of an ancient amitie with other complements: and withall, how that a Merchant was there arrived, with a very faire ballace Ruby, weighing three hundred and fiftie Rotties, of which stone the pattern was sent. Upon this newes, Mocreb chan was to be hastened away, at whose comming to take his leave together with Padre Pineiro, that was to goe with him, the above named Merchants of Surat being then there present, Mocrebchan

A Letter from the Viceroy of the East-India to the Mogull, against the English.

A speech of Mocreb chan to the King against the English.

began to make his speech to the King, saying, that this and many other things he hoped to obtaine of the Portugall, so that the English were disanulled: saying more, that it would redound to great losse unto his Majestie and Subjects, if hee did further suffer the English to come into his parts. Upon which speech he called the Merchants before the King, to declare what losse it would be, for that they best knew. They affirmed, that they were like to be all undone because of the English, nor hereafter any toy could come into this countrey, because the Portugal was so strong at sea, and would not suffer them to goe in or out of their Ports; and all their excuse was, for suffering the English.

[I. iii. 213.]

The Kings commandement upon false information against the English.

These speeches now and formerly, and lucre of this stone, and promises by the Fathers of rare things, were the causes the King overthrew my affaires; saying, Let the English come no more: presently giving Mocreb-chan his commandement, to deliver the Viceroy to that effect, that he would never suffer the English to come any more into his ports.

None make petition to the King without some Present.

I now saw, that it booted me not to meddle upon a sudden, or to make any petition unto the King, till a prety while after the departure of Mocreb-chan; and seeing my enemies were so many, although they had eaten of me many Presents. When I saw my time, I made petition unto the King. In this space, I found a toy to give, as the order is: for there is no man that commeth to make petition, who commeth emptie-handed. Upon which petition made him, he presently graunted my request, commanding his Vizir to make me another commandement in as ample manner as my former, and commanded that no man should open his mouth to the contrary: for it was his pleasure that the English should come into his Ports. So this time againe I was a floate. Of this alteration, at that instant the Jesuite had notice: for there is no matter passeth in the Mogols Court in secret, but it is knowne halfe an houre after, giving a small matter to the writer of that day: for there is nothing that passeth, but it is written, and writers

appointed by turnes, so that the Father, nor I, could passe any businesse, but when we would we had notice. So the Jesuite presently sent away the most speedy messenger that could be gotten, with his Letter to Padre Pineiro, and Mocreb-chan, advertising them of all that had passed. At the receit of which, they consulted amongst themselves, not to go forward on their voyage for Goa, till I were overthrown againe. Wherefore Mocreb-chan wrote his petition unto the King, and letters unto his friend, the head Vizir, how it stood not with the Kings honour to send him, if he performed not what he promised the Portugal: and that his voyage would be overthrowne, if he did not call in the commandement he had given the Englishman. Upon the receiving and reading of this, the King went againe from his word, esteeming a few toyes which the Fathers had promised him, more then his honour.

Now beeing desirous to see the full issue of this, I went to Hogio Jahan, Lord General of the Kings Palace (the second man in place in the Kingdome) intreating him that he would stand my friend. He very kindly, presently went unto the King, telling him that I was very heavy and discontent, that Abdall Hassan would not deliver me my commandement, which his Majestie had graunted me. The King answered him (I being present, and very neere him) saying, It was true, that the commandement is sealed, and ready to be delivered him: but upon letters received from Mocreb-chan, and better consideration by me had on these my affaires in my Ports in Guzerat, I thought it fitting not to let him have it. Thus was I tossed and tumbled in the kind of a rich Merchant, adventuring all he had in one bottome, and by casualtie of stormes or pirates, lost it all at once. So that on the other side, concerning my living, I was so crossed, that many times this Abdall Hassan his answer would be unto me; I know wel enough you stand not in such need, for your Master beareth your charges, and the King knew not what he did in giving to you, from whom he should receive. My answer was, that it was the Kings pleasure, and none of my request; and

seeing it is his Majesties gift, I had no reason to loose it: so that from time to time, he bad mee have patience, and he would find out a good living for me. Thus was I dallied withall by this mine enemie, in so much that in all the time I served in Court, I could not get a living that would yeeld any thing, giving me my living still, in places where Out-lawes raigned: only, once at Lahor by an especiall commandement from the King, but I was soone deprived of it: and all that I received from the beginning, was not fully three hundred pounds, a great part whereof was spent upon charges of men sent to the Lordships. When that I saw that the living which the King absolutely gave me, was taken from me, I was then past all hopes: for before, at the newes of the arrivall of shipping, I had great hope, that the King would performe former grants, in hope of rare things that should come from England. But when I made Arse or Petition unto the King concerning my living, he turned me over to Abdal Hassan: who not onely denied me my living; but also gave order, that I be suffered no more to enter within the red rayles: which is a place of honour, where all my time I was placed very neere unto the King, in which place there were but five men in the Kingdome before me.

The red Raile a place of Honour.

Now perceiving that all my affaires were overthrowne, I determined with the Councell of those that were neere me, to resolve whereto to trust, either to be well in, or well out. Upon this resolution I had my petition made ready, by which I made known unto the King, how Abdall Hassan had dealt with me, having himselfe eaten what his Majestie gave me: and how that my charges of so long time (being by his Majestie desired to stay in his Court, upon the faithful promises he made me) were so much, that it would be my utter overthrow: therfore I besought his Majesty that he would consider my cause, either to establish me as formerly, or give me leave to depart. His answere was, that he gave me leave, commanding his safe conduct to bee made mee, to passe freely without molestation, throughout his Kingdomes. When this Commandement

[I. iii. 214.]

was made, as the custome is, I came to doe my obeysance, and to take my leave, intreating for an answere of my Kings Letter. Abdall Hassan comming unto me from the King, in a disdainfull manner utterly denyed me: saying, that it was not the custome of so great a Monarch, to write in the kind of a Letter, unto a pettie Prince, or Governour. I answered him, that the King knew more of the mightinesse of the King of England, then to be a petty Governour. Well, this was mine answere, together with my leave taken.

I went home to my house, studying with all my endeavours to get all my goods and debts together, and to buy commodities with those Monies, that were remayning using all the speed I could, to cleere my selfe of the Countrey: staying only for Nicholas Ufflet, to come from Lahor, with a remainder of Indico, that was in William Finches power, who determined to goe over land, being past all hopes for ever imbarking our selves at Surat: which course I also would willingly have taken, but that as it is well knowne, for some causes I could not travell thorow Turkie, and especially with a woman. So I was forced to currie favour with the Jesuites, to get mee a safe conduct or Seguro, from the Vice-Roy to goe for Goa, and so to Portugall, and from thence to England: thinking, as the opinion of others was, that the Vice-Roy giving his secure Royall, there would be no danger for me. But when my Wifes Mother, & Kindred saw that I was to carry her away, suspecting that they should never see her any more, they did so distaste me in these my travels, that I was forced to yeeld unto them, that my Wife go no further then Goa, because it was India: and that they could goe and come and visit her, and that, if at any time I meant to goe for Portugall, or any other-where, that I leave her that portion, that the custome of Portugall is, to leave to their Wives when they dye: unto which I was forced to yeeld to give them content, to prevent all mischiefes. But knowing that if my Wife would goe with me, all would bee of no effect, I effected with the

Will. Finch determined to returne over-land for England.

Jesuite to send for two Secures, the one concerning my quiet being, and free libertie of conscience in Goa, and to bee as a Portugall in all Tradings and Commerce in Goa: (this was to shew my Wifes Parents.) The other was an absolute grant for free passage into Portugall, and so for England, with my Wife and Goods, without any disturbances of any of my Wives friends: and what agreements I made with them to be void and of none effect, but I should stay or goe, when I pleased with free libertie of conscience for my selfe. This last Securo I should receive at Cambaya, which at my departure for our shippes was not yet come, but was to come with the Carravan of Frigats.

This and much more the Fathers would have done for me, only to rid me out of the Country: for being cleere of me, they should much more quietly sleepe. About this time, I had notice of the comming of three English ships, that were arrived at Mocha, and without faile their determination was to come for Surat, at the time of the yeare: having this Advertisement by Nicholas Bangham from Bramport, who departed from me some six weekes before, both for the recovery of certaine Debts, as also with my Letter to our shipping, if it were possible to send it, advertising them of my proceedings.

Nicholas Bangham.

In this time of my dispatching, newes came of Mocreb-chans returne from Goa, with many gallant and rare things, which hee brought for the King. But that Ballace Ruby was not for his turne, saying it was false, or at the least, made his excuse for feare, that if he should give the Portugall his price, and when it came into the Kings power, it should bee valued much lesse (which over-plus he should be forced to pay, as hee had done in former times, for other things) hee left it behind him. And besides, I understood, that Mocreb-chan had not his full content as he expected of the Portugalls. And likewise, at this instant, the Vizir, my enemy was thrust out of his place, for many complaints made of him, by Noblemen that were at great charges and in debt, & could not receive their livings in

places that were good, but in barren & rebellious places: and that he made a benefit of the good places himselfe, & robbed them all. For these complaints and others, he had much ado to escape with life, being put out of his place, & sent to the Wars of Decan. Now one Gaihbeig being the Kings chiefe Treasurer (a man that in outward shew made much of me, & was alwayes willing to pleasure me, when I had occasion to use him) was made chiefe Vizir: and his Daughter marryed with the King, being his chiefe Queene or Paramor. This Vizirs sonne and my selfe were great friends, he having beene often at my house, and was now exalted to high Dignities by the King. Perceiving this alteration, and being certified of the comming of shipping, by certaine advise, sundry wayes. Knowing the custome of these Moores that without gifts and bribes, nothing would either goe forward or bee accomplished, I sent my Broker to seeke out for Jewels, fitting for the Kings Sister and new Paramour: and likewise, for this new Vizir, and his sonne.

Now after they had my Gifts, they beganne on all sides to solicite my cause: at which time newes came to Agra, by Banians of Diu, how that of Diu, three English ships were seene, and three dayes after other newes came, that they were at the Barre of Surat. Upon which newes the great Vizir asked me what Toy I had for the King, I shewed him a Ruby Ring that I had gotten: at the sight of which he bade me make readie to goe with him at Court time, and he would make my Petition to the King, and told me that the King was alreadie wonne. So once more comming before his Greatnesse, and my Petition being read, he presently granted mee the establishing of our Factorie, and that the English come and freely trade for Surat: willing the Vizir that with all expedition my commandement be made, upon which grant the Vizir made signe unto mee, to make obeysance, which I did according to the Custome. But now what followed? A great Nobleman and neerest Favourite of the King, being the dearest friend that Mocrebchan, and likewise Abdall

Three English ships at the Barre of Surat.

[I. iii. 215.]

Hassan had, brought up together from their child-hood, and Pages together unto the King, began to make a speech unto the King: saying, that the granting of this would be the utter overthrow of his Sea Coasts and people, as his Majestie had beene informed by petition from divers of his Subjects: and besides, that it stood not with his Majesties honour to contradict that which he had granted to his ancient friends the Portugals, and whosoever laboured for the English, knew not what he did; if knowing, hee was not his Majesties friend. Upon the speech of this Nobleman, my businesse once againe was quite overthrowne, and all my time and presents lost: the King answering, that for my Nation, hee would not grant Trade at the Sea Ports, for the inconvenience that divers times had beene scanned upon. But, for my selfe, if I would remayne in his service he would command, that what he had allowed me, should be given me to my content: which I denyed, unlesse the English should come unto his Ports according to promise, and as for my particular maintenance, my King would not see me want. Then desiring againe answere of the Kings Letter, he consulted a-while with his Vizirs, and then sent mee his denyall. So I tooke my leave and departed from Agra, the second of November 1611. being of a thousand thoughts what course I were best to take: for I still had a doubt of the Portugalls that for lucre of my goods they would poyson me. Againe, on the other side, it was dangerous by reason of the Warres to travell thorow Decan unto Masulipatan: by land, by reason of the Turkes, I could not goe: and to stay I would not amongst these faithlesse Infidels.

He departeth from Agra the second of November 1611.

I arrived at Cambaya, the last of December, 1611. where I had certaine newes of the English ships that were at Surat. Immediately I sent a Footman unto the ships with my Letter, with certaine advice, affirmed for a truth, by the Fathers of Cambaya, unto me, that the Vice-Roy had in a readinesse prepared to depart from Goa, foure great ships, with certaine Gallies, and Frigats for to come upon

them, and Treasons plotted against Sir Henry Middletons person: of which newes, I was wished by the Fathers to advise Sir Henry: which I found afterward to bee but their policie, to put him in feare, and so to depart, and withall, I wished them to be well advised. And as for me my shifts were to goe home, by the way of the Portugalls, for so I had promised my Wife and her Brother, who at that present was with me: and to delude him and the Fathers till I had notice for certaine, that I might freely get aboord without feare, which I was assured to know at the returne of my Letter; in the meane time, I did all that I could to dispatch her Brother away: who within two dayes after departed for Agra, not suspecting that I had any intent for the ships. Nicholas Ufflet now departing from mee to survey the way, beeing two dayes journey on his way, met with Captaine William Sharpeigh, Master Fraine, and Hugh Greete sent by Sir Henry to Cambaya unto mee, which was no small joy unto mee. So understanding of the place (which was miraculously found out by Sir Henry Middleton, and never knowne to any of the Countrey) I admired and gave God thankes: for if this place had not beene found, it had beene impossible for mee to have gotten aboord with my goods. Wherefore making all the haste that I could, in dispatching my selfe away, I departed from Cambaya, the eighteenth of January 1611. and came unto the ships the six and twentieth of the said moneth, where I was most kindly received by Sir Henry Middleton. From this place we departed the eleventh of February 1611. and arrived at Dabul the sixteenth of the same: in which place we tooke a Portugall ship and Frigat, out of which we tooke some quantitie of goods. And from thence we departed the fift of March 1611. for the Red Sea, with an intent to revenge us of the wrongs offered us, both by Turkes and Mogols: at which place wee arrived the third of Aprill 1612. Here we found three English ships, their Generall was Captaine John Saris. Having dispatched our businesse in the Red Sea, wee set sayle from thence the sixteenth of August, 1612.

A fained policie of the Jesuites.

Hee came aboord the English Fleet.

They depart with the English Fleet from Surat to Dabull.

A Portugal ship taken.

1612. *They arrive at the mouth of the Red Sea.*

The Fleet of M. John Saris.

They arrive at Tecoo in Sumatra.

and arrived in Tecu in Sumatra, the nineteenth of October 1612. and having ended our businesse there, we departed in the night, the twentieth of Novemb. 1612. and came on ground the same night, three leagues off, upon a Bed of Corall, in three fathome water, or thereabouts, and by the great mercie of God we escaped: but were forced to returne backe againe to stop her leakes, the goods being taken out, and some damage received. Now her leakes being somewhat stopped, and her goods in, not losing an houre of time, wee departed from thence the eight of December, 1612. and arrived at Bantam the one and twentieth of the same: where Sir Henry Midleton not finding the Trade sufficient to goe home that yeare, was forced to stay and carine her. Having ended account with him, as himselfe liked best, I tooke my goods and shipped them in the Salomon, which came for our Voyage, for saving of a greater Fraight: but I could not be admitted to goe in her my selfe; Captaine Saris I thanke him, accommodated me in the Thomas, and it was agreed, that the Salomon and wee should keepe company together.

They arrive at Bantam, December, 1612.

From thence we set saile on the thirtieth of January 1612. and arrived in Saldania Roade, the one and twentieth of April 1613. and comming neere some two hundred leagues from the Cape, we had much foule weather and contrary windes. Here we found foure sayle of Hollanders that departed Bantam a moneth before us. There was great kindnesse betwixt us, especially to me, in regard that they had heard much of my great estate in India, by an Agent of theirs, that was Lieger at Masulipatan. Some eight dayes after the Expedition came in, and brought mee a Letter from your Worships, and delivered it unto me two dayes after their arrivall. The wind comming faire, we departed from Saldania the one and twentieth of May, 1613.

[I. iii. 216.] *The Expedition arrived in Saldania.*

Many advises of the Authour touching Forts, Indian Factories, &c. I have omitted as not so fitting every Eye.

Their departure from Saldania.

§. IIII.

A briefe Discourse of the strength, wealth, and Government, with some Customes of the great Mogol: which I have both seene and gathered by his chiefe Officers, and Over-seers of all his Estate.

First, I begin with his Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Viscounts, Barons, Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, and Yeomen. As Christian Princes use their degrees by Titles, so they have their Degrees and Titles by their number of Horses: unlesse it bee those that the King most favoureth, whom he honoureth with the Title of Chan, and Immirza. None have the Title of Sultan but his Sonnes. Chan in the Persian Language, is as much as a Duke, Immirza is the Title for the Kings Brothers Children.

They that be of the fame of twelve thousand Horsemen belong to the King, and his Mother, and eldest Sonne, and one more, who is of the bloud Royall of Uzbeck, named Chan Azam. *Uzbek.* Dukes be nine thousand Fame, Marquesses five thousand Fame, Earles three thousand, Viscounts two thousand, Barons a thousand, Knights foure hundred, Esquires an hundred, Gentlemen fifty, Yeomen from twentie down-wards. All they that have these numbers of Horsemen, are called Mansibdars, or men of Livings, *Mansibdars.* or Lordships. Of these there be three thousand, that is to say, foure be of twelve thousand Horse a-piece, and they be the King, his Mother, Sultan Pervis, Prince, and Chan Azam. Of nine thousand Horsemen there bee three, that is to say, Sultan Chorem, the Kings third Sonne, Chanchanna, and Kelich Chan. Of five thousand there bee eighteene, named Hasuff Chan, Chan Ichan, Abdula Chan, Raga Manging, Ray Durga, Raga Sursing, Ramadas Rechuva, Raga Bassu, Emirel Umera, Mahabet Chan, Chan Dowran, Sedris Chan, Hogio Bey Mirza, Mirza Cazi, Ettebar Chan, Abulfet Dekenny, Jelam Cully Chan, *These Ragas be Gentiles.*

Sheik Ferid. Of three thousand there be two and twentie, to wit, Chan Alem, Imirza Ereg, Imirza Darab, Hogio Jahan, Hogio Abdal Hassan, Mirza Gaysbey, Mirza Shemchadin, Mirza Chadulla, Seffer Chan, Kazmy Chan, Mirza Chin Kelich, Saif Chan, Lalla Bersingdia, Mirza Zeady, Mirza Ally Ecberchuly, Terbiat Chan, Mirza Laschary, Mirza Charucogly, Mirza Rustem, Ally Merdon Badur, Tasbey Chan, Abulbey. The rest bee from two thousand downwards till you come to twentie Horses, two thousand nine hundred and fiftie. Of Horsemen, that receive pay monethly, from sixe Horse to one, there be five thousand, these bee called Haddies. Of such Officers and men as belong to the Court and Campe, there be thirtie sixe thousand, to say, Porters, Gunners, Watermen, Lackeyes, Horse-keepers Elephant-keepers, Small shot, Frasses, or Tent men, Cookes, Light bearers, Gardiners, Keepers of all kind of Beasts. All these be payd monethly out of the Kings Treasurie, whose Wages be from ten to three Rupias.

Thirtie sixe thousand Officers and Stipendaries of the Court.

The Rupia is two shillings sterling, some say two shillings and three pence: some two shillings and sixe pence.

All his Captaines are to maintaine at a seven-nights warning, from twelve thousand to twentie Horse, all Horsemen three Leckes, which is three hundred thousand Horsemen: which of the Incomes of their Lordships allowed them, they must maintayne.

The Kings yeerely Income of his Crowne Land, is fiftie Crou of Rupias, every Crou is an hundred Leckes, and every Leck is an hundred thousand Rupiæ.

Candahar.

THe compasse of his Countrey is two yeares travell with Carravan, to say, from Candahar to Agra, from Soughtare in Bengala to Agra, from Cabul to Agra, from Decan to Agra, from Surat to Agra, from Tatta in Sinde to Agra. Agra is in a manner in the heart of all his Kingdomes.

His Empire is divided into five great Kingdomes, the first named Pengab, whereof Lahor is the chiefe Seate;

the second is Bengala, the chiefe Seat Sonargham: the third is Malua, the chiefe Seate is Ugam: the fourth is Decan, the chiefe Seate Bramport: the fifth is Guzerat, the chiefe Seat is Amadavar. The chiefe Citie or Seate Royall of the Kings of India, is called Delly, where hee is established King: and there all the Rites touching his Coronation are performed.

There are sixe especiall Castles, to say, Agra, Guallier, Nerver, Ratamboore, Hassier Roughtaz. In every one of these Castles he hath his Treasure kept.

In all his Empire there are three Arch-enemies or Rebels, which with all his Forces cannot be called in, to say, Amberry Chapu in Decan: in Guzerat, the Sonne of Muzafer, that was King, his name is Bahador of Malua, Raga Rahana. His Sonnes be five, to say, Sultan Coussero, Sultan Pervis, Sultan Chorem, Sultan Shariar, and Sultan Bath. Hee hath two yong Daughters, and three hundred Wives, whereof foure be chiefe as Queenes, to say, the first, named Padasha Banu, Daughter to Kaime Chan: the second is called Noore Mahal, the Daughter of Gais Beiige: the third is the Daughter of Seinchan: the fourth is the Daughter of Hakim Hamaun, who was Brother to his Father Ecber Padasha. [I. iii. 217.]

His Treasure is as followeth, The first, is his severall Coine of Gold.

INprimis, of Seraffins Ecberi, which be ten Rupias a piece, there are sixtie Leckes. Of another sort of Coyne, of a thousand Rupias a piece, there are twentie thousand pieces. Of another sort of halfe the value, there are ten thousand pieces. Of another sort of Gold of twenty Toles a piece, there are thirtie thousand pieces. Of another sort of tenne Toles a piece, there bee five and twenty thousand pieces. Of another sort of five Toles, which is this Kings stampe, of these there be fiftie thousand pieces.

A Tole is a Rupia Challany of Silver, and ten of these Toles, are the value of one of gold.

[Of Silver

Of Silver, as followeth.

INprimis, of Rupias Ecbery, thirteene Crou (every Crou is an hundred Leckes, and every Leck an hundred thousand Rupias) or one thousand three hundred Leckes. Of another sort of Coine of Selim Sha this King, of an hundred Toles a piece, there are fiftie thousand pieces. Of fiftie Toles a piece, there is one Lecke. Of thirtie Toles a piece, there are fortie thousand pieces. Of twentie Toles a piece, there are thirtie thousand pieces. Of ten Toles a piece, there are twentie thousand pieces. Of five Toles a piece, there are five and twentie thousand pieces. Of a certaine Money that is called Savoy, which is a Tole ¼. of these there are two Leckes. Of Jagaries, whereof five make sixe Toles, there is one Lecke. More should have beene coyned of this stampe, but the contrary was commanded.

Here followeth of his Jewells of all sorts.

INprimis, Of Diamantes 1.½. Battman, these be rough, of all sorts and sizes, great and small: but no lesse then 2.½. Caratts. The Battman is fifty five pound waight, which maketh eightie two pounds ½. weight English. Of Ballace Rubies little and great, good and bad, there are single two thousand pieces. Of Pearle of all sorts, there are twelve Battmans. Of Rubies of all sorts there are two Battmans. Of Emeraudes of all sorts, five Battmans. Of Eshime, which stone commeth from Cathaia, one Battman. Of stones of Emen, which is a red stone, there are five thousand pieces. Of all other sorts as Corall, Topasses, &c. There is an infinite number.

Eshime a precious stone comming from Cathaya.

Here followeth of the Jewels wrought in Gold.

OF Swords of Almaine Blades, with the Hilts and Scabberds set with divers sorts of rich stones, of the richest sort, there are two thousand and two hundred. Of two sorts of Poniards there bee two thousand. Of Saddle Drummes, which they use in their Hawking, of

these there are very rich ones of Gold, set with stones, five hundred. Of Brooches for their heads, whereinto their Feathers be put, these be very rich, and of them there are two thousand. Of Saddles of Gold and Silver set with stones, there are one thousand. Of Teukes there be five and twentie, this is a great Launce covered with Gold, and the Fluke set with stones, and these instead of their colours, are carryed, when the King goeth to the warres, of these there are five and twentie. Of Kittasoles of state, for to shaddow him, there bee twentie. None in his Empire dareth in any sort have any of these carryed for his shadow but himselfe, of these, I say, there are twentie. Of Chaires of Estate, there bee five, to say, three of Silver, and two of Gold: and of other sorts of Chaires, there bee an hundred of Silver and Gold, in all an hundred and five. Of rich Glasses, there bee two hundred. Of Vases for Wine very faire and rich, set with Jewels, there are an hundred. Of drinking Cuppes five hundred, but fiftie very rich, that is to say, made of one piece of Ballace Ruby, and also of Emerods, of Eshim, of Turkish stone, and of other sorts of stones. Of Chaines of Pearle, and Chaines of all sorts of precious stones, and Ringes with Jewels of rich Diamants, Ballace Rubies, Rubies and old Emerods, there is an infinite number, which only the Keeper thereof knoweth. Of all sorts of plate, as Dishes, Cups, Basons, Pots, Beakers of Silver wrought, there are two thousand Battmans. Of Gold wrought, there are one thousand Battmans.

Eshim stones of Cathay.

Here followeth of all sorts of Beasts. [I. iii. 218.]

OF Horses there are twelve thousand. Whereof there bee of Persian Horses foure thousand, of Turkie Horses six thousand, and of Kismire two thousand, all are twelve thousand.

Or Kasimir.

Of Elephants, there be twelve thousand, whereof five thousand bee teeth Elephants, and seven thousand of shee ones, and yong ones, which are twelve thousand. Of Camels there be two thousand. Of Oxen for the Cart,

and all other services, there bee tenne thousand. Of Moyles there be one thousand. Of Deere like Buckes for game and sport, there be three thousand. Of Ounces for Game, there be foure hundred. Of Dogges for hunting, as Grey-hounds and other, there be foure hundred. Of Lions tame there are an hundred. Of Buffalaes, there be five hundred. Of all sorts of Hawkes there bee foure thousand. Of Pidgeons for sport of flying, there bee ten thousand. Of all sorts of singing Birds, there be foure thousand.

Of Armour of all sorts at an houres warning, in a readinesse to arme five and twentie thousand men.

His daily expences for his owne person, that is to say, for feeding of his Cattell of all sorts, and amongst them some few Elephants Royall, and all other expences particularly, as Apparell, Victuals, and other petty expences for his house, amounts to fiftie thousand Rupias a day.

The expences daily for his Women by the day, is thirtie thousand Rupias.

All this written concerning his Treasure, Expences and monethly pay is in his Court, or Castle of Agra: and every one of the Castles above nominated, have their severall Treasure, especially Lahor, which was not mentioned.

The Mogoll heire to every man.

The Custome of this Mogoll Emperour is to take possession of his Noblemens Treasure when they dye, and to bestow on his Children what he pleaseth: but commonly he dealeth well with them, possessing them with their Fathers Land, dividing it amongst them: and unto the eldest Sonne, hee hath a very great respect, who in time receiveth the full title of his Father. There was in my time a great Indian Lord or Prince, a Gentile named Raga Gaginat, upon whose goods the Kings seizing after his death, he was found (besides Jewels and other Treasure) to have sixtie Maunes in Gold, and every Maune is five and fiftie pound waight. Also his custome is, that of all sorts of Treasure, excepting Coine, to say of all sorts of Beasts, and all other things of value, a small quantitie is

Raga Gaginat his wealth.

daily brought before him. All things are severally divided into three hundred and sixtie parts, so that hee daily seeth a certaine number, to say, of Elephants, Horses, Camels, Dromedaries, Moyles, Oxen, and all other: as also a certaine quantitie of Jewels, and so it continueth all the yeere long: for what is brought him to day is not seene againe, till that day twelve moneth. *Daily survey of the Kings wealth.*

He hath three hundred Elephants Royall, which are Elephants whereon himselfe rideth: and when they are brought before him, they come with great jollitie, having some twentie or thirty men before them with small Stremers. The Elephants Cloth or Covering is very rich, eyther of Cloth of Gold, or rich Velvet: hee hath following him his shee Elephant, his Whelpe or Whelpes, and foure or five yong ones, as Pages which will bee in number some sixe, some seven, and some eight or nine. These Elephants and other Cattell, are dispersed among his Nobles and men of sort to over-see them, the King allowing them for their expences, a certaine quantitie: but some of them will eate a great deale more then their allowance commeth unto. These Elephants Royall eate tenne Rupias every day in Sugar, Butter, Graine, and Sugar Canes. These Elephants are the goodliest and fairest of all the rest, and tame withall, so managed, that I saw with mine eyes, when the King commanded one of his young Sonnes named Shariar (a Childe of seven yeeres of age) to goe to the Elephant to bee taken up by him with his snout: who did so, delivering him to his Keeper that commanded him with his hooke: and having done this unto the Kings Sonne, he afterwards did the like to many other Children. When these Elephants are shewed, if they who have the charge of them bring them leane, then are they checked and in disgrace, unlesse their excuse bee the better: and so it is with all things else in that kinde, that every man striveth to bring his quantitie in good liking, although hee spend of his owne. *Elephants Royall.*

When hee rideth on Progresse or Hunting, the compasse of his Tents may bee as much as the compasse of *The Kings Tents as large in compasse as London.*

London and more, and I may say, that of all sorts of people that follow the Campe, there are two hundred thousand: for hee is provided, as for a Citie. This King is thought to be the greatest Emperour of the East, for Wealth, Land, and force of Men: as also for Horses, Elephants, Camels and Dromedaries. As for Elephants of his owne, and of his Nobles, there are fortie thousand, of which the one halfe are trayned Elephants for the Warre: and these Elephants of all beasts, are the most understanding. I thought good here to set downe this one thing, which was reported to me for a certainty, although it seemed very strange. An Elephant having journyed very hard, being on his travell, was misused by his Commander, and one day finding the fellow asleepe by him, but out of his reach, having greene Canes brought him to eate, split the end of one of them with his teeth, and taking the other end of the Cane with his snowt, reached it toward the head of the fellow, who being fast asleepe, and his turbant fallen from his head (the use of India being to weare their haire long like Women) he tooke hold with the Cane on his haire, wreathing it therein, and withall, haling him unto him, untill he brought him within the compasse of his snowt, he then presently killed him. Many other strange things are done by Elephants.

Forty thousand Elephants.

[I. iii. 219.]

He hath also infinite numbers of Dromedaries, which are very swift, to come with great speed, to give assault to any Citie, as this Kings Father did: so that the enemies thought he had beene in Agra, when he was at Amadavar: and he came from Agra thither in nine daies, upon these Dromedaries, with twelve thousand choyce men, Chanchanna being then his Generall. The day being appointed for the battell, on a suddaine newes came of the Kings arrivall, which strucke such a present feare into the Guzerats, that at that time they were overthrowne and conquered. This King hath diminished his chiefe Captaines, which were Rasbootes, or Gentiles, and naturall Indians, and hath preferred the Mahumetans (weak spirited men, void of resolution) in such sort, that what this mans

Dromedaries swiftnesse.

From Agra to Amadavar in nine daies.

A.D. c. 1611.

Father, called Ecber Padasha, got of the Decans, this King Selim sha, beginneth to loose. He hath a few good Captaines yet remaining, whom his father highly esteemed, although they be out of favour with him, because that upon his rebellion against his father, they would not assist him, considering his intent was naught: for he meant to have shortned his Fathers daies, and before his time to have come to the Crowne. And to that purpose, being in Attabase, the regall seate of a kingdome called Porub, hee arose with eighty thousand horse, intending to take Agra, and to have possession of the Treasury, his Father being then at the warres of Decan: who understanding of his Sonnes pretence, left his conquering there, and made hast to come home to save his owne. Before the Kings departure to the warres, hee gave order to his Sonne to goe with his Forces upon Aranna, that great Rebell in Malua, who comming to parle with this Rebell, he told the Prince that there was nothing to bee gotten by him but blowes: and it were better for him, now his Father was at Decan, to goe upon Agra, and possesse himselfe of his Fathers treasure, and make himselfe King, for there was no man able to resist him. The Prince followed his counsell, and would have prosecuted it, but his Fathers hast before, upon notice given, prevented his purpose: at whose arrivall at Agra, hee presently sent unto his Sonne, that he make choyce either to come and fall at his feete, and be at his mercy to doe with him as he pleased, or to fit himselfe for the battell and fight it out. He well considering the valour of his Father, thought it meetest to submit himselfe, and stand to his Fathers mercy: who after affronts shewed him and imprisonment, was soone released and pardoned, by reason of many friends, his Mother, Sisters, and others.

Selims rebellion.

**Or Rabanne.*

This Selim Padasha being in his rebellion, his father dispossessed him, and proclaimed heire apparant, his eldest Sonne Cossero being eldest Sonne to Selimsha: for his owne Sonnes younger Brothers to Selim, were all dead in Decan and Guzerat: yet shortly after his Father

Sultan Cossere proclaimed.

dyed, who in his death-bed had mercy on Selim, possessing him againe. But Cossero, who was proclaimed heire apparant, stomached his father, and rose with great troopes, yet was not able to indure after the losse of many thousand men on both sides: but was taken, and remaineth still in prison in the Kings Pallace, yet blinde, as all men report: and was so commaunded to be blinded by his father. So since that time, being now eight yeares after, he had commanded to put all his sonnes confederates to death, with sundry kinds of death; some to bee hanged, some spitted, some to have their heads chopped off, and some to bee torne by Elephants. Since which time hee hath raigned in quiet, but ill beloved of the greater part of his Subjects, who stand greatly in feare of him. His custome is every yeare to be out two moneths on hunting, as is before specified. When he meaneth to begin his journey, if comming forth of his Pallace, hee get up on a Horse, it is a signe that he goeth for the warres: but if he get up upon an Elephant or Palankine, it will bee but an hunting voyage.

Hee was not blinded, and is since (as you shall see in Sir Tho. Roes relations) delivered out of prison.

My selfe in the time that I was one of his Courtiers, have seene many cruell deeds done by him. Five times a weeke, he commaundeth his brave Elephants to fight before him: and in the time of their fighting, either comming or going out, many times men are killed, or dangerously hurt by these Elephants. But if any be grievously hurt (which might very well escape) yet neverlesse that man is cast into the River, himselfe commaunding it, saying: dispatch him, for as long as he liveth, he will doe nothing else but curse me, and therefore it is better that he dye presently. I have seene many in this kind. Againe, hee delighteth to see men executed himselfe, and torne in peeces with Elephants. He put to death in my time his Secretary, onely upon suspicion, that Chan-channa should write unto the Decan King, who being sent for and examined about this matter, denied it: whereupon the King not having patience, arose from his seate, and with his Sword gave him his deadly

Cruell Executions.

[I. iii. 220.]

wound, and afterwards delivered him to bee torne by Elephants.

Likewise, it happened to one who was a great friend of mine (a chiefe man, having under his charge the Kings Ward-robe, and all Woollen Cloath, and all sorts of mercery, and his China dishes) that a faire China dish (which cost ninetie Rupias, or fortie five Rials of eight) was broken, in this my friends time, by a mischance (when the King was in his progresse) being packed amongst other things, on a Cammell, which fell and broke all the whole parcell. This Nobleman knowing how deerely the King loved this dish above the rest, presently sent one of his trusty servants to China-machina, over land to seeke for another, hoping that before he should remember that dish, he would returne with another like unto it: but his evill lucke was contrarie. For the King two yeares after remembred this dish, and his man was not yet come. Now, when the King heard that the dish was broken, he was in a great rage, commanding him to be brought before him, and to be beaten by two men, with two great whips made of cords: and after that he had received one hundred and twenty of these lashes, he commanded his Porters, who be appointed for that purpose, to beate him with their small Cudgels, till a great many of them were broken: at the least twenty men were beating of him, till the poore man was thought to bee dead, and then he was haled out by the heeles, and commaunded to prison. The next day the King demaunded whether he was living, answer was made, that he was: whereupon, he commanded him to be carried unto perpetuall prison. But the Kings Sonne being his friend, freed him of that, and obtained of his Father, that he might bee sent home to his owne house, and there be cured. So after two moneths, he was reasonably well recovered, and came before the King, who presently commanded him to depart the Court, and never come againe before him, untill he had found such a like dish, and that hee travell for China-machina to seeke it: the King

Severity.

China-machina.

China-machina.

allowed him five thousand Rupias towards his charges; and besides, returning one fourth part of his living that he had before, to maintaine him in his travell. He being departed, and foureteene moneths on his travell, was not yet come home: but newes came of him, that the King of Persia had the like dish, and for pitties sake hath sent it him, who at my departure was on his way homeward.

Likewise, in my time it happened, that a Pattan, a man of good stature, came to one of the Kings Sonnes, *Sultan Pervis.* named Sultan Pervis, to intreat him to bestow somewhat on him, by petition delivered to one of the Princes chiefe men, at the delivery whereof, the Prince caused him to come neere: and demanding of him whether hee would serve him; he answered, No, for he thought that the Prince would not grant him so much as he would aske. The Prince seeing him to be a pretty fellow, and meanely apparelled, smiled, demanding what would content him: *Proud demand.* hee told him plainly, that hee would neither serve his Father nor him, under a thousand Rupias a day, which is 100. pound sterling. The Prince asked him what was in him that he demanded so much; he replyed, make tryall of me with all sorts of weapons, either on horseback, or on foote, and for my sufficient command in the warres, if I doe not performe as much as I speake, let mee dye for it. The houre being come for the Prince to go to his Father, he gave over his talk, commanding the man to be forth comming. At night the Kings custome being to drinke, the Prince perceiving his Father to be merry, told him of this man: so the King commaunded him to be brought before him. Now while he was sent for, a wilde Lyon was brought in, a very great one, strongly chained, and led by a dozen men and keepers: and while the King was viewing this Lyon, the Pattan came in, at whose sight the Prince presently remembred his Father. The King demanding of this Pattan, whence he was, and of what parentage, and what valour was in him, that he should demand so much wages: his answer was, that the King should make tryal of him.

That I will, saith the King, goe wrastle and buffet with this Lyon. The Pattans answer was, that this was a wild beast, and to goe barely upon him without weapon, would be no triall of his man-hood. The King not regarding his speech, commanded him to buckle with the Lion, who did so, wrastling and buffeting with the Lyon a pretty while: and then the Lyon being loose from his keepers, but not from his chaines, got the poore man within his clawes, and tore his body in many parts: and with his pawes tore the one halfe of his face, so that this valiant man was killed by this wilde beast. The King not yet contented, but desirous to see more sport, sent for ten men that were of his horse-men in pay, being that night on the watch: for it is the custome of all those that receive pay, or living from the King, to watch once a weeke, none excepted, if they be well, and in the Citie. These men one after another, were to buffet with the Lyon, who were all grievously wounded, and it cost three of them their lives. The King continued three moneths in this vaine, when he was in his humors, for whose pleasure sake, many men lost their lives, and many were grievously wounded. So that ever after, untill my comming away, some fifteene young Lyons were made tame, and played one with another before the King, frisking betweene mens legs, and no man hurt in a long time.

Cruell command.

Bloody experiments.

Likewise, he cannot abide, that any man should have any precious stone of value, for it is death if he know it not at that present time, and that he hath the refusall thereof. His Jeweller, a Bannian, named Herranand, had bought a Diamond of three Mettegals, which cost one hundred thousand Rupias: which was not so closely done, but newes came to the King: Herranand likewise was befriended, beeing presently acquainted therewith, who before the King sent for him, came unto him, and challenged the King that he had often promised him that he would come to his house: the King answered that it was true. Herranand therefore replyed, that now was the time, for that he had a faire Present to bestow upon

Jewels and Gemmes.

[I. iii. 221.]

Costly entertainment.

his Majestie: for that he had bought a stone of such a weight. The King smiled, and said, Thy lucke was good to prevent me. So preparation was made, and to the Bannians house he went. By this meanes, the King had ingrossed all faire stones, that no man can buy from five Carats upwards, without his leave: for he hath the refusall of all, and giveth not by a third part so much as their value. There was a Diamant cutter of my acquaintance, that was sent for to cut a Diamant of three Mettegals and a halfe, who demanded a small foule Diamant to make powder, wherewith to cut the other Diamant. They brought him a Chest, as he said, of three spannes long, and a spanne and halfe broad, and a spanne and halfe deepe, full of Diamants of all sizes and sorts: yet could he find never any one for his purpose, but one of five Rotties, which was not very foule neither.

An inestimable rich coffer of Diamonds.

He is exceeding rich in Diamants, and all other precious stones, and usually weareth every day a faire Diamant of great price, and that which he weareth this day, till his time be come about to weare it againe, he weareth not the same: that is to say, all his faire Jewels are divided into a certaine quantitie or proportion, to weare every day. He also weareth a chaine of Pearle, very faire and great, and another chaine of Emeralds, and ballace Rubies. Hee hath another Jewell, that commeth round about his Turbant, full of faire Diamants and Rubies. It is not much to bee wondered, that he is so rich in Jewels, and in Gold and Silver, when he hath heaped together the Treasure and Jewels of so many Kings, as his forefathers have conquered, who likewise were a long time in gathering them together: and all came to his hands. Againe, all the money and Jewels which his Nobles heape together, when they die come all unto him, who giveth what hee listeth to the Noblemens wives and children: and this is done to all them that receive pay, or living from the King. India is rich in silver, for all Nations bring Coyne, and carry away commodities for the same; and this Coyne is buried in India,

Cause of so great wealth.

and goeth not out: so it is thought, that once in twentie yeeres it commeth into the Kings power. All the lands in his Monarchie are at his disposing, who giveth and taketh at his pleasure. If I have lands at Lahor, being sent unto the warres at Decan, another hath the lands, and I am to receive mine in Decan, or thereabouts, neere the place where I am, whether it be in the warres, or that I be sent about any other businesse, for any other countrey. And men are to looke well unto their doings: for if they be found tardie in never so little a matter, they are in danger of loosing their lands: and if complaints of Injustice which they doe, bee made unto the King, it is well if they escape with losse of their lands.

Those lands which are let pay to the king two thirds of the profit: and of those which he giveth in fee, one third remaineth to the King. In all the world is not more fertile land, then in some great parts of his Dominions.

He is very severe in such causes, and with all severitie punisheth those Captaines, who suffer out-lawes to give assault unto their Citie, without resisting. In my time there were some eight Captaines, who had their living upon the borders of Bengala, in a chiefe Citie called Pattana, which was suffered to be taken by out-lawes, and they all fled: but that Citie was againe restored by a great Captaine, who was Commander of a Countrey neere thereabouts; who tooke all those Captaines that fled, and sent them to the King to use punishment upon them at his pleasure. So they were brought before the King in chaines, and were presently commanded to be shaven, both head and beard, and to weare womens apparell, riding upon asses, with their faces backwards, and so carried about the Citie. This being done, they were brought before the King againe, and there whipped, and sent to perpetuall prison: and this punishment was inflicted upon them in my sight. He is severe enough, but all helpeth not, for his poore Riats or Clownes complaine of Injustice done them, and cry for Justice at the Kings hands. They come to a certaine place, where a long rope is fastened unto two pillars, neere unto the place where the King sitteth in Justice. This rope is hanged full of Bels, plated with gold, so that the rope beeing shaken, the Bels are heard by the King: who sendeth to know the cause,

Punishment of Cowards.

A chiefe Citie called Pattana.

and doth his Justice accordingly. At his first comming to the Crowne, he was more severe then now he is, which is the cause that the Countrey is so full of outlawes, and theeves, that almost a man cannot stirre out of doores, throughout all his Dominions, without great forces: for they are all become Rebels.

He calleth rebels (as the Mogols did) those that refused subjection, though perhaps some of them were free Kings, as this Ragane, or Ranna, supposed the true successor of Porus whom Alexander conquered. He is now brought, or bought rather (as they say) peaceably to acknowledge tribute to the Mogol. [I. iii. 222.]

There is one great Ragane betwixt Agra and Amadanar, who commandeth as much land as a good Kingdome: and all the forces the Mogol hath, cannot bring him in, for his forces are upon the Mountaines. He is twentie thousand strong in Horse, and fiftie thousand strong in Foote, and many of these Rebels are in all his Dominions: but this is one of the greatest. There are many risen at Candahar, Cabul, Moldun, and Sinde, and in the Kingdome of Boloch: Bengala likewise, Decan, and Guzerat are full, so that a man can travell no way for out-lawes. Their Government is in such a barbarous kind, and cruell exacting upon the Clownes, which causeth them to be so head-strong. The fault is in the Chiefe, for a man cannot continue halfe a yeere in his living, but it is taken from him and given unto another: or else the King taketh it for himselfe (if it be rich ground, and likely to yeeld much) making exchange for a worse place: or as he is befriended of the Vizir. By this meanes he racketh the poore, to get from them what he can, who still thinketh every houre to be put out of his place. But there are many, who continue a long time in one place, and if they remaine but sixe yeeres, their wealth which they gaine is infinite, if it be a thing of any sort. The custome is, they are allowed so much living to maintaine that Port which the King hath given them, that is to say; they are allowed twentie Rupias of everie horse by the Moneth, and two Rupias by the Moneth for every horse Fame, for the maintenance of their Table. As thus: A Captaine that hath five thousand horse to maintaine in the warres, hath likewise of Fame other five thousand, which he is not to maintaine in the warres, but onely for his Table, allowed upon every horse by the Moneth two Rupias, and the

other five thousand, twenty Rupias by the Moneth: and this is the pay which the greater part of them are allowed.

The great Mogul his devotions. Some suppose him author of a new sect.

Now here I meane to speake a little of his manners, and customes in the Court. First, in the morning about the breake of day, he is at his Beades, with his face turned to the West-ward. The manner of his praying when he is in Agra, is in a private faire roome, upon a goodly Jet stone, having onely a Persian Lamb-skinne under him: having also some eight chaines of Beads, every one of them containing foure hundred. The Beads are of rich Pearle, ballace Rubyes, Diamonds, Rubyes, Emeralds, Lignum Aloes, Eshem, and Corall. At the upper end of this Jet stone, the Pictures of our Lady and Christ are placed, graven in stone: so he turneth over his Beads, and saith, three thousand two hundred words, according to the number of his Beads, and then his Prayer is ended. After he hath done, he sheweth himselfe to the people, receiving their Salames, or good morrowes, unto whom multitudes resort every morning for this purpose. This done, hee sleepeth two houres more, and then dineth, and passeth his time with his Women, and at noone hee sheweth himselfe to the people againe, sitting till three of the clocke, viewing and seeing his Pastimes, and sports made by men, and fighting of many sorts of beasts, every day sundry kinds of Pastimes. Then at three of the clocke, all the Nobles in generall (that be in Agra, and are well) resort unto the Court, the King comming forth in open audience, sitting in his Seat-Royall, and every man standing in his degree before him, his chiefest sort of the Nobles standing within a red Rayle, and the rest without. They are all placed by his Lieutenant Generall. This red Rayle, is three steppes higher then the place where the rest stand: and within this red Rayle I was placed, amongst the chiefest of all. The rest are placed by Officers, and they likewise be within another very spacious place rayled: and without that Rayle, stand all sorts of horsemen and souldiers, that belong unto his Captaines, and all other commers. At these Rayles, there are many

The great Mogols spending his time.

The red rayle.

doores kept by many Porters, who have white rods to keepe men in order. In the middest of the place, right before the King, standeth one of his Sheriffes, together with his Master Hangman, who is accompanied with forty hangmen, wearing on their heads a certaine quilted cap, different from all others, with an Hatchet on their shoulders: and others with all sorts of Whips, being there, readie to doe what the King commandeth. The King heareth all causes in this place, and stayeth some two houres every day (these Kings of India sit daily in Justice every day, and on the Tuesdayes doe their executions.) Then he departeth towards his private place of Prayer: his Prayer beeing ended, foure or five sorts of very well dressed and roasted meats are brought him, of which as hee pleaseth, he eateth a bit to stay his stomacke, drinking once of his strong drinke. Then hee commeth forth into a private roome, where none can come, but such as himselfe nominateth, (for two yeeres together I was one of his attendants here.) In this place he drinketh other five cupfuls, which is the portion that the Physicians alot him. This done, he eateth Opium, and then he ariseth, and being in the height of his drinke, he layeth him downe to sleepe, every man departing to his owne home. And after he hath slept two houres, they awake him, and bring his Supper to him, at which time he is not able to feed himselfe; but it is thrust into his mouth by others, and this is about one of the clocke: and then he sleepeth the rest of the night.

Captain Hawkins, two yeeres together neere the great Mogol.

Now in the space of these sixe cups, he doth many idle things; and whatsoever he doth, either without or within, drunken or sober, he hath writers, who by turnes set downe every thing in writing which he doth: so that there is nothing passeth in his life time, which is not noted: no, not so much as his going to the necessary; and how often he lieth with his women, and with whom: and all this is done unto this end, that when he dieth, these writings of al his actions and speeches, which are worthy to be set downe, might be recorded in the Chronicles. At

my being with him, he made his brothers children Christians; the doing whereof was not for any zeale he had to Christianitie, as the Fathers, and all Christians thought; but upon the prophecie of certain learned Gentiles, who told him, that the sonnes of his body should be disinherited, and the children of his brother should raigne. And therefore he did it, to make these children hatefull to all Moores, as Christians are odious in their sight: and that they beeing once Christians, when any such matter should happen, they should find no subjects: but God is omnipotent, and can turne the making of these Christians unto a good ende, if it be his pleasure.

The Mogol makes his brothers children Christians. This Christianitie is since disclaymed, & was then but a tricke, rather of sensualitie, then of devotion or state.

This King amongst his children, hath one called Sultan Shariar, of seven yeeres of age, and his Father on a day, being to goe some whether to solace him selfe, demanded of him whether hee would goe with him: the child answered, That if it pleased his Highnesse, he would either goe or stay, as the pleasure of his Father was. But because his answer was not, that withall his heart he would [I. iii. 223.] waite upon his Majestie, he was very well buffeted by the King, and that in such sort, that no child in the world but would have cryed; which this child did not. Wherefore his Father demanded why he cryed not; he answered, That his Nurses told him, that it was the greatest shame in the world, for Princes to cry when they were beaten: and ever since they nurtured me in this kind, saith he, I never cryed, and nothing shall make me cry to the death. Upon which speech, his Father being more vexed, stroke him againe, and caused a bodkin to bee brought him, which he thrust through his cheeke; but all this would not make him cry, although he bled very much, which was admired of all, that the Father should doe this unto his child, and that he was so stout, that hee would not crie. There is great hope of this child to exceed all the rest.

This Emperour keepeth many feasts in the yeare, but two feasts especially may be nominated; the one called the Nourous, which is in honour of the New-yeares day.

Two feasts.

This feast continueth eighteene daies, and the wealth and riches are wonderfull, that are to be seene in the decking and setting forth of every mans roome, or place where he lodgeth, when it is his turne to watch: for every Nobleman hath his place appointed him in the Palace. In the middest of that spacious place I speake of, there is a rich Tent pitched, but so rich, that I thinke the like cannot bee found in the world. This Tent is curiously wrought, and hath many Seminans joyning round about it, of most curious wrought Velvet, embroidered with Gold, and many of them are of Cloath of Gold and Silver. These Seminans be shaddowes to keepe the Sunne from the compasse of this Tent. I may say, it is at the least two Acres of ground, but so richly spread with Silke and Gold Carpets, and Hangings in the principall places, rich, as rich Velvet imbroydered with Gold, Pearle, and precious stones can make it. Within it five Chaires of Estate are placed, most rich to behold, where at his pleasure the King sitteth. There are likewise private roomes made for his Queenes, most rich where they sit, and see all, but are not seene. So round about this Tent, the compasse of all may bee some five Acres of ground. Every principall Noble-man maketh his roome and decketh it, likewise every man according to his ability, striveth who may adorne his roome richest. The King where he doth affect, commeth to his Noble-mens roomes, and is most sumptuously feasted there: and at his departure, is presented with the rarest Jewels and toyes that they can find. But because he will not receive any thing at that time as a present, he commandeth his Treasurer to pay what his praysers valew them to bee worth, which are valewed at halfe the price. Every one, and all of his Nobles provide toyes, and rare things to give him at this feast: so commonly at this feast every man his estate is augmented. Two daies of this feast, the better sort of the Women come to take the pleasure thereof: and this feast beginneth at the beginning of the Moone of March. The other feast is some foure moneths after, which is called the feast

An exceeding rich Tent.

of his Birth-day: This day every man striveth who may be the richest in apparell and Jewels. After many sports and pastimes performed in his Palace, he goeth to his mothers house, with all the better sort of his Nobles, where every man presenteth a Jewell unto his Mother, according to his estate. After the bancket is ended, the King goeth into a very faire roome, where a ballance of beaten Gold is hanged, with one scale emptie for him to sit in; the other scale being filled with divers things, that is to say, Silver, Gold, divers sorts of Grain a little, and so of every kind of Mettall a little, and with all sorts of precious stones some: In fine, he weigheth himselfe with these things, which the next day are given to the poore, and all may be valued to be worth * ten thousand pounds. This day, before he goeth unto his mothers house, every man bringeth him his Present, which is thought to be ten times more worth, then that which he giveth to the poore. This done, every man departeth unto his home.

The feast of his Birth-day.

**See hereof Sir Thom. Roe.*

His custome is, that when you petition him for any thing, you must not come empty handed, but give him some toy or other, whether you write or no: by the gift you give him, he knoweth that you would demand some thing of him: so after enquiry is made, if he seeth it convenient, he granteth it.

The custome of the Indians, is to burne their dead, as you have read in other Authors, and at their burning, many of their Wives will burne with them: because they will be registred in their bookes, for famous and most modest and loving Wives, who leaving all worldly affaires, content themselves to live no longer then their Husbands. I have seene many proper Women brought before the King, whom (by his commandement) none may burne without his leave and sight of them, I meane those of Agra. When any of these commeth, hee doth perswade them with many promises of gifts and living if they will live: but in my time no perswasion could prevaile, but burne they would. The King seeing that all would not serve, giveth his leave for

Voluntary burning of women with their dead husbands.

her to be carried to the fire, where she burneth her selfe alive with her dead husband.

Likewise his custome is, when any great Noble-man hath beene absent from him two or three yeares, if they come in favour, and having performed well, hee receiveth them in manner and forme following.

Favourable entertainment of the Grandee.

First, the Noble-man stayeth at the gate of the Pallace, till the Vizir and Lieutenant Generall, and Knight Martiall come to accompany him unto the King: then he is brought to the gate of the outermost rayles, whereof I have spoken before, where hee standeth in the view of the King, in the middest betweene these two Nobles; then he [I. iii. 224.] toucheth the ground with his hand, and also with his head, very gravely, and doth thus three times. This done, he kneeleth downe touching the ground with his fore-head, which being once done, he is carried forward towards the King, and in the midway he is made to doe this reverence againe: then he commeth to the doore of the red rayles, doing the like reverence the third time: and having thus done, he commeth within the red rayles, and doth it once more upon the Carpets. Then the King commandeth him to come up the staires or ladder of seaven steppes, that he may embrace him; where the King most lovingly embraceth him before all the people, whereby they shall take notice, that he is in the Kings favour. The King having done this, he then commeth downe, and is placed by the Lieutenant Generall according to his degree. Now if he come in disgrace, through exclamations made against him, he hath none of these honours from the King, but is placed in his place till he come to his tryall. This King is very much adored of the Heathen Comminalty, insomuch, that they will spread their bodies all upon the ground, rubbing the earth with their faces on both sides. They use many other fopperies and superstitions, which I omit, leaving them for other Travellers, which shall come from thence hereafter.

Funerall feast or Obit for his Father?

After I had written this, there came into my memory another Feast, solemnized at his Fathers Funerall, which

is kept at his Sepulchre, where likewise himselfe, with all his posterity, meane to be buried. Upon this day there is great store of victuals dressed, and much money given to the poore. This Sepulchre may be counted one of the rarest Monuments of the world. It hath beene this foure-teene yeares a building, and it is thought it will not be finished these seaven yeares more, in ending gates and walls, and other needfull things, for the beautifying and setting of it forth. The least that worke there daily, are three thousand people: but thus much I will say, that one of our Worke-men will dispatch more then three of them. The Sepulchre is some ¾. of a mile about made square: it hath seaven heights built, every height narrower then the other, till you come to the top where his Herse is. At the outermost gate, before you come to the Sepulchre, there is a most stately Palace building: the compasse of the wall joyning to this gate of the Sepulchre and garding, being within, may be at the least three miles. This Sepulchre is some foure miles distant from the Citie of Agra.

Sumptuous Sepulchre.

Chap. VIII.

The Voyage of M. David Middleton in the Consent, a Ship of one hundred and fifteene Tuns, which set forth from Tilburie Hope, on the twelfth of March, 1606.

WE anchored in the Roade of Saldania all our men in good health: onely Peter Lambert the day before fell off the top-most head, whereof he dyed. *The 16. of July, 1607.*

The one and twentieth, the Captain and Master went to Pengwin Iland, three leagues distant from the Roade, where wee saw such abundance of Seales and Pengwins, that it was admirable, for you may drive five hundred Pengwins together in a flocke, and thousands of Seales together upon the shore. The Iland is not above some three miles

long, and some two miles broad: but in mine opinion, there is not an Iland in the world more frequented with Fowle and Seales then this Iland. It hath Pengwins, Wilde-geese, Ducke, Drake, and Pellicanes, and divers other Fowle, and after some pleasure taken there, we returned againe unto our ship.

Having bought some Cattle, and ended all our businesse, and our men well refreshed, wee weighed Anchor the nine and twentieth day, about foure of the clocke in the morning, with very little wind, and came out of the Road of Saldania, our men in very good health, and loath to depart without the company of our Admirall and Vice-Admirall: but we were not certaine of their arrivall there, which made us make so little stay, so directing our course for S. Laurence, we left Saldania.

The thirtieth day calme all day, till three of the clocke in the afternoone, and then we had a fresh gale at South-west, and we steered away halfe a watch South and by West, and two watches and an halfe South-East, and at tenne of the clocke at night the Cape De Bona Esperansa, bare North of us, and all that night blew very much winde, and the Sea much growne: and the ship came betwixt twelve of the clocke at night, and twelve of the clocke next day, being the one and thirtieth of July, nine and twenty leagues, all this day a very pleasant gale, sometimes raine, we came foure leagues from the Cape.

August 1. 1607. *Cape Agullis North fifty five fathome.* The first of August we had very faire weather, sometimes a gale, and sometimes calme, continuing so all day, and we steered away two watches South-East and by East, and three watches at East and by South, the wind variable, sometimes at South, and sometimes at South by East darke weather, and she ran some one and twenty leagues, then wee were in five and thirty degrees, and twenty two minuts of height.

[I. iii. 225.] The seven and twentieth of August, the winde at North-west, and we steered away East, and by South; and at two of the clocke, we saw the land of S. Laurence, or Madagascar, by estimation some sixe leagues off; and then we

steered away North, and by West, and at noone we observed, and made the ship to be in twentie foure degrees, and fortie minutes, the variation at night sixteene degrees, and twentie three minutes.

The thirtieth, at five of the clocke in the afternoone, we anchored in the Bay of S. Augustine, in sixe fathome and an halfe, great gravell; and we were inforced to goe to lee-ward, being to the roome-wards of the Road before we could get in, by reason of a great breach that lyes off the bay, and then came in close upon a tacke, and had in comming in seven, sixe and an halfe, and five fathomes all the way, and came very faire by the breach, and rid in the Road, with two Ilands in the wind of us, and the breach both. *Bay of S. Augustine.*

The one and thirtieth day, our Captaine with M. Davis went in our long boat to viewe the Ilands, and I my selfe as we went, sounded close aboord the Breach, and had sixe fathomes. One of the Ilands is very small, as it were a banke of sand, and nothing on it: the other is about a mile in length, and halfe a mile in breadth, and nothing upon it, but some small store of Wood.

The first of September, 1607. we weighed anchor from our first place, and came within two miles of the mouth of the River, and rid in five fathome and an halfe, very fast ground, for where we rid before it was very foule ground, so that we brake one of our Cables in the weighing. I judge it to be some three leagues from our first place, where we had very foule ground.

The seventh day, having ended all our businesse, being provided of wood and water, and all things else, we weighed anchor in the morning about five of the clocke, with the wind at East and by North a pleasant gale, and we steered away, comming out West, and West and by North, til we were cleere of the Breaches, and we brought to sea with us foure Goats, three Sheep, and a yong Heifer: here we found great plenty of victualls, both Sheepe and Beeves for little value. This day we observed some three miles from the Iland, before the Bay of S. *A marke on shore most like a barne or a long house.*

Augustine, and wee made it to be in twenty three degrees and fortie eight minutes of latitude, and after wee were cleare of the Breach, which lies to the North-ward of the Iland, we steered away South South-west, and South and by West, sometimes with very faire weather, the wind at South-East, and by East a pleasant gale.

The eleventh, a fresh gale at South-east, and South-east and by East, and wee stood into the shore till midnight, and then we saw a great breach, right a head hard by us, but wee heard the rut before we saw it (God be praised) and so we tackd, and stood off againe presently. And at noone observed, and made the Ship to be in twentie five degrees, and twentie two minutes of latitude.

The twelfth of November in the morning, we saw an Iland, and stood to make it, and found it to be Ingana, and came to the North-side of it: the Iland is in length five leagues or thereabot: it lies East and by South, and West and by North: the Easter end is the highest land, and the Wester end is full of trees. It lies in latitude in five degrees and an halfe, and the variation is foure degrees and thirteene minutes. So after we had made it, having the wind at West North-west, we steered away for the maine of Sumatra East and by South, and East South-east
Novemb. 13. 1607. a pleasant gale, but very much raine: so the thirteenth day in the morning, wee saw the maine land of Sumatra some foure leagues from us.

The foureteenth, we anchored in Bantam Roade, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, being Saturday, where we found the Merchants in very good health, and all things in good order. The next day our Captaine went on shore, and spake with M. Towerson concerning the shippes businesse, and agreed to have our Iron and Lead a shore, which we brought with us: which beeing effected, with some roomaging, and having fitted our ship in good order, and taken in Merchandize, and our Merchants for the Moluccos, with leave taken of the Merchants, we set
Decemb. 6. 1607. saile from Bantam Roade the sixt of December, 1607. with little wind, and came out of the Roade, and anchored that

night in sight of the high land of Bantam. The next day, weighed in the morning, and sailed with a prosperous wind still continuing faire, passing many Ilands, and sunken ground. Some nights we sayled, and other-some lay a hull: raine, thunder, and lightening was no strange thing to us in those parts, but one comfort we had, that God gave us a fayre wind, wherewith we sayled merrily on our intended Voyage.

In the beginning of Januarie, they arrived at the Moluccos. The rest of this Moneth was spent in entertainments and complements betwixt Ours and the Spaniards, as likewise with the Moluccan Princes. So was the whole Moneth of February also. The reason was, The Spaniards durst not admit us trade till the Camp Master had given leave. And he in those broyles twixt him and the Hollanders, except Ours would doe or seeme to doe some piece of service, at least accompanying their ships for greater shew (which our Captaine absolutely refused, being against his Commission) excused himselfe. Meane while they had privy trade with the people by night, and were Joviall and frolicke by day with the Spaniards, which both gave and received kind welcomes. In the beginning of March, they were permitted open trade. But this within few dayes was countermanded, and wee commanded to bee gone. And thus they spent the time till March the foureteene, when they weighed anchor, and set saile. Some trade they had also in the way. This part of the Journall is long, and I have omitted it, as elsewhere in those things which I thought might be tedious. [I. iii. 226.]

March, 23. 1608. *Straits of Bangaya.*

The three and twentieth, 1608. we entered the Straits of Bangaya. Whereunto having entered, our Captaine determined to send off his long boat to seeke for water, for here he purposed to store himselfe therewith. While he was thus determining, there came a Praw off from the Iland, with all the speed he could make, who came unto us, and spake with us, of whom we demaunded, whether there were any fresh water in that Iland: who made answer, that if our Captaine pleased, he would bring us to very

good water: whereupon we stood over for the East shore, and anchored about one of the clocke in the afternoone, in sixtie fathomes of water, where there runs a most cruell Current. Then after we came to anchor, fitting our long Boat with caske, we went with the Indian to fetch water: where while they were fitting the Boat, he sold some fresh fish for China dishes, very cheape. So at night our men came aboord, and brought very good water, but had a wearisome rowth of it, being five miles distant from the place where we anchored.

The foure and twentieth in the morning, we went againe for an other Boats lading of water: and this morning by day breake, there came of the countrey people above one hundred Prawes, men and women, and brought us fish, both dry fish, and fresh fish very good, of both kinds great plentie, and very cheape. They brought us also Hogges, great and small, which they sold us for course white cloth, and Hennes and Cocks in abundance at the like price: some for China dishes, and some for cloth. They brought us also fruits, as Plantans, Cassathoe roots, and divers other fruits, and staied aboord us all day, that sometimes we were not able to stirre up and downe the ship for them. In the afternoone, the King sent our Captaine some Plantans, and Irea pote to drinke, which is a kind of water called by that name; our Captain gave the Messenger great thanks in his Kings behalfe, and to requite his kindnesse, sent him a rich Pintado. Then he departed, and all the rest: and about tenne of the clocke at night we weighed anchor, and in the weighing, wee broke both our Star-boord anchors flooks. Then sayling away with very little wind, at length manned our long Boate, and towed our ship all night: for if we had not towed her in this calme, we had been driven to lee-ward more then we should have gotten againe in three dayes, without a fresh gale of wind, the Current runnes so strong there.

King of Buttone. The nineteenth of Aprill, the King of Buttone sent one of his brothers againe, to know whether our Captaine were willing he should come aboord; for he was very

desirous to see both him and our ship; because he had heard much of Englishmen, but never saw any. Our Captaine sent him word, that he should think himselfe much graced if he came. Presently the King came off in his Caricoll, rowed at least with an hundred oares, having in her besides about foure hundred men with armes, well appointed to fight, and sixe brasse pieces, and in her company five Caricols more, which had at the least a thousand men in them: so our Captaine sent according to his demand, a pledge for him, one Francis Kelly which was our Surgeon. Then he came aboord our Captaine, who kindly entertained him, and intreated him to take part of a banquet of sweet meates, which he kindly accepted; and after the banquet ended, our Captaine demanded what he had to sell: who replyed, he had Pearle, and Turtell shels, and some cloth, which they make themselves, which as we thought was made of Cotton stript. Then our Captaine intreated to see some of his Pearle; who said, he had none there, for he came but upon pleasure, not thinking to have met with any ship: but if it pleased him to goe with his ship to Buttone (which was some night and a dayes sailing thence) he should see great store of Pearle, and any thing that hee had to sell. And because (said he) the place is unknowne to you, I will send you a Pilot, which shall bring you thither: our Captaine and Factor considering of his speeches, thought best to accept of his kind offer, in regard it was nothing out of the way to Bantam: and bestowed upon him a Musket, a Sword, and a Pintado, thanking him for his kindnesse, that he would vouchsafe to come aboord his ship: to whom the King made answer, that he had not any now worth the giving to bestow upon our Captaine, but promised to requite his kindnesse before his departure: and in the meane time intreated our Captaine to accept of two peices of their cloth, who received them with many thanks. About three of the clocke in the afternoone he tooke his leave of our Captaine, promising presently to send us a Pilot, to carry us to the Towne of Buttone. Then wee brought the Cable to the Capstoll,

and weighed, and the Pilot came aboord. And at night the King sent a Caricoll unto us, to see if we wanted any thing, and to beare us company to Buttone, by whom he sent our Captaine a Goat. Then we stood away for Buttone with a small gale, but at night it was calme, and the tyde against us, and we came to an anchor in two and twenty fathomes of water, because we would not drive to lee-ward, and in the morning weighed againe, and stood for the Towne of Buttone.

The King of Cobino.

The one and twentieth, about tenne of the clocke, our Purser (who had beene sent a shore the day before) came aboord againe, and brought with him Hennes and Cocos, and told us that the Indians had carried him unto a King, who when he came unto him, was very glad to see him, because he was the first Englishman that ever he had seene. At his first comming to his house, hee found him drinking and carowsing with his Nobles, and round about where he sate, all hanged about with divers mens heads, which he before had conquered: so after some little stay, [I. iii. 227.] hee tooke his leave, and came to the Caracoll againe, and lay all night aboord her. This night we anchored in twentie fathomes of water, the place not halfe a mile broad.

The two and twentieth in the morning, it was very little wind, yet wee weighed, and our long Boat towed us through the Straits, seeing the tide was with us, and she went a head amaine: so about eleven of the clocke, we came in sight of the Towne of Buttone, and came to anchor in five and twentie fathomes of water, some mile and an halfe from the Towne, where wee staid the Kings comming, but he came not that night. Here we sent our Boat ashore, and bought fresh fish for our Companie.

The three and twentieth, about one of the clocke in the afternoone, the King came up under our sterne, and with him some fortie Caracols, and rowed round about us, very gallantly set forth with his colours and pendants: and after this, they rowed toward the towne, and our Captaine intertained him with a voley of small shot, and all his

Ordnance; and after, caused his long Boat to be manned, then accompanied with M. Siddall and his followers, went ashore to the Towne of Buttone. The King likewise entertained our Captaine with his smal shot, and his Ordnance, affirming that his heart was now at rest, seeing he had seen the English Nation: promising to do our Captaine all the kindnesse that in him lay: whereat our Captaine gave him humble thanks, and for that time tooke his leave, and came aboord, and in the morning weighed, and stood further into the Roade, and anchored in seven and twentie fathomes of water, some halfe a mile from the shore.

They goe on shore to Buttone.

The foure and twentieth in the morning, there came aboord our ship a Java Nokeyday, which had a Juncke in the Road laden with Cloves, which came from Amboyna, with whom our Factor M. Siddall talked: this Javan promised our Captaine (if so he pleased) hee should have all his Cloves. The King intreated our Captaine to take part of his dinner, and to beare with the homely fashion of their Countrey: for comming into the Roome where they sate, their meate was served in, in great Chargers made of a kind of wood, close covered with clothes; thus their meat being set before them, the King, our Captaine, and M. Siddall dined together, where we had great cheare, and our drinke was Jera pote, very pleasant and sweete in tast, and the King was very merry. And after dinner he had some talke concerning the Cloves which wee should have, and promised the next day to come aboord himselfe, or send some one of his attendants, to see a muster of all his Cloath: then our Captaine give him great thanks, and tooke his leave, and came aboord.

The five and twentieth, the Kings Uncle came aboord of us to see our ship, where our Captaine kindly intertained him; and after him came the Kings brother, and stayed dinner with our Captaine, and after tooke his leave, we still expecting the Kings comming, but he came not himselfe, but sent his Sonne and the Pilot, and they had a view of the cloth, and liked it very well.

The sixe and twentieth, the King and his Sonne came aboord, and dined with our Captaine, and had great cheare, and the King was very merry, and much desired dauncing, whereupon some of our men danced before him, who was well pleased, both at their dauncing and musique: at night the Kings Unckle sent our Captaine foure fat Hogges.

The ship full laden with Cloves.

The seven and twentieth, there was another King of an Iland thereby, which came in his Caracoll, and his wife with him, who viewed our ship, but we could not intreat him to come aboord. Our ship being laden to the full with Cloves, bought in this place of the Javans, our Captaine bought some slaves of the King, and as we were busie this night, one of them stole out of our Captaines cabbin doore, and leapt into the sea, and swumme ashore, and was never heard of. Then our Captaine the next morning sent Augustine Spalding our Jurabassa, to certifie the King of his escape, and in what manner, who presently made restitution for it, and gave him another; and then taking leave of the King, came aboord. May the second, we proceeded for our intended and wished port of Bantam, and gave the Towne of Buttone three pieces of Ordnance for a farewell. The third we had sight of the Straights of Celebes, and stood into it with all the saile wee could make; but could not get so neere before night approaching.

May the two and twentieth, we anchored in the road of Bantam. We found not one Christian ship there, but foure China Junckes which came from China, as their use is with Taffaties, Damaskes, Sattens, and divers other Merchandises.

July the fifteenth, 1608. the Captaine and Merchants having ended all their businesse, tooke their leaves. After whose departure, we presently set saile out of the Road of Bantam, now bound homewards to our Native Countrey England, after our long and tedious Voyage. And to avoide the Readers like long and tedious voyage, the rest of this Voyage homewards is omitted, and in steed thereof, we have set downe a Table of the Journal of this ship from the Lizard to Bantam, as it was set forth by John Davis.

Chap. IX. [I. iii. 228.]

A briefe Narration of the fourth Voyage to the East-Indies, with the two good Shippes, the Ascention being Admirall, and the Union Vice-Admirall, under the commaund of Alexander Sharpey Generall, and Richard Rowles Lieutenant Generall, with the discovery of the Redde-Sea in the Ascention.

§. I.

Relations of the said Voyage, written by Thomas Jones.

IN an unfortunate houre, the foureteenth day of March, in the yeare of our Lord 1607. with the two tall Shippes, the Ascention and the Union, we weighed anchor at Woolwich.

The sixth of May 1608. having spent some daies in refreshing our men at Maio, we directed our course for the passing of the Equinoctiall, and so for the Cape of Bona Speranza South-east, and by South, and South South-east. The Equinoctiall we passed very speedily, and then you have the generall wind, that bloweth continually, between the South-east and South-east and by East: so that the further you sayle to the South-ward, you shall finde the wind to Easter the more, as betweene the Equinoctiall and the Tropicke of Capricorne. The eleventh day of June, in the Latitude of sixe and twenty degrees, being under the Tropicke, we met with a Caracke that was bound for India, her name was the Nova Palma. This Caracke was cast away afterward upon the Coast of Soffala, within twelve leagues of Mosambike: the Captaine of which said ship came Passenger home in the same Caracke that I came out of India in, being Admirall of the Fleete of foure sayle. So

Nova Palma a Carack.

The Capt. hereof came home in a Carack.

according to the custome of the Sea, having spent some complements in friendly manner, we departed from him, to follow our Voyage.

The Bay of Saldania. The thirteenth of July, we came to an Anchor in the Bay of Saldania, and staying there unto the five and twentieth of September, in building of a Pinnasse (at which time the Westerly Monsons have done blowing, and then the wind bloweth more betweene the South and the South-east.) The five and twentieth of September, wee came out of the Bay, and the sixe and twentieth of the same moneth, we were incountred with a mighty storme, at the South South-east, which blew so vehemently, that we split our fore-corse that night, and lost the company of our consort the Union, and our Pinnasse called the Good Hope, which we had built at the foresaid Cape, and never heard of them afterward, onely the Pinnasse excepted, which came to us to Aden in the Red-Sea. Thus with contrary winds, having before neglected our season of time, we beate up and downe the Sea in following our Voyage, unto the eighteenth day of November, before we could get the great Iland of S. Lawrence. But there wee beate two daies to get about Cape De S. Roman, but could not. This altered their minds, that they bore up for the Iland

Comora. of Comora, which standeth betwixt the Iland of S. Lawrence and the Maine, in the Southerly Latitude of eleven degrees. The sixe and twentieth day of October, we came to an Anchor on the Wester-side of the Iland, in sixe and thirty fathomes water. Heere we were used of the King and people, with all the kindnesse that might be: but could get no fresh water; yet had marvellous good refreshing of Limes, & some Hens, and Coco Nuts, which was a great comfort unto us. The last day of the said moneth we weighed Anchor, and departed from the Iland of Comora, and directed our course for the Iland of Zanzibar, minding there to relieve our wants of water. But through the default of our Master, wee over-shot the Iland of Zanzibar,

Pemba. and fell with the Iland of Pemba, having almost runne ashoare in the night before we did see it, the winds being

by the East North-east, we cast about, and stood off till day, thinking it to bee the Iland Zanzibar. When it was day, we found a place on the South-side of the Iland, having a Ledge of Rockes to the Eastward of us, here we road in seven or eight fathome water, being the seventh day of December. The Latitude of the place is sixe degrees to the South-ward, being the South-west end of the Iland. The eight of the said moneth, I went ashoare to seeke for water, of which we could not fill above sixe Tuns aday. We plyed our businesse with great recourse of the people, and familiarity with us, but all was in treachery. Having almost done our businesse, and onely lacking some foure or five Tunnes of water to fill, being the eighteenth day, I went ashore to fill those empty Caskes [I. iii. 229.] with water, where against my comming they had laid an Ambush of some two hundred men, which brake out upon us, yet, praised be God, wee did escape their hands, onely my Servant John Harington excepted, whom they tooke and murthered most cruelly, I not being able to rescue him. Also, they wounded a Servant of John Elmors, being one of our Masters Mates: but the youth recovered of his wounds, being eleven in number. Also a little before they did put their treachery in practice, one of the chiefe of them came unto me, desiring me to send one of our men with him to fetch a present for our Generall, which I granted, but the fellow never came againe. The young-man that went was borne in Greenewich, his name being Edward Church-man, who afterward dyed in Mombasa of a Bloudy-fluxe, as I was credibly informed of the Portugals. Also, while wee made our abode at Pemba, the Portugals were about to man a Flemmish Hulke, (which had wintered in Mombasa) to come to take our Shippe: but hearing of the force of our shippe, they altered their minds. The people of this Iland of Pemba be very cowardly people, and dare doe nothing of themselves without the inciting of the Portugals. We departed from thence the nineteenth day of the said moneth, determining to beate up betweene Pemba

Treacherous people.

Melinda. and the Maine of Melinda, in hope to finde the Current the stronger. But that night (to our great dismaying) wee came aground upon the Coast of Melinda, but at that very instant the wind did lander, so that with the backing of our Sayles a sterne, our ship went off to our no little comfort: so that night wee stood to the East-ward till day, our shippe (praised be God) having received no harme at all. When it was day, wee saw certaine showlds, that lay off the Easter end of Pemba, that we could not weather. Then wee cast about and stood to the North-ward: but in the end we had sight of three Barkes of Moores, which in their language they call Pangaies, which we gave chase unto with our Ship and Boats, and in the end fetched them up: they strucke saile without any resistance, and with our Boates we fetched them all aboord our shippe, who were in number fifty men, or there-abouts. These Moores had thought to have betrayed our shippe, as afterwards did appeare. For the chiefe of them being in the Cabbin with our Master, and our chiefe Merchant William Revet, and my selfe, he with his long Knife which he had hid privily about him, did stab our Master Philip Grove so sore, that we had thought he would not have lived: but contrary to the Moores expectation, I ended his daies in the place. The rest of the Moores likewise that were within the ship, did at that very instant put their Tragedy in practise, in stabbing of our Preacher, and one of our Merchants, but (praised be God) in a small time wee vanquished them all, so that there did not escape above five or sixe at the most, to carry newes of their fellowes, being a just revenge for our former wrongs. For when they did put this wickednesse in practise, we had not aboord our shippe above fifteene or sixteene men at the most, all the rest being imployed in our Boates. Afterwards, I was credibly informed by the Portugals, of the great lamentation which was made for these Moores, because they were of the cheife Gentlemen of all the Coast of Melinda, and of the blood Royall. Now after the spoile of these Barkes, we determined to stay no longer on the North side of

Three Pangaies taken.

W. Revet stabbed.

Revenge.

Pemba: so we put out of the West-end of the Iland againe, determining to beate up for the Iland of Socotora: but the winds hanging betweene the East, and East South-East, and finding small helpe of the Current, did altogether frustrate our determination. Then we determined to stand off to the South-ward, some two hundred or three hundred leagues, thinking to finde the windes at East South-east. But heere likewise we were frustrate of our hopes. For in the Offing we found the wind to hang at the East North-east, and at the North-East, and by East, that we lay beating in the Sea, from the twentieth day of December, unto the sixe and twentieth day of January, and then it was our good hap to meete with certaine Ilands, which wee named the Desolate Ilands, because there are not any Inhabitants upon them. These Ilands are (at the least) some twelve or thirteene in number, and ought very diligently to be sought of them, that shall travaile hereafter, because of the good refreshing that is upon them. Water is there in great abundance, also great store of Coco Nuts, great store of fresh Fish, and likewise store of Turtle-Doves, which are so tame, that one man may take with his hand twenty dozen in a day: also great store of Palmeto-trees, so that these Ilands seemed to us an earthly Paradise.

The desolate Ilands, not desolate of Coco Nuts & other provision.

Having refreshed our selves at the aforesaid Ilands, wee determined to follow our Voyage, but still were crossed with contrary winds, untill the thirtieth day of March, and then beginne the Westerly Monsons, then we got the Iland of Socotora. But having espyed a Sayle which was bound for the Red Sea, we gave chase, and in the end fetched them up, being bound for Aden, being glad of his company we consorted with him, and determined to goe both in company together. This ship did belong to Diu: but hee told us that hee did belong to Surat, telling us certaine newes of Captaine Hawkins, and of his being at Surat, whereof wee were very glad. Thus we held on our determined course untill the eight of Aprill, at which time we came to

Aden. an Anchor in the Roade of Aden, against the Citie. This Citie of Aden is under the Dominion of the Great Turke, and is the Key of all Arabia fœlix. The same day wee came thither, the Captaine of the Castle came aboord of us with twelve Souldiers to guard our Generall ashore: where when he came, he was received with all the honour [I. iii. 230.] that might bee, not suffering him once scantly to treade on the ground, but mounted him upon a faire Arabian Horse, and so in triumph he was carryed to the *Our Kings Letters to the Basha of Zenan or Sinan.* Governour of the Towne: where after kind intertainment, the Governour understanding that he had Letters from the Kings Majestie of England to the Bashaw of Zenan, whose aboade is fifteene dayes journey up into the Countrey from Aden, whither they were sent.

Their Pinnace came also to Aden. We remayned in the Road of Aden untill the tenth day of May, and then our Pinnace the Good Hope, which we had lost before at the Cape of Bona Esperanza, came to us, having indured great misery, and they had *John Luffken murdered.* murthered most shamefully their Master John Luffken, because (they said) he would not put in with the shoare to relieve them, beeing then at the Easterne end of Saint Laurence (but the chiefe cause was for his provision) and the next day they put in with the shoare, and came to an Anchor where they got both water and other *EdwardHilles left on land in S. Laurence.* provision. But heere they left my Servant Edward Hilles behind them, who (as they said) going to cut wood, could not bee heard off. The parties that did the Murther, so soone as they came to us had their reward, according to their deserts, being both executed aboord the Pinnace where they did the Murther, whose names were Thomas Clarke who was his Mate, and Francis Driver Gunner of the said Pinnace. Thus we remayned at Aden untill the fifteenth of the said moneth, and then our Generall and Master determined to goe for the Citie of Moka, which standeth up higher in the Red Sea some fortie leagues or thereabouts.

But at our departure from Aden, the Governour did detayne two of our Merchants, whose names were John

Jordan and Philip Glassecocke, and certaine Cloth, and so sent them up altogether to the Basha, where when they came, they were used most kindly; the Basha demanding of them, whether they had brought the Great Turke his Letter with them, they answered him no: whereupon he told them he could not give them any leave to settle a Factorie: but for the cloth which you have heere, I will take this for a present, because your ship is the first of the English Nation, that ever came into these parts. And seeing you are come, I give you leave to sell your goods, and buy what you will, and so to depart at your pleasure Custome free, because of the cloth which I detaine in my hands. Thus with much trouble, (because the Westerly Monson beganne to come in, and then the Current runneth out of the Red Sea) in the end we passed the Straights being not above one mile and an halfe broad at the most.

John Jordan and Philip Glascocke goe up to Zenan.

They passe the Streights of the Red Sea.

The eleventh of June we came to anchor in the Roade of Moka, where we were most kindly entertayned, and the same day our Generall went ashoare, where he was most lovingly received. This Citie of Moka is the chiefe Staple for all Indian Trade. For all the goods that are brought to Cairo and to Alexandria come from thence. We stayed in this Roade of Moka in trimming of our Pinnace untill the sixe and twentieth day of July, and then our Generall and Master determined to follow their Voyage for Cambaya, sore against the mindes of the Company, being the chiefe Officers of the ship. That night through the head-strongnesse of our Master, we lost two Anchors.

They arrive at Moka or Moha.

The seventh day of August we came to the Iland of Socotora, where we had so much winde at South, and South South-east, that we were hardly able with our ship to keepe the shore, which our Pinnace not being able to doe, was blowne off, having not above two or three dayes victuals in her at the most. Whilest we lay at this Iland of Socotora to get in a Boates lading of water, and two or three Boates of stones for ballast,

we had such forcible gales of wind, that we broke two more of our best Anchors, having lost (as is aforesaid) two before in the Red Sea: so vehemently doe those South-west windes blow at that Iland. In that time of the yeare, we now having but two left to supply our uses withall. We stayed at the Iland of Socotora untill the twentieth day of August, and then we wayed and directed our course for Cambaya.

Septemb. 1609. Diu. The second day of September we fell with the Coast of Diu, some eight leagues to the Eastward of Diu, we steered alongst the shoare some seven leagues more to the Eastward, and then came to an Anchor a head-land. The third day we sent our Skiffe ashore, where the people resorted [illegible] to us, having certaine conference with them, as also [illegible]aying of them sheepe and other things. They understanding that we were bound for Surat, one of them came aboord desiring of our Generall passage to Surat, as also certifying our Generall, that the way was very dangerous, offering him for seven pieces of eight, to fetch a Pilot which should conduct the ship safely to the Port. But (being ruled in most things by our Master) hee not regarding the words of the aforesaid Moore or Bannian. The fourth day we wayed Anchor about three of the Clocke in the afternoone, at the last quarter Ebbing; (if we had taken the first quarter floud, we should surely have had water over all those shoulds) so that night we runne on the shoulds and strooke our Rudder off, and the next day being the fift day of September, wee lost our ship also, that night we forsook our ship, and betook us to our two Boats, being a thing most miraculous, that so many men should be saved in two such small Boates, wee beeing at the least eightene leagues from the shore. Thus was this tall ship lost to the great hinderance of the worship-full Company, and to the utter undoing of all us the poore Mariners, being altogether overthrowne with all the treasure and goods, both of the Merchants and the poore Companies beeing so farre from our Native Coun-

They run upon the shoulds of Cambaya.

Ascention lost.

trey. We remayned upon the Sea in our Boates, untill the sixth day about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, [I. iii. 231.] and then we discovered Land which we made unto, with all the means we could possibly, indevouring the best we could to fall with the River of Surat. But note how the Lord did preserve us, having a[illegible]l said before, *Gods mercifull deliverance.* delivered us from the danger of the S[illegible]hee would not now suffer us to fall into the hand[illegible] our Enemies, I meane the Portugalls, who lay a[illegible]t time at the Barre of Surat, with five sayle of [illegible]s to take our Boates at our comming ashore, for [illegible]had intelligence of our ships comming before. I[illegible]ontrary to our mindes wee fell with the River of [illegible]deuee some five *Gandeuee.* leagues to the Southward of the [illegible] of Surat, where we were kindly entertayned of t[illegible]overnour of the Towne. Heere wee heard likewis[illegible] the comming of our Pinnace into the same River, [illegible]d of her fetching away by the Portugalls: but all the men had forsaken her, and were gone to Surat by Land.

The Govenour of this Towne of Gandeuee is *The Towne of Gandeuee.* a Bannyan, and one of those kind of people, that observe the Law of Pythagoras. They hold it a great sinne to eate of any thing that hath life or breath, but live of that which the Earth naturally affoordeth of it selfe. They likewise honour the Cow and have her in great estimation among them, and also observe the ancient custome of burning of their dead. It hath likewise in old time beene a great custome amongst them, for the women so soone as their Husbands were dead, to burne themselves alive with him: but now of late yeares they have learned more wit, and doe not use it so commonly. Yet those women that doe it not, have their haire cut, and ever after are held for no honest women, for that they will not accompany their Husbands into the other World, as they say.

The seventh day wee departed out of this Towne to travell for Surat, which might bee some fortie miles or thereabout, and the ninth day came thither where William

Finch keeping the Factory, met us; but Captaine Hawkins was gone up to the King to Agra. This Citie of Agra is from Surat some thirtie dayes journey: there the King is resident and keepeth his Court. Heere at Surat our Generall with our Company stayed till the latter end of September, and then himselfe with the rest of our Company went from Surat, and tooke their journey up for the Citie of Agra, so to travell by the way of Persia into England. But I holding no fit course for mee, determined with my selfe to take some other course for the returning into my Countrey. Whilest I was in many determinations, it pleased God of his goodnesse to send a Father of the Order of Saint Paul being a Portugall, who was to come from Cambaya to Surat by Land, with whom I came acquainted, he promising me, that if I would commit my selfe into his hands, hee would send mee home into my Countrey, or at the leastwise into Portugall, which promise he did accomplish most faithfully. In company of this Father, my selfe and three more of our Company, (Richard Mellis who dyed in the Caracke in the way homeward bound, John Elmor and one Robert Fox) departed from Surat the seventh day of October, and came into the strong Towne and Fortresse of Daman, where once againe I saw our Pinnace the Good Hope, that wee had built at the Cape of Bona Esperanza: from Daman wee came to Chaul from thence to Goa, the eighteenth day of November. The ninth day of January we were imbarked in a Caracke called Our Ladie of Pittie, beeing the Admirall of the Fleete of foure sayle, and so departed the Coast of India. The eight and twentieth day of January wee passed the Equinoctiall upon the Coast of India, and the one and twentieth of March we fell with the land in thirtie three degrees and an halfe, some five leagues Eastward of Cape de Agulas, where wee lay with contrary windes, untill the second of Aprill, and then wee were incountred with a mightie storme at the West South-west, which blew so vehemently that wee were

Agra.

Daman.

Chaul.

Goa.

Our Lady of Pitie.

Cape de Agulas.

forced to beare up sixe houres before the Sea, and then it pleased God to send us faire weather. The fourth day of Aprill we fell with land againe in thirtie foure degrees and fortie minutes. Then we lay driving to and againe in the Sea, with contrary windes, and in sight of the shore, so that wee were twice within three or foure leagues of the Cape of Bona Esperanza, yet could not possibly get about. Thus we lay driving to and againe in the Sea, and in sight of the shore, untill the nineteenth day of Aprill, and then it pleased God that we doubled the foresaid Cape of Bona Esperanza, to our no little comfort, being in great despayre before, and fearing our wintering at Mosambique, which is a common thing amongst the Portugalls. The seven and twentieth of Aprill we passed the Tropicke of Capricorne, and the ninth day of May wee came to an Anchor at the Iland of Saint Helena, which standeth in fifteene degrees of Southerly latitude; where we stayed untill the fifteenth of the said moneth in watering and then we weighed and directed our course for the passing of the Equinoctiall: and the second of June we passed the same.

They doubled the Cape of Bona Esperanza.

The sixe and twentieth of the said moneth we passed the Tropicke of Cancer with the winde at Northeast, which the Portugalls call the generall wind, and the sixteenth of July we passed by the Westerly Ilands by judgement of the Pilot in the Caracke, beeing in the latitude of fortie degrees and odde minutes to the Northwards, we not seeing any land since our departure from Saint Helena. So (praysed be God) the third day of August, wee made the Land of Portugall, being not above two leagues off the Rocke, to our no little comfort. And the same day we came to an Anchor in the Road of Caskalles. I the same day imbarked my selfe in a Boat, and went ashore, and so escaped the hands of the Portugalls. I remayned in Lisbone secretly untill the thirteenth day of the said moneth, and then I imbarked my selfe in a ship of London, with Master Steed, which was thither bound. And the same day

The third of August they arrived at Lisbone, 1610.

wee wayed Anchor in the Bay of Wayers there was a Boat full of Portugalls to have taken the ship, and so to have carryed us ashore, having had intelligence of our departure. But we setting sayle, put forth to Sea, and escaped the danger, and praysed be God arrived at our long desired home, the seventeenth day of September, Anno 1610. It being two yeares and six monethes since our departure out of England.

§. II.

The report of William Nicols a Mariner in the Ascention which travelled from Bramport by Land to Masulipatan, written from his mouth at Bantam by Henry Moris, Sept. 12. 1612. The former and greater part is the same in substance with that of T. Jones, and therefore omitted.

The Company divide themselves.

THe Company departed from our Generall, not able to provide for them, and left the rest to stay by him being very sicke. Some went to one place, and some to another, and some backe againe for Surat. And I my selfe being one of them that were willing to take the best course for my selfe that I could, I told them I would travell (God-willing) to Masulipatan, for I knew there was an Holland Factorie there, as I had heard at Surat before we came from thence. I could not finde any Christian to travell over Land with me; and inquiring at Bramport; if there were any that would travell to Masulipatan, I met with company which were travelling that way: but it was such company that few Englishmen would travell with them. For they were three Jewes: but necessitie hath no law. After I had agreed to travell with them, I thought, if I travelled with any money the Dogges would cut my throat. So I made away with all my money, and attyred my selfe in the Habit of a Turke, and tooke my journey with

W. Nichols travelleth to Masulipatan.

those Dogges, without any peny of money in my Purse: and travelling with them, foure monethes, had nothing to eate but only such food as the Jewes gave me, and many times when I was hungry they would give mee no meate, so that I was inforced to eate such meate as they gave their Camels, and no better, and glad I could get it, nay, sometimes I was infored to be in fee with the Camel Keeper to give me a little. In this miserable case I travelled with these Dogges foure monethes: sometimes they would say, come let us cut this Dogges throate, and afterwards open his belly, for he hath eaten his Gold: two would have cut my throate, but the third was an honest Dogge, for he would not consent unto it. So with many a weary journey and hungry belly, after a long and dangerous travell we came safe unto Masulipatan, where I presently discharged my selfe from these cruell Dogges, and came unto the Dutch house where the Captaine used mee very kindly, and gave mee clothes, and meate and drinke five moneths before any shipping came there. At length there came three ships to Masulipatan, the one called the Hay, the other the Sunne, and the third was a Frigot, which they had taken in the Streights of Malacca, and the Sunne and the Frigot being bound for Bantam. I intreated the Master to grant me passage, and I would labour for my passage, who told mee very kindly, that he would not only give me passage, but would also give me wages: for the which I gave him great thankes, and so came aboord. Not long after, we set sayle from thence, and came to Bantam the sixth day of September, 1610. being Thursday, and came presently to the English House with joyfull heart. 1610.

Hee arriveth at Musulipatan, & is kindly intreated at the Hollanders House.

He arriveth at Bantam the 6. of Sept. 1610.

In my travell (with the three Jewes) overland, these faire Townes I passed, which I bare in minde, for I could neyther write nor reade.

First, after I came from Bramport, I came to Jevaport, from thence to Huidare, from thence to Golacaude, and so to Masulipatania.

§. III.

The unhappie Voyage of the Vice-Admirall, the Union outward bound, till shee arrived at Priaman, reported by a Letter which Master Samuel Bradshaw sent from Priaman, by Humphry Bidulphe, the eleventh day of March, 1609. written by the said Henry Moris at Bantam, Sept. the fourteenth, 1610.

YOu have alreadie heard of the passage of the two ships (the Ascention and the Union) from England, to the Cape De Bona Esperanza, but after their departure out of the Roade of Saldania, and of their loosing one another in doubling of the Cape, as yet you have not heard. Therefore I thought good to make some [I. iii. 233.] relation thereof, as well as of the other, and that truly, as from other men report I have heard; and thus it was. After they had lost one another by stormy weather, in doubling of the Cape, the Union in that storme sprang her Maine-Mast, and in the middest of the storme they were inforced to fish it againe: by reason whereof, they lost the company of their Admirall, and at last, being without hope either to meete with Ship or Pinnasse there-abouts, considering that the storme continued, they shaped their course for the Bay of S. Augustine, being upon Madagascar. Where being arrived, they went ashore, and had good refreshing, and stayed there twenty daies, being in good hope to have met our Admirall and the Pinnasse there, but all their hopes were frustrate. Then being out of all hope to have their company, they set sayle from thence, and directed their course for Zanzibar, in hope to meete their Generall there: where being arrived, they went on shoare, and at first were kindly entertained: but at their next going ashoare, they lay in Ambush, and as soone as they landed, salied out upon them, and killed the Purser presently, and one Mariner, and tooke one of their Merchants Prisoner;

They arrived at the Bay of S. Augustine in Madagascar.

The treachery of the people of Zanzibar.

yet by great chance, they gat off their Boate and came aboord. The names of them that were slaine, were Richard Kenu, Purser, the Mariners name I have forgotten, but the Merchants name that was taken Prisoner, was Richard Wicham: they put to Sea about the moneth of February 1608. with the winds at North-east and Northerly, just against them as they should goe for Socotora.

Now after they had spent much time at Sea, and little or nothing in the way, (and the most part of the men very much troubled with the Scurvy) the Captaine purposed, and accordingly bare up the Helme for the North part of S. Laurance, determining to goe for the Bay of Antongil: but they fell on the West side of the Iland, intending to recover their almost-lost men there, and spend the unprofitable Monson. Upon which end of S. Laurance, they fell into an exceeding great Bay, which afterwards they understood to be called by the Countrey people Canquomorra, a Countrey very fruitfull and pleasant to behold. The very first view thereof, gave great content to all their men in generall: who no sooner arrived in the Bay, but within short time had conference with the Country people, and at first they profered them great kindnesse, but after it proved to the contrary. Whereupon Master Rowles the Captaine, and Master Richard Reve, chiefe Merchant, and Jeffrey Carlel, with three others, which were attendant upon the Captaine, adventured to goe ashore unto the King: and that made them the more venterous, because divers times before, all the Merchants had beene ashore at the Kings Palace (in their Skiffe and long Boate) and spake with the King, who profered them great kindnesse, and came aboord againe, as safe as if they had beene in their owne Native Countrey of England. Samuel Bradshaw had beene often imployed about businesse unto the King: yet (it pleased God) at this time, the Captaine had some other occasion of businesse for him, and so staid him aboord (a happy turne for him:) for they no sooner

They bare backe againe for S. Laurence.

The great Bay of Canquomorra, or Boamaro.

Samuel Bradshaw.

The Captaine and sixe others betrayed.

came ashore, but they were betrayed by the Countrey people: but by the great Providence of the Almightie the Boates escaped, and presently came aboord, and informed them of all that happened: Where they no sooner had made knowne unto them this dolefull newes,

Abundance of Prawes & great Boates.

but presently they saw such abundance of Prawes, and great Boates, comming out of the River unto them, that it was admirable to behold. The Master spake unto the Gunner to make the Ordnance ready, which was soone effected. This Fleete of Infidels came rowing up unto their Shippe, as though presently they would have boorded them: but by the diligence of the Gunner and

Sixe Boates of the enemies destroyed.

his Mates, he made them retire, by sinking of some halfe dozen of their Boates, and they retired backe againe as fast, as if they had beene Sheepe chased by the Wolfe. But before we made such massacre amongst them, they came up in the face of our Ordnance, and we thought

A fight for two houres.

verily they would have taken us all: for the fight continued (at least) two houres very dangerous, till we plagued them so with our Ordnance: and then, he accounted himselfe happiest that first could cleere himselfe, and wee continually sent after them, as farre as the Ordnance would reach. After they were gone from

They stayed 14. daies longer in this Bay.

us in this first attempt, we stayed in the Bay some foureteene daies, being in good hope to recover our lost men againe, in which time we lost seven men more through a suddaine disease, which daunted us more then the malice of those Infidels. The men which died, were they that wrought so lustily about the Ordnance in the fight, that within two daies they were all throwne overboord. These crosses comming together, and no hope to recover our lost men, they thought it folly to make any longer stay there, and therefore presently made hast away. And being not throughly watered, they thought good to spend a little time in another place thereby: but

A second attempt made by the enemies.

before they could dispatch, they attempted against them the second time, with a great multitude of Boates, and many of them great vessels, and so thicke pestered with

men, that it was wonderfull: but they liked their first entertainement so well, that they cared not for comming too neere them the second time, but went all on shoare, and placed themselves to looke upon the Ship. Then presently perceiving what their intended purpose was, and fearing some mischiefe in the night, they weighed and stood in for the shore (where all the Infidels sate) and gave them a whole broad side for a farewell: which fell among the thickest of them, and in their sight made such lanes among them, that they soone forsooke their places, and gat out of their sight with as much speed as might be: From thence they tacked and stood off at Sea, leaving behind them foureteene men, seven betrayed, and seven that died with sicknesse. Then being cleare from those Infidels, they directed their course for Socotora, but by some negligence, for want of hulling in betimes, the winds tooke them short, that they could not fetch it, but they fell more to the East-ward upon the Coast of Arabia, which was about the fourth of June, and the Winter Monson being come, they could not, nor durst goe for Cambaya: Moreover, upon that Coast, they could not finde any good place to harbour themselves in, untill the Winter were past. Wherefore, keeping within sight of the Coast foure daies, sometimes being in danger of the shore, they thought it but folly to neglect the time any longer; and therefore resolved upon some course to be taken, for the best performance of the Voyage. So the Master calling the best, and most principall men in the shippe, and such as were best experienced in those affaires, they presently concluded altogether to goe for Achen: and being in hope there, to meete with some Guzurats, to barter their English Commodities with them, directing their course for that place, they arrived there the seaven and twentieth of July. And within seven daies after their arrivall, they had admittance to the King, with a Present that was given, (which they were inforced to doe somewhat largely) because the Hollanders sought to crosse them, and

They depart from S. Laurence. [I. iii. 234.]

They fell upon the Coast of Arabia.

They arrive at Achen in Sumatra.

The Hollanders opposition.

debarre them from Trade. Their aspiring minds could not have any to Trade into India, but themselves; therefore after Master Bradshaw had beene with the King, and spent some time with them at Achen, he fell to Trade with the Guzurats for some of their Commodities, for our English Cloath and Lead, in trucke for Baftas, blacke and white, which is Guzurat Cloath, which they sell in those parts. After they had stayed there some small time, and trucked with the Guzurats for some Commodities, they tooke their leave, and set sayle from *Priaman.* thence, and came unto Priaman, and had Trade there in short space, to their hearts content. And although Fortune had crossed them all the Voyage, yet God at length brought them unto a pleasant Port to make some Trade and benefit of their Voyage. Heere they staied and tooke in Pepper, and at length laded their shippe, and might long before, if there had not beene a mutiny among the Company, for the Saylers would doe as pleased themselves. But Master Bradshaw used them with such faire words, that (at length) they gat that *Griffin Mauris the Master died.* they came for. Heere Griffin Mauris (the Master) dyed: all businesse being ended, Master Bradshaw sent Humphrey Biddulph unto Bantam, and Silvester Smith to beare him company, with some remainder of goods, *Tecoo.* which they could not sell at Priaman, nor at Tecoo: not long after that he had taken his leave of them, they shaping their course for Bantam, in a China Junke, he *They in the Union returne from Sumatra for England.* presently set sayle for England, in the month of February 1609.

The lamentable successe of the said ship and Voyage, appeareth by the Letters following.

Laus Deo in Morlaix, the first of March 1611.

BRother Hide, this day is come to our hands a Letter from Odwen, written by one William Bagget an Irish-man, dwelling in the same Towne, advising us of most lamentable newes of a shippe of London, called the Union, which is upon this Coast, about two leagues from

the said Odwen: which the men of the Towne perceiving, sent out two Boates unto her; and when they came there, they found that it was a shippe come from the East-India, richly laden with Pepper and other goods, having in her but onely foure men alive, of which foure men, one is an Indian, and other three dead in the shippe: which the foure living men through feeblenesse, were not able to cast over-boord, nor were scarce able to speake: so the men of the two Boates have brought the shippe into the Roade of Odwen. And as this Irish-man writeth, they of the Towne have unladen the most part of the goods, and having directed his Letter to some English Merchants in this place, to repaire thither with all expedition, to see the ordering of the ship and goods, as belonging to the East-Indian Company. This Letter, is confirmed by one other Letter written in French by the Bayliffe of Kimper, and directed to one of this Towne, which I have seene: And therefore we thought it good to send three Copies of this Irish-mans Letter, by three severall Barkes, to the end that the Merchants may be advertised, and give order that their goods and shippe may be in safetie, for it is to be doubted, that the rude people will make a wracke of her. I thinke it not amisse therefore, that they send to the Court of France, to procure the Kings Authoritie, for I feare there will be much trouble about the matter. In the meane time, my selfe, with George Robbins will ride downe to see in what state all things are, and doe the best we can in the Merchants behalfe, till they send some one with procuration, good and ample for the following of this businesse, as in their discretion shall seeme fitting. The ship is reported to be of three or foure hundred Tunnes, and hath three Deckes, I doubt wee shall finde her shrewdly riffled when we shall come there. The importunate writing both of the Irish-man and the Bayliffe of Kimper, hath caused us to take this journey: And we doe it the rather in consideration of the Company, presuming that they will consider our

charge, because we have both emplored friends, and procured Money in the place, to satisfie such as have taken paines in saving of the shippe and goods if need be. Notwithstanding, I would wish that they send some with expedition by way of Rouen, with other provision of Money: for that this is no place of Exchange as you know, where Money may be had at all times. I had rather give fiftie pound, then take this journey at this [I. iii. 235.] time, because I have much goods upon my hands as I partly wrote to you in my last. The Masters name of the shippe is Edmund White, the Masters Mate, Thomas Duckmanton, and the other Samuel Smith, and the Indian. They are in very pittifull taking, and in great want of Money, neither can they be masters of their goods: therefore let them send men of good experience about this businesse. And thus being in some hast readie to take Horse, I commit you to the Lords protection, resting your assured friend alwaies to command,

BERNARD COUPER.

Neglect no time in making this knowne to the Company.

Directed to Master Thomas Hide, Merchant in London.

February 1610. touching the Union at Andierne.

THe eighth day of February, I came over the Pole-head of Bourdeaux, and the eleventh of the same I lost my fore-mast, my Botsprit, and my Ruther: the same night I put into Olderyearne, the thirteenth day the French-men brought the Union of London upon the Rockes: the foureteenth day I went aboord the Union with my Boate, and the French-men had beene aboord foure daies; the same time I brought Samuel Smith on shoare, Thomas Duttonton, and the Master Edmond White. The fifteenth day I got William Bagget my Merchant, to write me a Letter to Morles; the eighteenth day the Letter was

sent, and I paid two Crownes for the carriage: the twentieth, the Indian dyed, and the same day I buried him: the one and twentieth day, the Master died, and I buried him: the two and twentieth came Master Roberts, and Master Couper: the sixe and twentieth, Master Couper and Master Roberts went to Morles. Againe, the fourth day of March, William Coarey, the Hoast of Master Couper and Master Roberts: the fifth, I went aboord with my Boates, and William Coarey, at low water, I went into the shippes hold at low water, and I brought an Example of the worst Pepper: the sixth day, I came from Olde-yearne; the eighth, I came to Morles: the seventeenth, came Master Hide to Morles: the one and twentieth, I came from Morles; the two and twentieth at night, I came into the Ile of Wight: the foure and twentieth, I came to Hampton: the eight and twentieth day, I came to London.

Your loving Friend,
WILLIAM WOTTON.

THey saved after the spoile of the Brittons almost two hundred Tunnes of Pepper, some Benjamin, and some China Silkes, which they bought at Techou in Sumatra, out of a shippe of China. They touched outward bound at Saldania, where they stayed long in setting up a Shallop or Pinnasse, they lost Master Rowles in S. Laurence: they lost more men at Zanzibar: they laded Pepper at Achen, Priaman, Passeman, and Tecou: there they bought Silke of a shippe of China. In their returne, they met with Sir Henry Middleton, having thirtie sixe men in reasonable good state aboord then: they delivered unto him certaine Chests of Silver: They missed the Ile of S. Helena, most of their men dyed, on this side Cape Verde: ten English, and foure Guzarats were taken out of her by a Barke of Bustol and a Scot. There landing in the Road of Anderne, and other matters are before set downe: The shippe after the Pepper goods were taken out and dried was

found by Master Simonson, a skilfull Ship-wright, sent thither of purpose, to save it if it might be, utterly unserviceable: The Ordnance, Anchors, and other furnitures were saved.

Thomas Duckmanton the Masters Mate, Robert Wilson of Detford, Bullock the Surgeon, Jacob Peterson, and five English-men more remaine alive, of seventie five that went out of England: three or foure Guzarats also came home alive.

§ IIII.

The Voyage of M. Joseph Salbancke, through India, Persia, part of Turkie, the Persian-Gulfe, and Arabia, 1609. Written unto Sir Thomas Smith.

GAndeue was the first Towne, where after the wracke and descension of the Ascension, we* arrived, having a very faire haven, and great store of shipping, whereof some are of five hundred tunnes burthen. From thence we journied to Sobay, a Village that consisteth altogether of Spinners and Weavers, and there is much Calico cotten cloth made.

**Robert Covert was his companion to Bagdat, and hath written a Treatise of this whole Voyage, which beeing printed I have omitted.*

Sabay.

From thence we came to Surat, which hath been a Citie of great trade, and hath great store of shipping. Those of the greatest burthen are laded not at the Towne, but are carried over the Barre with their ballast onely, and there are laden. At an high water, they have sixteene foot over the Barre.

[I. iii. 236.]

Surat.

From Surat we travelled toward Agra, the principall Citie of the Grand Mogol, and came first to Nabon, where Sugar groweth in great abundance, and Cotton-wooll, and all manner of Graine. Here all kind of victuals are very cheape. Then to a Citie called Daytaot, where are sold great store of Drugs, Pintados, and Calico-lawnes. Afterward we came to Netherberi, where is a market of all Brasen wares, shirts of maile, Swords

Nabon.

Daytaot a Citie.

Great store of Drugs, Pintadoes, and Calicoes.

Netherberi.

and bucklers, Lances, Armours for Horses: also Cotton-wools, Cotton yarne, Pintados, Shashes, and all manner of drugges. In this place cloth would be very vendible, because course cloth is there exceeding deare.

Saylot a Village.

From thence we proceeded to a Village called Saylot, where is store of Sugar, and fruites of all sorts. We departed thence to Sadise, a Garrison Towne. Here the River Tynde runneth downe to Surat. From Sadise we came to the great Citie Bramport, governed by Can Canow. This Citie standeth in eight and twenty degrees, where Muskets, Snaphanses, Pistols, Petronels, and Swords are very saleable. Woollen cloth in this place wil proove a great commodity, as also cloth of Gold and Silver, Velvets, Broad cloths, and Bayes, because there are there so many Gallants. From thence we came to Caddor, and so to Sawbon. Then we travailed to a great Citie, named Cannow, where is much trading for Cloth, Swords, Shashes, Pieces, and Armour, besides colours for Diers of all sorts. Here our clothes would sell well: for it beareth somewhat to the Northward, and is very cold in January, February, and March.

Sandise a garrison Towne.
The river Tynd.
Bramport a great Citie in 28. degrees.
A good vent for cloth.

Caddor and Sawbon.
A great Citie called Cannow.
Good sale of English clothes.

About a dayes journey from this place, we passed over the great River Ganges, which runneth into the Gulfe of Bengala, issuing out of the North-west, and running directly East into the said Gulfe. From hence we set forward toward Agra, & spent eleven dayes travelling through a pleasant Countrey, and abounding with severall kinds of Indian commodities, and so arrived at Agra.

They passe the great River Ganges.
15. dayes travell.

Agra.

Agra is a very great Citie, and populous, built with stone, having faire and large streets, with a faire River running by it, which falleth into the Gulfe of Bengala. It hath a faire Castle, and a strong, entrenched round about with a ditch. Hither is great resort of Merchants from Persia, and out of India, and very much Merchandize of Silkes, and Cloths, and of precious stones, both Rubyes, Diamonds, and Pearles. The Diamonds are found in diverse places, as in Bisnagar, in Deli, and here

at Agra. But Rubyes, Saphyres, and Spinels are found in Pegu. In this Citie, without all question, our richer Silkes and Velvets, but especially our clothes of light colours will sell very well, beeing a place of great trading, being not above twelve miles from Fatipore, a Citie as great as London, and very populous; besides Lahor, and many other important Cities in this Kingdome.

Fatipore, a citie as great as London.

They depart from Agra for Persia.

At Agra we abode thirteene dayes, and then set forward toward Hispaon in Persia, by the way of Biani, beeing but two Moneths journey, leaving the way by Lahor, which is foure Moneths journey. From Agra to Biamy, we spent two dayes travell. Biamy is the cheifest place for Indico in all the East India, where are twelve Indico milles. It groweth on small bushes, and beareth a seede like a Cabbage seed. Being cut downe, it lyeth on heapes for halfe a yeere to rot, and then by Oxen it is troden out from the stalkes, and afterward is ground very fine, and then boiled in fornaces, and so sorted out into severall sorts. The best Indico is there worth eight pence a pound.

Biamy 2. dayes journey from Agra.

What Indico is, and the making thereof.

Merta, or Menta.

From Biamy, we spent eight dayes journey to Merta, passing by many Townes and Villages. In some of them there was store of course Indico, in others Calicoes, and store of Cotton-wools. Also we passed over the faire River Paddar, which runneth to Guzerat, and falleth into the Sea to the East-ward of the Persian Gulfe. In Merta there are three Basars or Markets every weeke, where is sold great store of Indico, Cotton-wool, yarne, and Cotton cloths. From Merta or Menta we travelled five and twentie dayes, through these three chiefe Townes, Reuree, Buckar, and Suker. Reuree is a Towne consisting of husbandmen, and painfull people, who deale also in Merchandise, as Cotton cloth, Indico, and other commodities, and are a peaceable people to deale withall.

The river Paddar runneth unto Guzerat.

Reuree.

Buckar a citie.

Buckar stands toward Lahor, where we received kind entertainment of the Governour. Swordblades are very good chaffer in this Towne: my selfe having experience, who might have had ten pounds sterling for my Sword,

the blade being but worth a Noble in England. Close by this Citie of Buckar runneth the River Damiadee, which within eight dayes journey runneth into the River of Synde, which falleth into the Ocean Sea, between the Countryes of Guadel and Guzerate. On this River passe Barkes of fortie or fiftie Tunnes, by meanes whereof, there is traffique unto diverse parts of India.

The River Damiadee falleth into the river of Sinde.

Suckar is situated on an Iland in the middle of the River, and consisteth most of Weavers and Diers, which serve the Countrey round about. At Suckar we stayed foure and twentie dayes for a safe convoy to Candahar, and passed to Candahar in twentie dayes, through many desarts and woods, and with no small difficultie. Candahar is a Citie of importance, which is frequented with Merchants out of Turkie, Persia, and the parts of India, and is governed by a Vice-roy. Here we abode twelve dayes, and from hence set forward toward Hispahan in Persia, and travelled five dayes till we came to Grees, the first Towne in the Countrey of Persia, passing over the River Sabaa, which divideth the Mogol and the Persian. Here we paid a custome for our Cammels.

Suckar.

Candahar.

[I. iii. 237.]

Grees the first Towne of Persia.

The river Sabaa divideth the Mogols and Persians Dominions.

Grees is a frontier Towne, where the Persian hath a Garrison of a thousand souldiers. From Grees, we spent eight dayes to the Citie Parra, passing through a vast countrey, sometimes passing by Villages: one of most note was called Vea, for the store of Felts and Carpets made there, and for the plenty of Dates, and all sorts of fruits. Parra is a Citie of great traffique, but especially for raw silke. Here we rested two and twenty dayes onely for a Caravan.

Vea a Village.

The Citie of Parra.

From Parra we spent eighteene dayes to Jesd, a Citie of Persia, passing through a very desolate countrey. Not farre from this Towne is Pahanaunis, where is made great store of raw Silke: as also at Godana foure dayes journey off. From Jesd we spent seventeene dayes to Hispahan, passing by Gora, a faire Towne, where is store of raw Silkes, Quilts, Silke-carpets, and Turkeshes. And so we arrived at Hispahan. Hispahan is one of the greatest

Jesd a Citie.

Pahanaunis.

Godana.

Gora a faire Towne.

Hispahan the cheife citie of Persia.

Cities in Persia, where the King sometimes keepeth his residencie. The people are industrious and curious in all Sciences, but especially in weaving Girdles and Shashes, in making of Velvets, Sattens, Dammasks, very good Ormuzines, and Persian Carpets of a wonderfull fine-

Commodities to be bought at Hispahan.

nesse. Here you may buy all manner of Drugs, and Spices, and Turkeses, with store of Pearles, Diamonds, and Rubies, as also all sorts of Silkes, as well wrought, as raw. Here might be planted a profitable trade, if our ships with safetie might lade in the Persian Gulfe: where fiftie in the hundred may bee gained from Ormus to Hispahan, and that in eightie dayes travell: whereof I was throughly informed by diverse Prisoners, and Merchants

Commodities for Persia.

of the great Towne of Julpha. These commodities are to bee carried from England into Persia; Tinne, Copper, Brasil: as also Carsies for the Common people: Broad cloths for the Merchants and better sort of people, blacke clothes for womens garments, good Chamlets and Velvets died in graine, with purple colours, and fine reds: cloth of Gold and Tissue, Velvets imbroydered with Gold: fine Holland cloth for the King and Sultans; Dagges, and Pistols, compleat harnesse, targets of steele, shirts of maile, stone bowes, brasse and yron Ordnance. The colours of Cloth must be Scarlets Violets in graine, fine Reds, Blacks, browne Blues, London Russets, Tawnies, Lyon colours, faire lively Greenes; all which will be vented at Hispahan, Casban, Casbin, and Tauris, and other Cities in Persia. I am perswaded, that Hispahan will vent a thousand clothes yeerely. At Hispahan I abode thirteene dayes, and spent a moneths journey to

Bagdat.

Bagdat; which is a Citie about two English miles in compasse, seated on Tigris: neverthelesse it is very populous, and of great traffique of strangers, being the way to Persia, Turkie, and Arabia. Here I embarqued my selfe for Balsara; and was twentie eight dayes in passing downe the River; but it is to be done in eighteene or lesse, if the water be high. Many Ilands are in this River, which I omit to speake of.

Balsara is a Citie neere unto the Persian Gulfe, a mile and an halfe in circuit. All the buildings, Castles, and Walls are made of bricke dried in the Sunne. The Turke hath here five hundred Janizaries, besides other souldiers continually in garrison. But his chiefe strength is of his Galies, which are twentie five or thirty in number, very faire and furnished with goodly Ordnance. To this port of Balsara come Monthly diverse ships of fortie or fiftie tunnes from Ormus, laden with all sorts of Indian Merchandizes. Also there is great store of Wheate, Rice, and Dates, growing thereabout, with which they serve Bagdat, and all the Countrey, Ormus, and many parts of India. *Balsara.*

From Balsara, I passed by Sea to Catiffa, on the Coast of Arabia Fælix, governed by a Turke, but a rebell against the Grand Signior; where is great plenty of sundry sort of fruites, as Dates, and others. And from thence we sayled by many Ilands, but among the rest, to that famous Iland Baharem, sixe dayes sayling from Balsara, and in the midway to Ormus; where they fish for Pearles foure moneths in the yeere; to wit, in June, July, August, September. And here are the best Pearles, which are round and Orient. *Catiffa in Arabia Fælix.* *The Ile of Baharem, where the best pearls are.*

From the Ile of Baharem, we sayled to Calara on the coast of Arabia Fælix, and so passed by land with Camels, to Shiriff Din, (with a purpose to have gone to Aman where one John White an Englishman, which refused my company, was poysoned) to have given some intelligence to Sir Henry Middleton, of our hard usage before in those parts. But hearing that he was traterously taken in Moha, in the mouth of the Red Sea, and carried in chaines up to the Bassha of Sinan, into the maine land of Arabia, I returned to Lima another Towne on the Persian Gulfe, and there imbarqued my selfe to have passed to Socotora, an Iland neere the mouth of the Red Sea: But I was taken by Pirates, and so was driven to land at Snar or Soar, a coast Towne not farre from Lima. *Calara or Catura.* *Shiriff Din.* *John White an English Merchant poisoned.* *Lima a Port Towne in the mouth of the Persian Gulfe.* *Snar or Soar a coast towne in the entrance of the Persian Gulfe.*

At Snar, certaine Portugals, whose Barkes were there

cast away, informed the Governour that I was a Spie, and prayed him to deliver mee up into their hands; who having obtained their request, carried me to Azibo, and so to Mascate or Muscat, an Iland, where they have a small Garrison of some fortie men, besides their gallies, as also one Church, and two Friars. And here I had abiden for ever, if one Father Drurie, an English Jesuite, which I found there, had not procured my libertie.

Azibo, of old Asabi.
Mascate or Muscat.
Father Drurie an English Jesuite at Mascate in Arabia.

From thence, I was conveied in chaines to Ormus, crossing the mouth of the Persian Gulfe. Ormus is an Island in circuit about thirtie miles: and is the driest Iland in all the world: for there is nothing growing in it but salt: for their Water, Wood, Victualls, and other necessaries come out of Persia, which is about twelve miles from thence. The Portugals have a strong Castle here, which standeth neere unto the Sea, where there is a Captaine set by the King of Spaine, having under him a convenient number of souldiers, whereof some part remaine in the Castle, and some in the Towne. In this Towne are Marchants of many Nations, and many Moores and Gentiles. Here is very great trade of all sorts of Spices, Drugs, Silkes, cloth of Silke, fine Tapistries of Persia, great store of Pearles, as also Horses of Persia, which serve for all India. And all ships which passe from hence to Goa, wherein are horses, pay no custome in Goa; but if they bring no horses, then they pay eight in the hundred for their goods.

[I. iii. 238.] *Ormus.*

From Ormus they sent me prisoner to Goa. And we sailed first to Sinde, which lieth between the Countryes of Guadel and Guzerate, having a great River called Damiade falling into it, which River commeth from Lahor, and so to Bucher, and Suchar. In these places is the best Indico sold. You may transport all the goods which the Countrey doth afford, by water to Sinde: where your shippes may ride as safely as in the River of Thames. The Portugals have no fort in this River.

He was at Sinde, which is an excellent place for our Trade.
The best Indico.
The safetie of Sinde from the Portugals.

The place, (by report of the Governour, who gave me a Passe at my first beeing there to bee a pledge, that

whensoever I should returne with these and these goods, I should bee well entertained) doth vent cloth of all sorts in reasonable quantitie both fine and course, beeing all light colours; Tinne, Lead, Iron, and Elephants teeth, and Spices of all sorts, especially Pepper and Cloves. The commodities that the Countrey doth affoord in great plentie, and cheape price, are fine Calicoes of many sorts, Pintadoes, Quilts, Carpets, and other Silke in great plentie. Many of these stuffes are very good for the trade at Bantam, and the Moluccos. Besides, there is great store of Opium, which is a very good commoditie in Bantam, and those parts. And many other drugs fit for our Countrey. The people are of a good disposition, and desirous of trade: victualls are very good cheape: as tenne hennes for tenne pence, a good sheepe a shilling. On the shore the Portugals are subject to the Countrey people: and if they doe not behave themselves well, they are severely punished.

A good vent of all sorts of Cloth.

Passing this coast of Sinde, we arrived at Diu in the Kingdome of Cambaya. And it is the strongest Towne that the Portugals have in these parts. It is but little, but well stored with Merchandise: for here they lade many great ships with diverse commodities, for Ormus and for the Straight of Mecca, and other places: and these be ships of Moores and Christians. The Moores passe by Passeport from the Portugalls.

Diu.

From Diu we sailed for Goa: which is the principall Citie which the Portugals have in those parts, and it is governed by a Vice-Roy. It standeth in an Iland, which may be thirtie miles about, replenished with Orchards and Gardens, Palme trees, and some Villages. Here be Marchants of many Nations.

Goa.

Chap. X.

The Voyage of M. David Midleton to Java, and Banda, extracted out of a Letter written by himselfe to the Company, this being the fifth Voyage set forth by them.

§. I.

Their affaires at Bantam, Botun, Bengaia.

Aprill 24. 1609.

WE set sayle in the Downes the foure and twentieth of April, 1609. in the Expedition of London, and got sight of Forteventure, and the Lansarot, the nineteenth of May, and with such winds as blow (some faire, some fowle) we arrived at Saldania the tenth of August, and watered, and made hast, and set sayle the eighteenth of the same. We proceeded for Bantam, and arrived there the seventh of December, missing Captaine Keeling very narrowly that we had not sight of him: for hee passed us in the night, else we should have surely seene him. As for our businesse, I made all the dispatch that might be (both by day and night) to get the Iron a shore, and would not stay, to set up my Pinnasse, and left M. Hensworth in the house, and was driven to give a great many of gifts more then was requisite, if the State of the Countrey had beene as in former time: and left Edward Neetles, and three more of my Company with Master Hemsworth (as his desire was) beeing in a strange place, and knew none in the House. So I tooke such Commodities as I thought most vendible in those places whereunto I was to goe; and what hope was of making a Voyage, I trust Captaine Keeling hath long since made manifest, yet for all this, I must try their curtesie.

They arrived at Saldania.

They arrived at Bantam.

By the alteration of State, their debts were almost desperate, nor would this Governour suffer them (as before) themselves to imprison debters, and distraine. He also exacted unreasonable summes for rent, whereas the ground had been given, and the houses built at the Companies charge.

The eighteenth of December I tooke my leave of Master Hemsworth, who was very loath to stay behind [I. iii. 239.]

me, but I perswaded him to be of good courage, and doubt nothing, seeing I was to take Master Spalding with me for his Language, and had no bodie to leave in the House but himselfe: and told him that if the Governour sent for him, hee must tell him plainly that I had left expresse order in any hand, not to yeeld to any of his former demands, yet hee might take what he would, for he must deliver him nothing. Then I set saile that evening for the Maluccas (as I supposed) and the winds favouring us, the seven and twentieth of the same, wee passed the Streights of Desolam, and being through them, lay becalmed tenne dayes, which was no small griefe to me, in much heate under the Line, being doubtfull of the Westerly Monson, which (if it should faile me) would be the overthrow of my Voyage.

M. Augustine Spalding goeth with him to the Maluccas.

He departeth for the Maluccas.

The streight of Desolam.

The eighth of January, we came before the Towne of Botun, and sent to know some newes, and there the King was gone to the Warres, and very few people in the Towne. So I anchored not, but went through the Streights the same day. The next day we saw a great company of Caracolles, which we imagined to bee the King of Botunes Armie, which proved so indeed. The King sent a small Prow (when we drew neere unto him) to see what we were. I sent him word who I was, and it proved little wind, and wanting water I demanded whether there were any neere hand, so the people shewed me where there was great store of good water. Then I stood with the place, and the King and all his Caricolles came under sayle after mee, and came to an Anchor faire by us, and sent one aboord in his owne name to bid mee welcome, and desired mee to send Master Spalding with the Messenger to come, and speake with him to heare some newes. The Kings desire was that I would ride all night, and in the morning hee would come, and see the ship and me. It proved calme, so we ride still, and the next day the King came aboord, and I made him, and all his Nobles a Banquet, and gave the King a gift worthy such a

The Ile of Botun.

A Banquet made to the King of Botun, and all his Nobles.

person: and a gale came fitted to be under sayle: then the King wept, and said I might thinke him but a Dissembler, seeing he had no Merchandize for me, for foure monethes before my comming, hee had his House burned to the ground, where he had provided of every thing somewhat, both Nuts and Mace, and Cloves, and great store of Sander wood an whole house full, and a great Ware-house full of the cloth of his Countrey, which is very vendible in most part of the Ilands thereabout: and all the losse which formerly he received, grieved him not halfe so much, as when I told him that I came, and had caused the ship to bee fitted of purpose to come and buy his Commodities, that he should provide for me.

Commodities provided by the King of Botun.

He further said, that I had kept my promise, and swore by the head of Mahomet, so would he have done, if God had not laid that crosse of fire upon him, having sundry of his Wives and Women burned. But now he was abroad at Warres with his forces, he could not tell the issue of it, and as the case stood with him, hee could not spare any of his people, to make any provision for me: and said, that if I had not come by the night afore, he had beene in the field against another King his Enemie, whose Towne he shewed me, and requested to shoot at it, as I went by. I said I was a Stranger, and knew him not, and to procure my selfe Enemies, I had no reason: but if the other King should come and offer him, or any of his Subjects wrong, while I was there, I would doe my best to send them away: which speeches of mine gave the King great content, so the King tooke his leave, and we set sayle presently.

The Ile of Bangaia.

The foure and twentieth of January, we arrived at the Iland of Bangaia, where the King and most of his people were fled for feare of some Enemy; and certainly I could not learne the truth. There was a Hollander there that told mee that the King was fled for feare of the King of Makasar, who (as he thought) would force the King to turne Moore, for he is a Gentile: but I

rather thinke they fled for feare of the Hollanders, who would have built a Fort there, but when they perceived the people were fled, they left it uneffected. This one Hollander bore such a sway, that never a man left upon the Iland durst displease him. He hath as many Women as he pleaseth, two Houses full of the choice of the Countries Daughters, and many Men and Women Slaves, and is a pleasant Companion, and will dance and sing all day long, neere-hand naked, as their manner is: and winneth the hearts of the people, and will be drunke two dayes together, amongst the people of the Iland: and is of himselfe, and hath lived long in the Countrey, and will not be commanded by any Hollander, and dwelleth over against Amboina. If the Governour of Amboina would speake with him, hee must send two of his Merchants to bee kept in pawne till his returne: He taketh up the Kings Duties of Tarnata, in all the Ilands thereabouts, and serveth his owne turne, and sends the King what he may spare. Heere wee had good refreshing for my people, being (I prayse God) in better estate then when I set sayle from England, and have not had a man sicke to that present. There I sheathed my Long Boate, which wee towed for feare of the Wormes that would have spoyled her, and after set sayle the nine and twentieth of January. Comming to Sea, we found the windes right as we should goe, so striving (all wee might) to get to wind-wards, but could not, the streame carrying us directly South, and ran so swift, that we lost fifteene leagues in two dayes. Then I was faine to alter my determination, for going for the Moluccos, and bare up the Helme to goe for Banda, and might goe with a flowne sheate.

The Hollanders fortifying hateful to the people.

The manners of an Hollander.

The good health of his people.

[I. iii. 240.]

[§. II.

§. II.

Occurrents at Banda; Contesting with the Dutch: Trade at Puloway, and many perils.

Banda.

THe fifth of February, we got sight of the Ilands of Banda, and made all the sayle wee could, to get neere before night: and drawing neere, I sent my Skiffe to heare some newes, of some of the Country people, who sent me word that the Hollanders would not suffer any Sayle to come into the Roade, but they would take all hee brought, (if it were such things as they stood in need of) and make payment at their owne pleasures: But if any Juncke came and brought Commodities very vendible for the Countrey people, they were not permitted to have any speech with any of the Countrey: but the Hollander would bring them to the backside of the Castle within Musket shot of their Ordnance, that one must not set his foot ashore, but they would send a Bullet at him: They had fifteene great Junckes, which they kept in that manner. What hope is there to make a Voyage there, seeing they dealt so with all that came into the Roade, and banished Captaine Keeling, not permitting him to stay to gather in his debts, but gave him Bils to receive his money at Bantam, as (I hope) from his owne mouth, your Worships have heard at large. Yet for all this, I stood into the Roade with Flagge and Ensigne, and at each Yard Arme a Pendant, in as comely a manner as we could devise. There came a small Pinnasse of thirtie Tunnes sent from the Governour of the Castle, thinking it had beene one of their Countrey ships: but comming neere us stood into the Roade before me, after they had haled us, I could have no other speech with them.

Injury of Hollanders.

Fifteene great Junckes detayned by the Hollanders.

As soone as I came thwart of Lautor, I saluted the Towne with Ordnance, and came to an Anchor within shot of their ships: then presently a Dutch Boate came

aboord us from the Governour, to have me come into the Roade, and came ashore to him, and shew him my Commission: I made answere, I was but new come, and to shew my Commission to the Governour, or to make any man acquainted with those businesses, which belonged to the making of my Voyage, I would not. They further asked, whether I was a Merchant, or a Man of Warre? I answered I would pay for what I take: then they threatned me: who told them I was there, and would ride there, doe as they should please, I hoped I should defend my selfe: so they returned to the Castle in a great rage. The Hollanders no sooner gone, but great store of the men of Lautor came aboord me, and bade me welcome. Then I understood the whole Estate of the Countrey, and the Countrey would be willing to deale with me, if I could procure leave of the Hollanders, for they are now friends, but Pulaway and Polatronu are at Warres with them.

Kindnesse of the Bandaneses to the English.

Now knowing well, that in troubled waters it is good fishing, there being one of Pulaway amongst them, I had private conference with him, and gave him money in his Purse, to certifie them of the Iland, that I would give them money or Commodities for all their Spice, and that the Hollanders and I were like to be Enemies, and let them not doubt, but that I would get their Spice aboord, one way or other. In the meane season, there came another Boate from the Vice-Admirall, and the same Boate from the Castle, with expresse Commandement from the Governour to me to come in. Being dinner time, I caused them to stay dinner, and after dinner told them that I would ride there, and stand to the danger of the Roade: For I knew full well, that our Nations were friends in Europe, & for us to be Enemies amongst the Heathen people, it were not good, being Christians. Whereupon they told me plainly I must not ride there, and if I did, they would fetch me in perforce: I said I would ride there, till I found the inconvenience of the Roade

(as by their speeches it was foule ground) then would I come into the best of the Harbour: for neither of our Princes giveth any such authoritie to any of their Subjects, but that every man may ride, and goe at their owne perils. They said that the Countrey was theirs, then may I the more boldly (say I) ride heere, for we are friends: so they departed in displeasure.

This Evening, I was about to land Ordnance upon the side of an Hill, where wee rid and began to fit the ship to fight with them that should molest mee: and sent out some to see what ground there was round about the ship, and it was all Rockes, so by no meanes the shippe could ride there: so we left our pretence of landing Ordnance. In the morning I sent my Skiffe with Master Spalding, and the principall of the ship with a Letter to the Governour, and bad them say nothing more then I had written, and make no long stay, but bring an answere presently, for we ride very bad: the Copie of which Letter hereafter followeth.

[I. iii. 241.] MAy it please you Worship with patience to consider, That whereas you have divers enemies (and few friends in this place) I being a Christian, if your Worship stand in need of any thing that I have, I pray you make bold to demand it, and I will be as readie to performe it to my power. For whereas there is amitie betweene our Princes at home, I should be unwilling that we their Subjects should be at enmitie heere. Further, forasmuch as you command me to come under the command of the Castle, I hope I have that Priviledge that both Princes allow their Subjects, to come and goe at their owne pleasures, and stand to the danger of the Roade, at their owne perils. And whereas you demanded to see my Commission, I am a Gentleman, and willing to shew it upon equall termes, for if you would meete me securely, as I would doe you, appoint our meeting on the water,

in our Boates equally manned, or in any other convenient place, where I may be as neere my force as you are to yours. And whereas it is reported, that a contract is to be made with the Inhabitants of Lantor, and your Worship; my desire is, that you would use me as an Indian for my money: then should I thinke my selfe much beholding to your Worship, and am more willing to deale with you then with them. Furthermore, forasmuch as you be at enmitie with the Ilands of Puloway, and Polaron; my desire is to bee resolved, whether I may have their Spice without your hinderance. Thus desiring your Answere to these particulars, and the same to bee returned by these Bearers, I bid you farewell, from aboord my ship, this seventh of February, 1609.

Yours in friendship, DAVID MIDDLETON.

All my Companies comming to the Castle were brought to the Governour, where they sate in Councell, so they delivered my Letter, which being openly read they would send mee no answer but by word of mouth, yet detayned my Letter. They had determined by Counsell (having three great ships of one thousand tunnes a piece, and three Pinnasses of thirtie tunnes a piece) that one of the shippes (being unserviceable) called the great Sunne, should clap me aboord, and there set her selfe a fire: and had for the same purpose sworne sundry persons to come and make her fast with chaines, and had put into her thirtie Barrels of Powder for the same intent: which beeing manned out of the Castle with all the ships, and boates, to take up the men when shee should fire, the Great Horne should come and ride within Musket-shot, and batter upon us, and the Frigots round about us, to keepe us doing on all sides. My folke seeing their speed they made to warpe out the Great Sunne, made small stay but came away, and told me what preparation was made to have us. I thought it fit to goe and speake with the Governour my selfe, and before wee

Uncharitable purposes of the Dutch.

would try it by Battaile, to see what hee would say to my selfe. And so taking my Commission with mee, I came to the Castle, and was met at my landing by the Governour, and all the principall men, that were in the Castle and ships and was brought through a Guard of small shot of three hundred Souldiers, who gave mee three Vollies of shot, and the Castle seven Peeces of Ordnance for my welcome: so wee came to the Governours Chamber, where for us two, there were Chaires set, the rest had formes, and after many Salutations, and Complements of welcome to the Castle, I began, and said,

I understand by my Company, which was with them before my comming, that they would not be perswaded but that I was a Pirate, and had no Commission: and that it should appeare to the contrary, I came my selfe, and brought my Commission with mee, to manifest that I was no such person, but had the Kings Majesties broad Seale to my Commission, and called to my man for it, and shewed it them, reading the first line unto them, and lapped it up againe. Then they said, that they would see it all. I said, they should not while I lived, The Commission was mine, you all apparantly see, and the great Seale at my Commission, and my selfe nominated therein, and if they would see more, it is not my Commission they should expect it. We would have bin gone aboord, but were willed to stay awhile. So there passed words betweene us, some sharpe and some sweet: but at the length they began to be more mild, & called for a Cup of Wine, then the Company rose all up, dranke a cup of Wine, and went to walke, and view the Castle, the Offices whereof were very neat and very wel furnished with Armor and great store of Munition.

Commission shewed.

Taking my time, I put in practice to see what money would doe (which often maketh Wise-men blinde) that so I might attayne unto my lading by large proffers. I offered one thousand pound to be sure to have my

The might of money.

lading, and to give my chaine from about my necke to one to procure it, offering to pay more then they paid for their Spice. Having set this matter abroach, (knowing the ship to ride in danger) I told the Governour, now they apparantly saw, I was no man of Warre, I would bring in my ship: hee replyed with the residue, that all the friendship they could doe me, I should find them willing to pleasure me therein. It drawing late I tooke my leave to goe aboord, at what time, the Governour caused all the Ordnance in the Castle to bee shot off, and as I passed by the ships, they and the Frigots shot off, till I came aboord. The next day being the eight of February, I brought my ship into the Roade, and rid betweene their ships and the Castle, and gave them all my Ordnance, and was answered from the Castle, and shippes, and Frigats with great store.

As soone as we came to an Anchor, the Governor with all the chiefe of the Castle and Ships came aboord of me: so I intreated them to dinner, to such as we could provide, which they very kindly accepted: and after dinner the maine point (which was my lading) I could not by gifts, nor any meanes I might devise, have any grant to buy one pound of Spice. And having prooved sundry meanes to induce them to heare reason, the Governour told me plainly, he durst not give me leave to deale for any Spice, under paine of losse of his head. I seeing no good to bee done in riding at an Anchor amongst them, determined to take in water, and take my Fortune: but they would not suffer my Boate to goe ashore for water, but they would send a man with us, to see that we had no conference with any of the Countrey people. After I had water aboord, I sent Master Spalding to shew the Governour that I would be gone and that I had sent him to acquaint him therewith: for my selfe would not come out of the ship. [I. iii. 242.]

The Governour marvelled whither I would goe, *Dutch scrupulositie.*

the winds being Westerly: Master Spalding said, he knew not, So I warped till I could get Sea-roome to set saile. The Governour sent three Pinasses to go out with me, and one came in a Boate aboord us, sent from the Governour to command me, that I should not come neere any of those Ilands: I sent him word I would not be at his commanding, for I was bound to Puloway, as soone as possibly I can, and bade him send his ships to send me away, for I would quickly send the Frigots further from me. Hee went aboord one of the Frigots, and I caused our men to get up their small shot, and fit themselves to fight with their ships which were fitted, and their sailes brought to the yard of purpose. I called all my Company to know their mindes, and told them plainly that if they would stand by mee, I meant to set up my rest, to make my Voyage at those Ilands, let the Hollander doe what hee could: and promised them, if any man were maymed, hee should have maintenance during his life, which (if it pleased God) I would have performed: and further promised, that if they would fight it out, to give franckly amongst them, those things that were mine owne, which were in the ship. So with one consent, wee were all willing to try what force the Hollander would send out to drive us away. The Pinnasses seeing my folke to bring up their small shot, thought it would be smal to their ease to guard me any longer, and therefore bore up for the Harbour. While we were a warping out, the Admirall had beene twice aboord the Pinnasses, and the Vice-Admirall, and the Lieutenant Governor of the Castle also, what they did there I know not.

His purpose for Pulaway.

English resolution.

It fell calme, and the winds Westerly, and a great streame set to the East North-East, and we drove a great pace. So I manned my Boate, and sent Master Spalding away with Money and my Pursers Mate, and five more, to goe and certifie them of the Iland of Pulaway, that we had parted enemies with the Hollanders,

and that I had sent him to know their minds, whether they would sell me their Spice, and I would give them Money for it: and would have come my selfe, but would faine see the shippe in some place where she might ride, and then I would come either in the ship, or in a Pinnasse that I had within boord to set up. While my boat was absent, there came two Prawes from Lantor, to know why I went away; I told them, the streame set the ship away: I would faine have gone to Pulaway, if the streame had not hindred me, and had sent a Factor thither to buy Spice; they said, they were glad that I went not away for altogether: then I prayed them to tell them of Lantor, that I would give them Money or Commodities for all their Spice which they had, if they would sell it me before the Hollander, that came to take their Countrey from them. One of them said, that hee would goe to the Iland and see my people, and then he would shew them of Lantor.

M. Spaldings welcome.

At Master Spaldings comming ashore, the Countrey flocked about him, and bad him welcome, but would make no price with him, till I came my selfe: but would deliver Spice upon an account, till God should send me thither, to goe through with them my selfe. I bid Master Spalding hire me a Pilot (if he could) to harbour my ship neere hand; who spake to the Countrey for one, and they hired him a couple, to whom the Countrey gave twenty Rials, and I must give them as much. So Master Spalding sent them aboord, and writ to mee to send him more Money and Cloath, which I did the same night, and bare up the Helme for Ceran, and came to a place called Gelagula, being thirtie leagues from Banda, a reasonable good Road: and as soone as possibly we could, we tooke an house, and brought our Pinnasse ashore to set up, having had her within boord thus long, and could never have time to set her up, because the time of the yeare did so fast slip away, and the Monson was at an end.

The Ile of Ceran. Gelagula.

The Hope-well.

Labouring all that night to get her dispatched, being fitted, I named her the Hope-well. The seven and twentieth of March, we made all things readie to set saile to the Iland of Pulaway, and arrived there the one and thirtieth of the same in the night, and could not lade any Spice, till I had agreed with the Countrey people.

The Countrey asked many duties, and great gifts; but in fine, I agreed to pay as Captaine Keeling paid: after the chiefe had what they looked for, (for every one must have somewhat, that all must not know) and a man must ever be giving, for they never cease begging; and it is not for a mans ease to deny them any reasonable matter, especially, as the case stood with mee. After we had agreed, we laded the Hope-well with Mace, and sent her away, she being but nine Tunne, could carry but little of such Commodities, which fils presently: wherefore I was driven to looke out for more helpe to get over the Spice; so I hired a great Praw, and was to build her, which we laded with Nuts, and sent to the ship, and there builded her higher, and made her one of five and twentie Tunne. But she made but one Voyage, and then wee heard no newes of her in three moneths, still expecting her comming to Pulaway a long time. The Hope-well making two Voyages, could bring mee no newes of her, so that I verily thought she had beene sunke: for I came in company with her in the Hope-well my selfe, and having a great storme, was perfectly perswaded, that the Sea had eaten her up, and gave her for lost, having twelve of the lustiest men in the ship in her. It was no small griefe to mee, to see the time of the yeare to weare away, and could not get my lading over to the ship, nor durst bring the ship over (for there was no riding for her, and she past the Iland oft) all hope was past for sixe moneths. I made enquirie for other Vessels, and heard of a Junck that belonged to Lantor, but she was old, and lay neere the Hollanders ships:

They lade Spice.

[I. iii. 243.]

I went and bought her, and got such helpe as I could to trim her.

The want of my twelve men put me to much trouble, if I had had them with mee all the while, it had beene a great shortning to our Voyage: for most of our men were downe upon sore Legges, and as soone as one was any thing well, hee must into the Hope-well, and another poore lame man take his roome, having some three times well and downe againe. Thus I was driven to my wits end, not knowing which way to turne me, being every houre in danger of the Hollander to come and take the Iland, who (as by intelligence from time to time we heard) sought sundry meanes to make me away, by offering large Money for Rogues to effect it, either by poison, or otherwise. But (I praise God) I had some friends upon the Iland, who gave mee secret warnings of such men, or to be aware of such men-slaves, for they would do me some mischiefe, and came for the purpose. Whereupon I was faine to get all the Ilands to draw to an head, and fit their Caracols, and keepe the Hollanders Pinnasses from comming aboord: so the Pinnasses durst not stirre, and the Ilanders landed secretly upon Nero, and cut off sundry of the Hollanders, that they durst not stirre out of the Castle, except they were many, and well fitted. *Sore legges.*

These Ilanders built a Fort upon the side of an hill, from whence they shot into the Castle, which troubled the Hollander much. So we were sure that the Pinnasses could not come out as in former time, to cut us off as oftentimes they had attempted, making nine Voyages in her my selfe, and never could spare above seven men to goe in her, and but five at Puloway: the rest in a manner lame and sicke, in a most villanous Countrey, where all things were so deere, that one should eat, and not to be had but at some times, which was a great griefe unto us all: with such foule weather of raines continually, which was like to have *Treacherous offers.*

made an end of us all. The Junke which I had bought at Lantor, I was faine to get away untrimmed, for the Hollanders sent me one of their ships, seeing men at worke upon her, (when they had fitted her) to batter her to peeces. So that night she waighed, I got the helpe of two Townes to lanch her, and was to carry her a great way upon Rowlers. This we did by night, and got her out of sight by day, and brought her to Puloway, and were faine to buy Sayles for her, and all things else, for she had nothing belonging unto her but the bare Hull. I set the Countrey Carpenters aworke, which did her little good, as proved afterwards: and had sent to the ship by the Hope-well, that they should bring over some rigging for the Junke, and that Master Davis should come and carry her over, fitting her (as well as I could) with those silly Carpenters which the place affordeth.

The Hope-well stayed three weekes, and wee never heard any word what was become of her, being doubtfull whether any mischance had befallen her: and wee might stay long before they aboord could hire any to come over, the Hollanders have so seased them, that they have taken carrying of victuals to the Bandanesses. Being reasonable faire weather, having the Shippes Skiffe at Puloway, I determined to goe over my selfe, and make some shift, and not to let the time passe doing nothing. For I could not hire men to carrie over the Juncke, if I would have laded her with Silver. So I put it in practise, seeing the Hope-well came not, and not having a sound man with me that could stand on his legges, I hyred three Blackes and put to Sea: being out of sight of Land, there arose a grievous storme, that I was faine to spoone afore the Sea, to save our lives: yet (God be praised) wee got sight of the Land of Ceran, and kept her right afore the Sea, cleane from our ship, and comming neere the shoare (the Sea aloft) did breake, and tooke away all hope of comming safe ashore. Night being at hand, we strove all

M. John Davis.

The Ile of Ceran.

Sea-perill.

we might to keepe her upon the Sea till day, the storme increaseth, that no remedie but wee must hazzard all to put into the Breach, over a ledge of Rockes. Which we did, and no man durst forsake the Boat, for being beaten to pieces against the Rockes. So the next day we set her ashore, being brim-full, and had all things that we had washed over-boord: we laid hands on the Boat, and got her out of the Suffe of the Sea, and gave God thankes for preserving us from so apparant danger. Being extreme foule weather, with much raine, wee could not tell what to doe.

The Blackes came and told us, that we must goe to Sea presently, if wee meant to save our lives. I asked one of them the reason; who said, it was the Canibals Countrey, and if they got sight of us, they would kill us and eate us, and nothing would ransome a man if they take him: and all Christians that they get, they rost them alive, for wrongs that the Portugals have done them: and therefore if we would not goe to Sea, they would go hide themselves: for the Canibals would be at the water side as soone as they can look about to descry if they can discover any Fisher-men or Passengers, that by stealth passe by in the night. Wee hearing this (and the Moone began to shew the wind to Duller, and a Tyde of floud with us) we got a-head a good reasonable pace, and by day we were cleere of their Watches, & keeping the shore close aboord, we espyed a Hul of a Bark, came & rowed neere it, & knew it to be the Diligence, So we came & hayled her, & there were a couple of Englishmen in her, who told me that the same night (that we had the storme in the Skiffe) she chopped to an Anchor there, and the Cable burst, & she drave ashore, & that M. Herniman was gone to the Towne to get men to have her up, & save her. I landed my selfe to goe to the Governour of the Towne, to come and bring some helpe to save her. The Sand was full of people which came of purpose to have pillaged her, & I willed them to make a shot

The Countrey of the Canibals, or Man-eaters.

The Diligence.

[I. iii. 244.] now & then, which stayed them from comming neere them: & comming to the Town, M. Herniman was gone by land to the ship. I offred the Governour mony to have help to save her, who said, he would gather the Country together within two or three daies, but I told him that if it blew, she would be lost within an houre. One of Puloway being there, who knew the Barke, and was earnest with the Governour to save her, plainly told mee, that he gaped only to have her bulged, that hee might have the Planke to build him a Praw.

Inhumanity of the Ilanders.

Then perceiving there was no helpe, but must come from the shippe, I hired Guides to follow Master Herniman and tooke one of myne owne men to keepe me company, and so proceeded by land, being twelve miles from the ship. Being halfe way, we came to a great water, which we must swimme over: my man could not swimme, so I sent my clothes back, all but a Scarlet Mandilian, which these Blackes must carrie over for me, who told me, the River was full of Aligatas, and if I saw any, I must fight with him, else he would kill me: and for that purpose did carry a great Knife in his mouth. I being weary, not having slept in two nights, tooke the water before the Indians, knowing they would bee over before me. The River being broad, and a swift current, which the great raine (that had fallen) had made, the Indians would have had me turned backe, but being the better halfe way, I was very unwilling: being in the water, one of the Indians that carryed my Mandilion, had got a great Cane (which I knew not of) and strooke me on the side, who feeling the stroke, suspecting it had beene an Aligata, dived under water, where the current got such hold on mee, that before I could come up, I was in the Sea, and there the Sea threw mee against the Beech, and bruised my backe and shoulder, till the time that hee came, and gave me the end of the Cane, whereof I got hold, and he pulled mee out, neere hand drowned:

Danger of Crocodiles.

Perilous mistaking.

being tossed with the Sea, that every Suffe washed mee into the Sea againe. I prayse God, I escaped this danger and got aboord, after I had rested my selfe a reasonable space, to the amazement of all my Company. So that night, I sent all that were able to crawle, to save the Bark: which (God be praysed) they did with much toyle of so small help. The Country would not let any man lay his hand to save her, expecting we would forsake her, that they might enjoy her.

The arrivall of the Hope-well.

The next day after my comming aboord, the Hope-well arrived with her lading of Spice, who told me, they had been driven to the East-wards of Banda thirtie leagues, in a most cruell storme, which continued long, and caused them to have a long passage to get to the wind-wards, but arrived the next day after. I went from Puloway in the Boat, and laded presently, and M. Davis was taking in of his lading, making all dispatch that might be, with a poore lame Crewe (the whole being absent as your Worships have heard, about the Diligence) we presently unladed her, and that night set saile in her my selfe, to see if I could come before M. Davis came from thence: for they told me, the Juncke was very leaky, and I desired to have the Hope-well come in her company, whatsoever should befall: for she had never a naile in her, but such as we our-selves put into her: and having none there of our owne, we caused the simple Smith that the countrey affoorded, to make some Iron pinnes, for nayles they can make none; and in most needfull places wee bestowed them. As for my selfe in the Hopewell, striving to attaine to Puloway, I was put by it by the streame, in a mighty storme; the more the wind, the stronger the Current: beeing put to Lee-wards, we were long before we could fetch the ship, and were faine to seeke to the Ceran shore, or else had been quite blowne away. Having made many Voyages, and still fallen to Lee-ward of the ship, I caused M. Davis to search the land for some Harbour, that when those

provisions (that we could make to get over the goods) should come over, they might come from Puloway to the ship directly, and not to boult it up to windwards when she was deepe laden, which beeing emptie, having discharged her burden, might better ply it to windwards: for beeing light, she would feele her oares, which was effected.

Feare of the Hollanders, cause of cruell handling.

In my long stay from Puloway, and the Ilands of Banda, they had intelligence, that the ship had weighed anchor, and were perswaded, that I was gone in the ship for feare of the Hollanders, who were determined to come and looke me out, and surprise mee. Whereupon, the countrey people would not deale with my people any more, nor sell them victuals, and beganne to abuse them, and rayle upon them: and said, that I was gone in the ship, and left them in the Countrey as the Holanders did, and would come with a Fleete, as they have done, and take their Countrey from them. Then they were determined to seize upon the house, and take the people, and keep them prisoners upon an high Rocke, and sent for the Sabandar, that by whole consent they might come, and take possession of all the goods. When the Sabandar was come, M. Spalding went unto him, to shew him of the hard usage of the Ilanders, who began to take things out of the house by force. He said, They would be sure we should not doe as the Holanders had done, and were determined to lay them fast: for the ship was gone, and our meaning was not good. All that Master Spalding could doe, would not perswade them, but they were left of purpose.

The next day, being in counsel in the Church: they resolved to send the men up prisoners to the Rocke. Then there came one and told them, that I was in sight in the Hopewell; whereupon they broke up their devillish determination. At my comming a shore, M. Spalding told mee of their hard usage of them, and what feare they were in. The Chiefe of all the Ilands sate before our doore to stay my comming:

I went unto them, and asked the reason, Why they dealt so with my people in my absence: They told me plainely, that if I had not come my selfe, they would have taken the goods, and kept the men safe. So I told [I. iii. 245.] them the reason of the remooving of the ship, and said further, No marvell that the Holanders built a Castle to defend themselves, when I beeing in friendship with them, and leaving men amongst them, with Commodities that the countrey stood in neede of, and made the Holanders mine Enemies, which were their enemies, and sought all the meanes that in me lay to doe all the Ilands good, (as they all very well knew) should receive such hard measure at their hands. They said plainly, I must not blame them to be jealous of Christians: for many yeeres, the Portugals and Holanders have done as I have done; but in the ende they saw apparantly, they would have their Countrey from them: yet now I was come my selfe, they hoped I would not thinke the worse of them. So wee became good friends, and bought Spice apace: and had bought my whole ships lading. Having an over-plus of Stock left I thought I could not doe your Worships better service, then in laying out your money, and therefore made shift to send the ships lading away: and laded thirtie Tunnes more in a Juncke, and bought another Juncke of fortie Tunnes (and Spice to lade her) which was not then launched, but men at worke upon her: and left M. Spalding to come in her, and M. Chapman, for Master (a very honest and sufficient man) with twelve persons in the whole.

Portugals and Hollanders distastfull.

§ III.

His departure for Bantam, escape from the Hollanders, and returne home.

AFter this, I came and tooke my leave of all the Countrey, in most loving manner, and gave them divers gifts for a farwell, intreating them to helpe Master Spalding, if hee should stand in need of them:

for I beeing gone, hee must rely upon them. So with many promises of all kindnesse, I tooke my leave both of Master Spalding, and of his company, and all the Iland. Leaving Master Chapman for Master in the new Juncke, I was faine to carry over the Hopewell my selfe, and set saile the seventh of September from Puloway, with the Juncke Middleton in my Company (having stayed longer in the Countrey, then ever any Englishman did) arrived at the ship the tenth. And there I heard that the ship was not fully laden: for there were seven Tunnes of the Nuttes spoyled, that came last from Puloway, and lost. There I laded the ship out of the Hopewel, and the Juncke, and turned off the Hopewel, which had done us very good service, and brought an hundred Tunnes of goods aboord; being so wormeaten, that we pumped alwayes in her, being but halfe inch planck, and never could stay or have any time to sheath her. After the shippe was wholly laden, wee set saile from Keeling Bay the same day, having never a top-sayle over head: For I had caused Master Davis to remove the ship from whence I left her, to another Bay, seven leagues to the Westward, where I said I would come with the Hopewell; and the Juncke where I found them: now the ship, in remooving had her top-sailes blowne from the yard, having beene at the yard ever since we came into the Countrey for feare of Treason, and the Hollanders who would seeke our overthrow. The Juncke going better then we, having no top-sailes, I sent for the Master of her aboord, and wrote a Letter to Bantam by them: and requested them to make all the speed they could thither, and I hoped I should come after them, and overtake them, when I could make my top-sailes, which wee plyed night and day: and made Master Musgrave his Mate: wee in the ship having our top-sailes finished, did overtake the Juncke the sixteenth of the same, and comming up to them, they could not keepe us company, except wee should take in our top-sailes: and to presse the Juncke with a saile they durst not.

He departeth from Puloway the seventh of September.

Keeling bay.

I called unto them, and bade them beare such saile, that they doe not wrong her (for feare a leake should breake upon them) and come to Bantam; for mee to keepe by them, could doe them small pleasure, for wee had long businesse at our comming to Bantam, to trimme the shippe for England. So wee tooke leave of them, and bore ahead, and the ninth of October arrived in Bantam Roade, where Master Hemsworth and Edward Neetles were both dead, within a short space after my going away from Bantam: so that all the goods I left at Bantam, were yet there, and not a yard of cloth sold to the Chineses. At our comming to Bantam, being very weake (for most part of the company had sore legs) I was driven, that all men that had any sores, or were sickly, should remayne aboord by the Surgeon, and manured the Junckes with all my choice men, being all in perfect health. There came a small ship, that had beene at China, and at Japan, Tarnata, Makian, Coramandell, Patane, and Jor, and came to Amboyna, and so to Banda to seeke for lading, but could get none, so was faine to go for Bantam to lade Pepper. This ship when she came to Banda, came neere the Iland of Puloway, and let flye all her Ordnance, and a shot came through another mans house, through two Suckles of Mace in our house, and strooke the Pursers Mate upon the shinne, yet broke not his legge, but went into a Chest of fine Pintados, and spoyled many: the poore man lay long upon it (sixe moneths at the least) not able to stand.

They arrive at Bantam the ninth of October.

The Hollanders seeing us to passe by them at Banda, day by day with Spice (who after my comming bought not one pound, I wrought such meanes to procure my lading first) were starke madde, having two great ships halfe laden before I came into the Countrey: wherefore they determined to come with their ships and Pinnasses, and take the Iland, and all the Spice that I had there, knowing I had store bought, and fitted such a time, as that they might easily have done it. The Bandaneses being fleshed with the slaughter of some of the straggling

[I. iii. 246.]

Hollanders envie and injurie frustrated.

Hollanders, which they had murthered, tooke all the able men to give assault to the Hollanders Castles: and determined to fire their ships, at an Anchor, and burne the old Sunne close to the Castle gates. All able men being gone to the Warres, and not passing fortie men left, beside women and children, the two great ships and three Pinasses came out under saile, with three Boates apiece at their sternes, and the Frigots, two Prowes a piece to land men: They chose such a time, that they might have come ashore, and taken every man, one, in their armes, and carryed them quite away, for there were no Weapons left in the Iland, but what we had. But it pleased God to deale better with us, for being come out of the Harbour, they could not get in againe, it prooved calme, and the Tyde of Ebbe (being Springing Tyde) did set the shippes to the Southwards of the Iland, and the Pinnasses must follow the ships, for feare the Caricols would have had them. Two dayes they did what they could to come backe, so they were forced to proceed for Bantam to lade Pepper: Being long becalmed by the way to Bantam, they descryed a shippe right to Leewards of them, which they thought could not be any Saile, but wee: wherefore it was agreed by counsell that they should come and fight with mee, and take me, and all the Spice from mee: and what their determination was to have done with the ship and Company, I could not learne. It proved to be the Provincia of Holland, a great ship that was bound to Banda, to looke for lading, and had beene at the Moluccoes, but could not get one pound of Spice. So those two ships told him, that they came from thence, with halfe their lading, so all three came to Bantam to lade Pepper: thus the Lord kept me out of their hands.

Eight Holland ships. There came eight ships to Bantam for Pepper, and must stay a yeare for it: so the shippes that must stay a yeare for their lading, tooke in plankes and provision of building, and were sent with them to Banda and Tarnata, (for their Castles, and to make Flankers to make themselves strong) and were sent away after I came to Bantam.

My lame Company being very weake fell sicke, and my Gunner, and one of my Quarter Masters dyed, and three more presently after them. The Carpenters fitting the ship, and the Westerly Monson come, there was no hope of the Junckes comming till May: Master Davis being sicke, and very hardly escaping with life, Master Clayborne weake and sicke, and my selfe not well with griefe, to see in what poore estate we were, made all speed that we might to be gone from that contagious Countrey, hoping, that if we were out at Sea, my people would mend. Now seeing the Juncke came not, which if but one of them had come, I would have remayned in the Countrey, and fitted her to goe for Succadania, (a place where the Hollanders have made great Voyages) but seeing they came not, I thought I should doe your Worships as good service to come home in the ship, (if it should please God to take Master Davis, and Master Clayborne away) to bring home the ship: and therefore set up my rest to come home. Three dayes before we set saile from Bantam, foure Saile of a new Fleet of Hollanders came in (which brought in great store of women, to inhabite those places which they had conquered) and were nine in the whole, and five remayned behind. Those that came into the Road, were very weake, so that the other ships company that were in the Road, were faine to fetch them in one by one.

Master Thomas Clayborne.

Succadania.

Foure Saile of Hollanders.

Women to inhabit.

That same day came a Slupe from Tarnata (sent with Letters to Amboyno, and so to Bantam) with newes, that the Hollanders had lost their Admirall, which went to Manilia; for his head was shot off, and the ship taken and two more, and another (that would not yeeld) set himselfe a fire: so they lost three ships by fight, and one burned, being all great shippes of one thousand Tunnes apiece. Foure dayes before these newes came from Manilia, a Generall of the Hollanders, which came into the Indies foure yeares passed, called Paulus Vancarles, who had beene taken by the Spaniards at Tarnata, by Spanish Gallies (within foure monethes after I came from

Dutch Admiral slaine.

Three ships of the Hollanders taken, and one burnt at Manilia.

Paulus Vancarles taken.

thence the last Voyage) remained a Prisoner in the Master of the Campes House at Tarnata, and all his company were chained in the Gallies. These Prisoners the Hollanders would have ransomed with money, offering a very great ransome: which the Spaniard would not accept, but would have them deliver up the Forts, and be gone; so they would set their Generall, and the rest at libertie, or otherwise not. The Hollanders would by no meanes withdraw their forces, so the Generall remained Prisoner a yeare and a quarter, and then was released by the new Governour that came from Manilia, to take the Government of the Moluccoes, who was intercepted, and taken by two ships of the Hollanders, which released their Generall with exchange of man for man. This Generall was the second time taken by the Spanish Gallies (after a long fight) and presently sent Prisoner to the Manilia.

Paulus taken the second time and sent to Manilia.

Having left Richard Wooddies for Chiefe in the house, and order for Master Spalding (when God shall send him to Bantam) to determine a Voyage to Succadania in Borneo for Diamonds, I tooke my leave of them of Bantam, and set saile the sixteenth of November, and had a very good passage to the Roade of Saldanha; where I came to an Anchor the one and twentieth of January, and tooke in water, and made all dispatch that I could for England: and found that my Brother Sir Henry Middleton had beene there, and came in the foure and twentieth of July, and departed the tenth of August, and there I found the Copie of a Letter, which my Brother had written to your Worships, and sent home by a Hollander the next day that hee came into the Road: which if you have not received, you may apparantly see, that they will detaine all your Worships Letters, and you shall have the Copie. Thus have I at large certified your Worships of all matters in ample manner, which I thought no lesse then my dutie to doe, having made relation of all those places from whence I came. And (I prayse God) I have aboord one hundred

Hee departeth from Bantam.

Saldanha.

[I. iii. 247.]

thirtie nine Tunnes, six Cathayes, one quarterne two pound of Nutmegs, and sixe hundred two and twentie Suckettes of Mace, which maketh thirtie sixe Tunnes, fifteene Cathayes, one quarterne, one and twentie pound, and have left in the Juncke with Master Herniman, foure and twentie Tunnes, seven Cathayes, two quarternes and eight pound, which cost with the charge 25071.¼. Rials, of which summe I have disbursed five hundred of mine owne, for Spice which lyeth most upon the Orlope: and being in bond unto your Worships, shall remaine untill I know your pleasures, whether I shall enjoy it.

Chap. XI.

The sixth Voyage, set forth by the East-Indian Company in three Shippes; the Trades Increase, of one thousand Tunnes, and in her the Generall Sir Henry Middleton, Admirall; the Pepper-Corne of two hundred and fiftie, Vice-Admirall, the Captaine Nicholas Dounton: and the Darling of ninetie. The Barke Samuel followed as a Victualler of burthen one hundred and eightie: written by Sir H. Middleton.

§. I.

The proceeding of his Voyage till hee came to Moha in the Redde Sea.

THe first of May 1610. wee came to an Anchor in the Roade of Cape Verde, under an Iland: where wee found a Frenchman of Deepe, that was setting up a small Pinnasse upon the Iland. *Cape Verde.*

The second, the Carpenters of all the shippes went in hand with my mayne Mast pulling off the fishes, we found the Mast exceeding bad, and above the upper Decke some three foot wrung

more than halfe asunder: had wee met with any foule weather, it must needs have gone by the boord. I sent one of my Carpenters a-land to the maine to search for Trees, who returned that night, and brought mee word that hee had seene some which would serve our turne.

The Samuell. The third, we beganne to unlade the Samuel, and sent Carpenters a-land to cut downe Trees, having leave of the Alcayda, who came aboord and dined with me, I gave him a piece of Roan cloth, which I bought of the Frenchman, and other Trifles.

The fifteenth, we made an end of watering, all our Caske being full: we stowed all our Boats this night and fitted to be gone the next morning. This place of Cape Verde is the best place I know for our outward bound ships: for that the Road is excellent good, fit for dispatch of any businesse, and fresh fish to be had in great plentie: besides it is not any thing out of the way. I called a Counsell of Captaine Dounton and the Masters what course was best to hold till wee came to the Line, so it was concluded South South-west for sixtie leagues: and then South South-east til we grew neere the Line, and then to hale over Easterly. We dismissed the Samuel.

The commendation of Cape Verde.

They arrive in the Road of Saldanha. The foure and twentieth of July, we came into the Road of Saldanha, and saluted the Dutch Admirall with five Pieces of Ordnance, and hee returned the like, there were also other two Holland ships which came to make traine Oyle of Seales: they had made three hundred Pipes. *This day I went a-land and found out the names of Captaine Keeling, and others bound home in January, 1609. And also my Brother Davids name bound out in August the ninth, 1609. And also a Letter buried under ground according to agreement made betweene him and mee in England: it was so consumed with the dampe of the aire, that I could not reade any part thereof. The sixe and twentieth, we set up a Tent for my sicke men, and then we had them all a land to aire

**M. Femell in a Letter which I have, written from thence, mentions two French ships in like imployment, which he suspected to lye in wait for distressed ships from the Indies.*

our ships. From this day, till the day of our departure, not any thing happened worth the writing. [I. iii. 248.]

The sixt of September, latitude twentie three degrees thirtie minutes, the winde all Southerly a good gale: this day after dinner we saw land, and before night wee came to an anchor in S. Augustines Bay, where we found the Union distressed for lacke of victualls. The seventh day, I went in my Pinnasse aland to see if I could get any fresh victualls: but we could not get any: wee got wood and water aboord, and so returned to our Ships.

The bay of S. Augustine in S. Laurence.

The tenth, we steered alongst the land with a good gale of wind at South-east, making account we should have gone at least twentie sixe leagues, but we went but twentie two leagues, by reason the Current setteth to the Southward: her course North two and twentie leagues. The eleventh, we steered from noone till night North North-east along the land, which was North ½. a point Easterly way, and till midnight North North-west. From midnight till day North by West, and so till noone North, all her true way North North-west ½. a point, North twentie seven leagues. We have a great Current against us: for I made account wee should have gone five and thirtie leagues: I observed, and the latitude was one and twentie degrees five minutes, wind East South-East. The twelfth we steered betweene the North North-east, and North by East, her true way North Westerly ⅓. of a point latitude nineteene degrees, fortie eight minutes, shee ranne twentie seven leagues. The Current we find this last foure and twentie houres, setteth to the North-ward, the wind variable.

The thirteenth, we steered with little wind and calmes for the most part North by East, her true way North ⅓. part West, the wind as the day before: she went fifteene leagues more then I would have given her, so that I find the Current setteth to the North-ward, by my observation, latitude nineteene degrees tenne minutes. The twentieth at noone, her latitude eleven degrees ten minutes, the wind vering Easterly, with calmes, varia-

tion twelve degrees fortie minutes. This afternoone we saw land, being the Iles of Queriba, which are dangerous low Ilands, environed with rockes and shoales.

The Iles de Queriba in 11. degrees tenne minutes, neere the coast of Africa.

The first of October, 1610. wee steered North-east, her way North-east by North ¼. North twenty seven leagues, the wind for the most part South-east. The second, we steered North-east, her way North-east by North ¼. North fiftie seven leagues. Note the Current hath carried us these eight and fortie houres to the North-ward, more then by reckoning we could give her by twentie eight leagues, which we found true by our latitude, which was three degrees thirtie minutes South latitude: variation twelve degrees twenty foure minutes, wind South and South-east. The third, we steered North-east by East, her true way North-east ¼. North fortie one leagues, which is twelve leagues, carried by the Current to the North-wards: for I should have given her but nine and twentie leagues, latitude two degrees South, the winds variable betweene the South and South-east.

The fourth, we steered North-east by East, her true way North-east ½. point Northerly fortie five leagues; whereof foureteene leagues carried with the Current, South latitude foureteene minutes, variation thirteene degrees, wind variable, betweene the South-east and South, we crost the line this afternoone. The fifth, we steered twelve houres North-east by East, and twelve houres East North-east, her true way North-east, little Northerly fortie seven leagues: shee hath been carried to the North by the Current at the least twenty leagues, latitude North one degree thirtie minutes, the wind for the most part South South-east, with sometimes almost calme. The sixt, we steered East by North, and East North-east: her true way North-east by East little Easterly thirtie eight leagues, helped by the Current to the North-ward eighteene leagues: latitude two degrees thirtie minutes, the wind South South-east, variation foureteene degrees two minutes.

We crost the Æquinoctiall.

The seventh, we steered East by North, her true way East North-east ½. point Northerly, eight and twentie leagues: latitude three degrees five minutes, wind all Southerly: variation fifteene degrees, by the Current tenne leagues. The eighth, we steered East North-east, her true way North-east by East ½. point, Northerly fortie leagues: latitude foure degrees twentie seven minutes, the wind South-west, variation sixteene degrees foure minutes. The ninth, wee steered North-east by East, her true way North-east ¼ a point Northerly twenty seven leagues, latitude five degrees, three and twentie minutes, wind South-west, variation sixteene degrees foure minutes.

They loose the North Current.

The tenth calme: Latitude in five degrees, one and twenty minutes. Here we lost the Current that set to the North-ward, and were carried to the South-ward two miles, variation seventeene degrees tenne minutes. The eleventh, calme, latitude five degrees twentie minutes, lost one mile. The twelfth, calme, latitude five degrees, lost by being carried to the South-ward twentie miles. The thirteenth, we steered two watches North-east, and foure watches North North-east: her true way as I guest North North-east, by reason the Current countervailes the variation, she ranne seventeene leagues: latitude five degrees, fiftie five minutes, the wind West by North, variation nineteene degrees tenne minutes.

The foureteenth, we steered North, her way allowing her variation, which is nineteene degrees fortie minutes, should be one point ¾. to the West-ward; but the variation daily rising, sheweth we are carried to the East-ward by the Current, more then the variation commeth unto, she went this day forty leagues, the wind West South-west, latitude seven degrees fifteene minutes: her true way North-east, carried to the East tenne leagues. The fifteenth, wee steered North, our latitude eight degrees fifty five minutes, her true way North-east fortie five leagues, her way should have been North by West, Westerly by the variation, but

[I. iii. 249.]

A Current.

the Current hath caried her to the East-ward of her course seventeene leagues: the variation nineteen degrees five minutes, the wind West South-west.

The sixteenth, we steered away North, her way by the Current, North by East thirtie sixe leagues, carried contrary to the variation five leagues to the East-ward, as I imagine: the wind South South-west, variation nineteene degrees eight minutes. The seventeenth, wee steered North, and ranne nineteene leagues: in the morning early wee did see the Duas Irmanas sixe leagues off, bearing North by West of us: the wind at South-west, variation eighteene degrees fiftie five minutes. The eighteenth at night, we came to an anchor in a sandy Bay, in the Ile of Zacotora, whose latitude was twelve degrees twenty five minutes: in the evening we went on land with our Sayne, and got great store of fish: wind East.

Duas Irmanas.

The Ile of Zacotora.

The one and twentieth, we weighed for to ply for the road of Tamerin, the chiefe towne of the Iland, but we found the wind at the East, and East by South, which was right as wee should goe, so that we could not get the place till the five and twentieth day. The latitude of Tamarin is twelve degrees thirtie minutes, the variation is nineteene degrees eighteene minutes. The Towne standeth at the foote of high ragged hills: the road is all open betweene the East by North, and West North-west. We anchored in ten fathomes water, good ground. The five and twentieth in the afternoon, I sent M. Femel well accompanied ashore, with a present to the King, which was a vest of cloth, a peice of Plate, and a Sword blade; he promised all kindnesses.

Tamerin.

The sixe and twentieth, I went on shore with the chiefe Merchants with me, and a good guard of armed men: I was conducted to the Kings house, where at his chamber doore he came and intertained me: he brought me into his Chamber, where being set in a chaire by him, there passed many complements, which I omit. I enquired concerning the trade of the Red Sea, and he commended

The King entertaineth Sir Henry Middleton.

it highly, saying, the people of Aden and Moha were good people, and would bee glad of trade with us; and that the Ascension had sold all her goods there at good rates, and came so lightly to this place, that they tooke in good store of Ballast. This newes gave me good content: I demaunded leave to set up my Pinnasse upon his Iland, but he would not graunt it in this roade; but if I would returne, and doe it at the place where we first anchored, he was content: he feared if we stayed in this roade of Tamerin to set her up, we would feare all men for comming thither. He had sent all his Alloes to Fartaque to his Father, King of that part of Arabia Fœlix: his chiefe Citie is called Chushem, where he is resident. I asked him leave to wood and water: for the one, which was water, he gave me free leave; but for wood I must pay very deare, if I would have any; saying withall, That all other nations which came thither, payed for their water; but of mee he would not demaund any thing. He confirmed the losse of the Ascension, and her Pinnasse, which was no little griefe to me to heare. I demaunded if they had left any writing behind them; hee answered me, he had one, but his servant had lost it; I was very earnest to have seene it; but it could not be found. He animated me to goe for the Red Sea, but diswaded me from seeking trade in the Countrey of Fartaque: for that he doubts his Father would not permit us. I and all my people dined with the King, which beeing done, I tooke my leave, and went aboord.

Fartaque in Arabia.

Chushem or Caixem.

The casting away of the Ascention.

The seventh of November, we steered West by South, and West South-west alongst the Land: we sawe about tenne of the clocke an high land, which we imagined to be the high land of Aden, it riseth like Abbadel-Curia, and may be seene a great way off. In the evening about sixe of the clocke, we came to an anchor before the Towne in twenty fathome water, sandy ground. The Towne standeth at the foote of a Mountaine in a Vale, and maketh a faire shew: it is invironed with a stone wall, and Forts and Bulwarks in many places; but how they

Aden.

be appoointed we know not. This night there came a small Boat from the Towne to view us, but came not aboord: the wind East South-east we stood in, standing over we were carried to the East-ward with the Current at least twentie leagues, contrary to our expectation, who rather thought the Current would have set to the West-wards.

The eighth, came a small Boat off the Towne aboord, with three Arabians in her: they said they were sent by the Lieftenant of the Towne, to know what Nation we were, and wherefore we came thither, sending us word by them, if we were Englishmen, we were heartily welcome, and that the yeere before, Captaine Sharpeigh had been there, and from thence went to Moha, where he made sale of all his goods: I demaunded of one of them the name of the Basha, and whether he were a good man: he answered, his name was Jeffer Basha, and that the Basha that last was, was very bad, this a little better; but all the Turkes in generall starke naught. I asked, if Moha were a good place of trade? they answered, that there was one man in Moha, that would buy all our goods: I sent my Pinnasse a land, and John Williams one of my Factors in her, who spake the Arabique language, at their comming ashore they were kindly entertained.

Captain Sharpeigh had been at Aden and Moha, in the yeere 1609.

[I. iii. 250.] The ninth in the morning, I sent my Pinnasse ashore for a Pilot for Moha: in the meane while the Boate was ashore, we brought our selves loose, and under sayle: they returned without a Pilot, and would not let us have any, without three of our chiefe Merchants to be left for pledges: they intreated me not to depart with all our ships, but to leave one for that Port; and that they would buy all the goods in her; we beeing desirous of trade upon good consideration, thought fit to leave the Pepper-corne there, and the other two to goe for Moha, whereupon we did what we could to get the Road againe, but could not, beeing carried to Lee-ward with the Current: wee anchored to the South-ward

of the Towne: I sent M. Fowler and John Williams aland, to tell them I minded to leave one of the ships there to trade, so that they would let me have a Pilot. They seemed very glad that one of the ships should tarry, and promised me a Pilot the next day.

The Trade and the Darling set saile for Moha.

The twelfth, I seeing no hope of any Pilot to be had (which had been often promised, but not performed) dispatched my businesse with the Pepper-corne: and about noone, I and the Darling set sayle for Moha: the wind East South-east, wee steered alongst the land sometimes West South-west, and West by North, in twentie eight and thirtie fathome, we saw a small sayle going before us, which we followed till we had lost sight of her by night. This coast is high land, with many head-lands.

This coast is high land.

The thirteenth, we haled on our course alongst the land, all this night steering betweene the West by North, and most by South, her true way West. The next day betimes we saw the head-land going into the Red Sea, rising like an Iland; about eleven of the clocke wee were thwart of the entrance, being but three miles broad: on the North side is a ragged land like an Iland, and on the other side is a flat low Iland, called Babelmandel: upon the South of the Iland there seemeth to be a broad channell or entrance. After we had passed this straight of Babelmandel, upon the North shore in a sandie Bay is a Village, to which place I sent my Pinnasse for a Pilot: they staid not long, but returned with a couple of Arabs, who tooke upon them to be very skilfull. Our depth in the straights was betweene eight and eleven fathome water (betweene the straight and Aden is thirty leagues) we steered alongst the land North by West, and North North-west, betweene eighteene and twentie fathomes deepe: about foure of the clocke we discried the Towne of Moha: and about five a clocke in luffing in beeing much wind, we split our maine toppe sayle, and putting abroad our mizen, it split likewise: our Pilots brought

The Headland on the coast of Arabia going into the Red Sea.

The North straight of the Red Sea.

Babelmandel, or the Bab.

Moha.

The shippe brought on ground.

our shippe a ground upon a banke of sand, the wind blowing hard, and the Sea somewhat high, which made us all doubt her comming off. This night came a Boat aboord of us from the Towne, with a Turke in her, a proper man, sent by the Governour of the Towne, to know what we were, and wherefore wee came thither. I told him we were English Merchants, that came to seeke trade: he answered, if we were Englishmen we were hartily welcome, and should not faile of that we looke for: for Alexander Sharpeigh had sold all his goods there, and we might doe the like. And for the grounding of the ship, he made nothing of it, saying, It was ordinary for great ships of India to come a ground, and yet never heard that any of them sustained any harme thereby: he made hast to goe ashore, to certifie the Aga what we were, with promise in the morning to returne with Boates to lighten our ship. This man, as I afterward understood, is called Lord of the Sea, for that his office is to go aboord all ships that come thither, and to see Lighters sent aboord to discharge the ships, and to search that they steale no custome: for which Office, hee hath diverse duties, which is his onely maintenance.

Alexander Sharpeigh.

The Lord of the Sea there.

The fourteenth in the morning early, he returned with three or foure Turkes more in his company, whereof two of them spake Italian, they brought me a small Present from the Aga, with commendations and offer of any thing the Countrey could affoord me, with heartie welcome to his Port, saying, we should have as good and free Trade as wee had in Stambola, Aleppo, or any part of the Turkes Dominions, with many other Complements: there came with them foure or five Lighters, in which we put any thing that came first to hand, to lighten the ship. Master Femell went a-land in one of them before I was aware thereof, carrying all he had in the ship with him. Wee sent all our Money, Elephants teeth, and all our shot aboord the Darling: wee laid out our Anchors to passe, and in

Stambola is Constantinople.

The extreame dissimulation of the Turkes.

the Evening proved if we could heave her off, but could not make her stirre, which was no small griefe to me.

The fifteenth, we did what we could to lighten our ship, sending some goods a-land and some aboord the Darling, I had a Letter from Master Femell, wherein hee certified mee of kind entertaynment by the Aga, and that he had agreed for Custome to pay five pound the hundred for all we should sell, and that we could not sell to be returned aboord custome free. Likewise the Aga sent me a Letter under his hand and Seale, proffering himselfe and any thing the Countrey affoorded to bee at my disposing, with many other Complements; about five a clocke wee began to heave at our Cap-staynes, and by Gods great mercy shee went off to all our comforts.

The nineteenth, came two Boates from the shore sent by Master Femell for Iron, which I caused them to fetch from the Darling. I writ to Master Femell not to send for any more goods a-land, for that I would see sale of those he had already before I would depart with any more. I received a Letter from Master Femell, if that I minded to have Trade, I must come a-land according to the custome of the place, otherwise they would not be perswaded but that wee were men of Warre. Likewise, the Aga sent our [I. iii. 251.] Interpreter to me to intreate me to come aland, if I were a Merchant and friend to the great Turke, and hoped for Trade: Alledging that Captaine Sharpeigh and all the Indian Captaines did the like.

The twentieth, I went a-land, I was received at the water side by divers chiefe men, and with Musicke brought to the Agas House; where were assembled all the chiefe men of the Towne: my entertaynment by the Aga and the rest, was with extraordinarie great kindnesse, I was seated close to the Aga, all men else standing, where he held me with Complements, many times bidding me welcome, offering himselfe and the Countrey to be at my service: I delivered his Majesties Letter with a

Present to the Basha, which I desired might be sent him up with all speed. Likewise I gave the Aga a Present, which he tooke very kindly, telling me, I and my people should have as good and peaceable Trade, as any of our Nation had in any parts of the Turkes Dominions, and that if any man in the Towne offered me or any of my people wrong, he would see them severely punished; he caused me to stand up, & one of his chiefe men put upon my backe a Vest of Crimson silke and silver, saying, I needed not to doubt of any evill; for that was the Gran Seniors protection. After some few Complements I tooke my leave, I was mounted upon a Gallant Horse with rich Furniture, a great man leading my Horse; and so in my new Coate with the Musicke of the Towne conveiged to the English House: where I stayed Dinner, and presently after went aboord. Much he intreated my stay on shore, which I yeelded to for building my Pinnasse, the daies following being also forced by foule weather.

The English House in Moha.

§. II.

Turkish treacherie at Moha and Aden with the English.

The Turkes fasting.

ONe day past not, but I had some small present or other sent mee by the Aga, with commendations from him, to know if I lacked any thing. On the eight and twentieth day twice he sent mè commendations, willing me to be merry, and when their time of Fasting was done (which was almost expired) hee would have me ride abroad with him to his Gardens, and other places of pleasure to make merry. This afternoone came Master Pemberton a-land for Coco Nuts. I caused him to stay Supper with mee, which beeing done, he tooke his leave to goe aboord, but the Turkes would not permit him, saying, it was too late, but in the morning he should goe as timely as he would. I sent to intreate that he might go, but it would not be granted. All this

time we suspected no harme, but thought it was overmuch curiositie in the Officer, who wee thought had done it without order, of which the next day I thought to have complayned to the Aga.

The Sunne being set (according to my wonted order) I caused stooles to bee set at the doore, where my selfe, Master Femell, and Master Pemberton sat to take the fresh aire, suspecting nothing of the present ensuing harme that did befall us. About eight of the clocke, came a Janizary from the Aga to deliver some message to mee, but wee could not understand him for lacke of an Interpreter; I sent my man to looke for one of my company that spake the Turkish Tongue, my Interpreter presently came, by whom I understood the effect of the Janizaries message, which was, that the Aga had sent me commendations, willing me to be merry, for that hee had received good newes from the Basha. And as hee was about to say somewhat else, my man returnes in great feare, telling us wee were all betrayed: for that the Turkes and my people were by the eares at the backe of the House. The Turke that sate by, was desirous to know what was the matter, which wee tolde him, hee presently rose up, and willed my man to shew him where they were, divers of my Company running after them, to see what was the matter. And I my selfe ranne after them, calling upon them as loud as I could, to returne backe and make good our House: but whiles I was thus speaking, I was strooke upon the head downe to the ground by one which came behind me; I remained as dead till such time as they had bound my hands behind mee, and so straite that the extreame paine thereof brought mee to my memorie. Assoone as they saw me stirre they lifted me upon my feet, and led me betweene two of them to the Agas: where I found divers of my Companie in like taking as I was my selfe. By the way the Souldiers pillaged mee, and tooke from mee such money as I had about mee, and three gold Rings, whereof one was my Seale, the other had seven Diamonds which

The treason of the Turkes, Novemb. 28. 1610.

Sir H. Middleton strooke downe dead.

were of good worth, and the third a Gimmall Ring. When all of us that escaped with life in this bloudie Massacre, were brought together, then beganne they to put us in Irons: my selfe with seven more were chained by the neckes all together: other some their feete, other their hands; this being done, they left two Souldiers to guard us, the rest departed, these Souldiers had compassion of us, and eased us of our bands, for the most of us had our hands so straite bound behind us, that the blood was readie to burst out at our fingers ends, with pain unsufferable, but we were bound to endure it. After I had received this ease of my hands and armes (though still over-charged with griefe of heart) not only for my owne necessitie (and these with me) but also for the safetie of the ships, which I greatly doubted, knowing the covetous Turkes would leave no Villanie nor Treason unattempted; for the surprizing of them, we began to reason amongst our selves, what should be the reason or cause of this their villanous usage of us; and withall, I demanded how it began, and if any of our Company were slaine. I was certified by those of my Company that did see it, and hardly escaped themselves, that Francis Slanny, John Lanslot, and sixe more were slaine, and that foureteene of our Company there present were grievously wounded, and that our House was round begirt with armed Souldiers, who, at the instant I was strooke downe, sallied out upon us using their mercilesse crueltie towards us, that had not wherewithall to defend our selves, much lesse to offend them. Now having gone through their first pretence of mischiefe, not being satisfied with Christian bloud, they aymed at our ships and goods. For about ten of the clocke, they armed three great Boates with one hundred and fiftie Souldiers in them to take the Darling, who rode somewhat neere the shore. The Boates put from the shore altogether, the Turkes tooke off their white Tuckes, because they would be thought to be Christians, and all joyntly boorded her, and entred most of their men: it was so sudden, that three of the

Sir H. Middleton, and seven more chained by the neckes.

[I. iii. 252.]

Eight of our men were slayne.

The Darling boorded by the Turkes.

Darlings men were slaine, before they could get downe: the rest betake them to their close fight. Now it pleased God in mercie to looke upon us, and not to suffer any more Christian bloud to be shed. For the Captaine of them, which is called Emier-bahare or Lord of the Sea, called to his Souldiers to cut the Tables in the House, the Souldiers mis-understanding him, many of them leapt into the Boates, and cut the Boate Ropes, and so drove away: by this time our men had gotten them to their Weapons, and to their close fights, the Turkes standing very thicke in the waste, hollowing and clanging their Swords upon the Decke, one of the Company threw a bigge Barrell of Powder amongst them, and after it a Fire-brand; which tooke so good effect, that it burned divers of them: the rest for their better safetie (as they thought) retyred to the halfe Deck and the Poope, where they were set off with Musket shot, and entertayned with another trayne of Powder, which put them in such feare, that they leaped into the Sea, hanging by the ships side, desiring mercy, which was not there to be found, for that our men killed all they could finde, and the rest were drowned, only one man was saved, who hid himselfe till the furie was past, who yeelded and was received to mercie. Thus God of his goodnesse and mercie delivered our ship and men out of the hands of our Enemies, for which his holy Name be blessed and praysed evermore. Amen.

The Turkes all burned, killed, or drowned, save one.

Now let us looke backe to us imprisoned at Moha. The Boats returning brought newes the ship was taken, for which there was great rejoycing. The Governour sent off the Boats againe with order to bring the ship: when they came so farre off as where the ship did ride, they found her gone from thence under saile standing off, so that they returned and told the Aga the ship had escaped and was gone, and that they thought Emeir Bahars and his Souldiers were taken Prisoners: which newes was nothing pleasing unto him. Before day he sent our Interpreter to tell me the small ship was taken:

Sir H. Middleton convented before the Aga.

which I did verily beleeve to bee true; when it was day I was sent for to come to the Aga, so I and seven more which were chained by the neckes with mee came before him. He with a frowning (and not his wonted dissembling) countenance, asked mee how I durst be so bold as to come into this their Port of Moha, so neere their holy Citie of Mecca; I answered, it was not unknowne unto him wherefore I came thither, having long before certified him thereof, and that I came not a-land but at his earnest intreatie with many promises of kind and good usage; he answered it was not lawfull for any Christian to come so neere their holy Citie of Medina, this being the Port or Doore thereof, and that the Basha had expresse order from the great Turke, to captivate all Christians that should come into those Seas, although they had his owne passe. I told him the fault was his, that he had not told mee so much at the first, but deluded us with faire promises: he gave me a Letter to reade of Captaine Dounton that came from Aden, dated long before, the effect whereof was, that two of his Merchants and Purser were detayned ashore, and that they would not be released without landing of Merchandize, or paying of fifteene hundred Venetianos for Anchorage, and withall to be advised by me what he had best to doe, after I had read it, hee bade mee tell him the effect thereof: which I did, hee told me since the writing of this Letter, the ship was comming from this place, and that she was cast away upon a Rocke, and that all the goods and men were lost (this was cold comfort to mee to heare) he willed me to write a Letter aboord, to know how many Turkes were in the small ship. I told him that should not need, for that they had taken the ship, hee answered that shee was once taken and possessed by them, but she was rescued by the great ship and taken from them againe, and therefore willed me to write to them aboord the great shippe, to come all of them a-land, and yeeld the ship into his hands, and he would let us have the small ship to carrie us

Treason at Aden. Besides these three were with like treacherie twentie men more betrayed at Aden, having leave given them to come on shore for businesse, and shackles made the whiles, &c.

home. I said it was a folly to write any such thing: for they that were aboord and had their libertie were no such Fooles, as upon my Letter to forsake the ship and goods, and come a-land and bee slaves. He said, he knew if I did write a Letter to that effect, they durst not disobey me. I told him I would write no such Letter, he enquired what store of money was in our shippes. I answered, little, and that was not for Merchandize but to buy Victuals. Hee asked what store of Victuals and Water? I told him enough for two yeares, which hee would not beleeve. He urged mee againe to write, to will them to come all ashore and yeeld the ship, or he would cut off my head. I bade him doe so: for therein [I. iii. 253.] hee should doe me a great pleasure, for I was weary of my life, but write to that effect I never would.

I was taken out of my Chaine and Coller, and a great paire of Fetters clapt upon my legges, and Manacles upon my hands, and so separated from the rest of my company: they stowed mee all that day in a dirty Dogges Kennell under a paire of staires: at night, at the intreatie of Shermall Counsul of the Bannians, I was taken out and placed in a better roome, one more of my Company which spake Turkish being with me. My lodging was upon the hard ground, and my pillow a stone, my companions to keepe me waking were griefe of heart and multitude of Rats: which if I chanced to sleepe, would awake me with running over me. About mid-night came the Lieutenant of the Aga, and our Trugman entreating me very fairely to write my Letter aboord, to know how many Turkes were aboord Prisoners, and what were their names, but in any case willed me not to write any thing of the losse of our men, nor of my owne and my peoples hard usage, but to say we were detayned in the Agas House (where wee lacked not any thing) till further order came from the Basha. This Letter I did willingly write, and to the same effect they willed me, but withall willing them to looke well to their ships and Boat, and to have a care to their men, that not any of them came

aland for feare of Treason. This Letter they had with them, and examined two or three of my men whether I had so written.

This Letter was not sent, for that they could not get any man to goe aboord with it, but now they had found a man who was there present would undertake to carrie it aboord, so that I would write they should use him well and doe him no harme; this man was borne in Tunes in Barbary, and spake good Italian. I writ the Letter as they desired; which was perused as was *Decemb.* 1610. the former, and the next day was sent aboord, and answere returned, the effect was that all the Turkes were slaine and drowned save one, whose name was Russwan, a common Souldier, and that they were glad to heare I was alive: for the Prisoner Turke told them, he thought we were all slaine. We continued in this misery till the fifteenth of December, not hearing any thing from the ships, nor they from us. The Aga came divers times to me, sometimes with threats, sometimes with faire meanes, to have me write that all our people should come ashoare and yeeld up the shippes: I still answered him as I did at the first. Hee was desirous to know what money was in the shippe, and what store of water. I answered him, Money had we little, but victuall had we enough for two yeares. He was in hope for lacke of water and victuals to have the ships yeeld unto him, knowing that we could not have a wind to carrie us *Decemb.* 15. out of the straight till May: he said, he marvelled how so great a charge could be borne with so small a stocke. I answered, we had Factories in divers places in India, who had stocke enough in their hands to loade us if we had brought never a peny worth of Commodities with us, and that stocke wee had was sufficient to lade our ships with Pepper, which in India was good cheape.

They in the ships were very evill to passe riding in an open and wide Roade, the wind blowing continually hard at South South-east, enclosed round with shoales,

their water beginning to faile them, for that we had staved fiftie Tunnes to lighten our ship at our comming a ground: and hearing nothing from us aland made them at their wits ends, not knowing well what to do: they being in this perplexitie, an honest fellow in the ship called John Chambers offered them to goe ashore to see what was become of us, and to put his life and libertie in venture rather then see men live in this discontent, which he effected; & also this day being the fifteenth of December, with a Flagge of Truce was set upon a small Iland, a little to wind-ward of the Towne, he had one of our Indians with him for his Interpreter: they were brought before the Aga, who asked him how he durst be so bold to come ashore without leave; he answered he came with a Flag of Truce, & was but a Messenger, which was permitted amongst enemies. He asked what message he had to deliver. He said, a Letter to me, and likewise if he would give him leave to see how wee did. They examined him and the Indian very strictly what store of victuall and water was in the ships, they both answered as I formerly had done, that there was enough of all sorts of victuals for two yeares.

The hardie part of John Chambers.

This being done they brought him to my darke Cell; who comming out of the light was a great while before he could see me, Hee delivered me the Letter with watery eyes to see mee so fettered hands and feet in Irons. I demanded how he came ashore? He told me after what manner, and how he was examined by the Aga. I told him I thought they would not permit him to returne aboord, for that not few dayes before one of the Pepper-Corne men was come from Aden with a Letter to me, and they kept him Prisoner, and would not permit him to returne, nor give him leave to goe aboord our ships. He answered he came with that resolution from aboord, to take such part as I did, if they would bee so villanously minded to stay him being but a Messenger.

The sixteenth, I returned answere of my Letter sent me, and delivered it to Chambers, and contrary to my expectation, they let him and the Indian returne to the Boate, with leave to come againe the next day if they had occasion: the next day Chambers returnes alone, for the Indian was so frighted that he durst not come: my man sent me divers things by him, but the Aga was my Receiver and kept them to his owne use, thinking them too good for mee; he returnes aboord, and leaves us to our wonted miserie, attending daily what should become of us; looking every houre for the sentence from the Basha, of Death, or perpetuall imprisonment or captivitie. Yet God dealt more mercifully with us, who never faileth them that put their trust in him. [I. iii. 254.]

For upon the twentieth of December, came downe from Zenan an Aga, Captaine or Chiefe of the Chawsses, with order to bring us up all. At his first lighting he was desirous to see me & my poore Company; there were three Chaires brought into my Roome, wherein Regib Aga, Ismael (which was the Messenger from the Basha) and Jasfer Aga seated themselves. Regib Aga began to aske me how I durst be so bold as to come into that Countrey so neere their holy Citie, without a Passe from the Gran Senior? I answered, the King my Master was in league and amitie with the Gran Senior, and that in the Articles of peace, it was allowed us free Trade in all his Dominions, and this being part of his Dominions there needed no passe. Hee answered, this was the doore of their holy Citie, and therefore not lawfull for any Christian to come hither; Likewise, he asked me, If I did not know the Gran Seniors Sword was long; I answered wee were not taken by the Sword, but by Treason, and if I and my people were aboord, I cared not for the length of his or all their Swords; he said it was proudly spoken of me. Also he willed, as formerly he had done many times, to write a Letter aboord to command all the men out of the ships,

and yeeld themselves to the Basha; and received like answer.

Ismael Aga broke off this idle speech, by telling me he was come from the Basha, with expresse order from him to conduct me and all my people to Zenan, and therefore willed mee to send aboord for warme clothes, for that wee should find it very cold in the Mountaine Countrey. I prayed him if it were possible that my poore men might bee sent aboord, and that I and some few more might be sent up. Hee said it was not in him to remedie it, for it was the Bashas order we should all goe up: Regib Aga said I should have my desire, that I and five more should goe up with me, and the rest must abide where they are, till further order from the Basha. This was the eighteenth day of December.

Capt. Dounton commeth into the road of Moha.

This twentieth day, Captaine Dounton in the Pepper-Corne, came into the Road from Aden: I writ to him my minde, what I thought fittest to be done.

§. III.

Sir Henrie Midleton, and foure and thirtie others, sent to the Basha at Zenan. Description of the Countrey, and Occurrents till their returne.

Decemb. 22. 1610.

THe two and twentieth of December, our Irons were knockt off all our legges, save the Carpenters and Smithes, and some sicke men that were not able to travell: the Carpenters and Smithes were kept there to build up the Pinnasse; and my selfe, and foure and thirtie persons more of us, were appointed to goe up for Zenan, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdome, where the Basha is resident. About foure of the clocke we set out of Moha, all my Company beeing mounted upon Asses, and my selfe and M. Femel upon Horse-backe. About ten of the clocke in the night, being tenne or twelve miles from Moha, Master Pemberton slipt away

Sir Henry Midleton, and 34. Englishmen were sent to Zenan.

The escape of M. Pemberton.

from us; we missed him our selves presently, but said not any thing, the best helpe we were able to doe him, he had; which was in beseeching God to send him safe aboord, for the attempt was very desperate. About one of the clocke after midnight, we came to our Inne at a Towne called Mowssi: they told us all at our comming thither: yet missed not him that was wanting. We continued in this lodging till foure of the clocke in the afternoone the next day. At our setting out of doore they told us, and found one missing: the Aga inquired of me how many we were that set out of Moha. I told him I could not well tell, but as I thought we were foure and thirtie of us: he said, we were five and thirtie, and that one was missing: I said, it was more then I did know. The chiefest cause that mooved M. Pemberton to take this desperate action in hand, was to see so many of us carried up together manacled, with a Captaine, and a guard of Souldiers to conduct us, which he could imagine to no other end, then death or captivitie, which was the opinion of us all. I found a great friend of one Hamet Aga, who sent me divers Presents, and willed me to be of good comfort, for my cause was good: he sent me and my people provision of Bread for our journey, and withall his letters to the Kaha.

Mowssi.

Hamet Aga a great friend to us.

Likewise, the Consul of the Bannians, who came every day to visit me, and never came empty handed, and Tookehar was our great friend all the time we were there prisoners, and every day failed not to send to each man, being one and fiftie in number, two cakes of white bread, and a quantitie of Dates, or Plantans: he departed from Moha two dayes before us for Zenan, promising me at his departure to doe all he could with the Basha for our good: which promise, I thinke, he well performed: for at Zenan I was told by divers, he laboured hard in our businesse, both with the Basha and his Cayha, which is a verie discreet man, and governes the Kingdome.

The Consul of the Bannians, and Tookehar, their great friendship to us.

We arrived at the Citie of Ties (which is foure dayes journey from Moha) upon Christmas day: where we were marshalled into the Citie two and two in a ranke, as they doe at * Stambola with captives taken in the warres, our Aga riding in triumph as a great Conquerour, beeing met a mile out of the Towne with the chiefe men of the Citie on Horse-back, multitudes of people standing all the way gazing and wondering at us: thus were we used in all Cities and Townes we passed through. A youth of M. Pembertons fell sicke in this Towne, and was left with the Governour thereof, for that he was not able to travell. I kept no Journal from this time forward; but this I remember, we found it very cold all the way from Tyes to Zenan, our lodging being the cold ground; I bought most of our men, which were slenderly clothed, furred gownes to keepe them from the cold; otherwise, I thinke, they would have starved. I would not beleeve at Moha, when I was told of the cold wee should have upwards, and that made me goe but thinly clothed my selfe; but experience taught me otherwaies, wishing when it was too late, I had come better provided. Zenan is from Moha an hundred and eightie miles, or thereabouts, as I judge, North North-west. It is in the latitude of sixteene degrees fifteene minutes, which I observed by an instrument I made there.

Ties a citie foure dayes journey from Moha.

[I. iii. 255.]

** Constantinople.*

Great cold in the mountains. Furred gownes needfull. Zenan is in sixteen degrees fifteene minutes.

Every morning the ground was covered with horie frost: and in Zenan wee had Ice a finger thicke in one night, which I could hardly have beleeved, had I not seene it. Wee were fifteene dayes betweene Moha and Zenan. The fifth of January two houres before day, we came within two miles of the Citie, where we lay upon the ground till it was faire day, being much pinched by the cold, not beeing able scarce to stand we were so benummed. About a mile from the Towne we were met by the Subbassie or Sheriffe, with at least two hundred Shot, Drummes, and Trumpets: we were caused to goe one by one in order, a prety distance one from

Ice a finger thicke in one night in Zenan. They were fifteene dayes in going from Moha to Zenan.

the other, to make the better shew; our men had their gownes taken from them, and were caused to march a foote in their thinne and ragged suites: the souldiers lead the way, after came our men one by one; our Trumpeters were placed next before me, and commanded by the Aga to sound; but I forbad them: after the Trumpets came M. Femel and my selfe on Horseback; and lastly came our Aga riding in Triumph, with a spare horse richly furnished led before him. In this order wee were led through the heart of the Citie

The Castle. till we came to the Castle, all the way beeing so full of people, we could hardly passe for them. At the first gate, there was a good guard of armed soldiers: the second gate had two great pieces of Ordnance, readie mounted at the entry thereof; after we had passed this gate, we came to a spacious yard, twice the length of the Exchange in London; the souldiers at the entry of the Gate discharged their shot, and placed themselves amongst many others that were there before them, some on the one side, and some on the other, and a lane left in the middest. At my first comming in I alighted, and was placed on the one side with my men; where I had not staied long, but I and M. Femel were brought

Their comming before the Basha. before the Basha: it was their Dinano or Counsell day: at the upper end of the yard, we mounted up a paire of staires some twelve steps high: at the head thereof, two great men came and tooke me by the wristes, and held mee very hard, and so led me to the Basha. The place where he was seated was a long spacious gallery; at the upper end thereof he was seated alone, many great men standing on each side of him, and others stood on either side, from the lower part of the Gallery to the upper end, which made a good shew: the floore was covered all over with Turkie Carpets. When I came within two yards of him, we were stayed; He, with a frowning and angry countenance, demaunded of what Countrey I was, and what I made in those parts? I answered, I was an Englishman, and a Merchant, and

friend to the Grand Senior, and came to seeke trade. He said, It was not lawfull for any Christian to come into that Countrey, and that he had given warning to Captaine Sharpeigh, that no more of our Nation should come thither. I told him, Captaine Sharpeigh was cast away upon the Coast of India, and came not to England to tell us so much, which had we knowne, wee would never have put our selves into that trouble we were in: I told him Regib Aga was the man that had abused me, in telling me we were welcome into the Countrey, and that we should have as free trade as our Nation had in any part of Turkie, with many other faire promises, and that contrary to his word he assaulted us with armed souldiers, and murthered divers of my men, and tooke me and the rest prisoners; he said, Regib Aga was but his slave, and had no such power as to passe his word to me without his leave, and what was befallen to me and my people, was by his order to Regib Aga; and that he himselfe likewise had such order from the Gran Senior, so to chastise all Christians that should come into those parts. I told him we had received great harme, and if it pleased him to let us returne to our ships, it would bee sufficient warning to our Nation, for ever comming in those parts againe. Hee said, No, hee could not so let us depart, but that I should sit there and write my letters to the Ambassador at *Stambola, and he would likewise write to the Gran Senior, to know his pleasure what should become of us, or whether he would permit us trade, or no: he dismist me for that present, and bad me goe to my lodging which was appointed for me, and take with me foure or five more, such as I thought good: I and those I made choise of, were conveyed to the Keeper of the prisons house, and the rest carried to the common prison, where for their welcome they were clapt in waightie Irons; one of our youths at such time as I was brought before the Basha, thinking I was so led to have my head strook off, fel in a sound with very feare, thinking his

*Stambol, or Stambola, or Stamboli, is a correption and corruption of the Greeke words, εἰς τὴν πόλιν, which the Greeks used to speake of their going thither, that is, to the Citie, so calling it of special eminence above other Cities: as Athens is at this day contracted into Satines from εἰς Ἀθήνας. Postel. Comp. Cos. & Fr. Port. Cret.

[I. iii. 256.]

turne would not bee long after; hee fell sicke upon it and shortly after died.

The sixth of January, I was sent for to the Basha Caya, or Lieftenant generall of the Kingdome, to breake fast with him: after breake-fast I told him every particular, how treacherously and vilely I was used by Regib Aga; he bad me be of good cheare, and not thinke of things past, which could not be remedied: and he doubted not but all would be wel in the end, and his best endeavours to do me good should not be wanting. Shermall the Bennian of Moha, had made this man our friend; then I departed with my Keepers to prison, where I was of better comfort then before.

The seventh day, I was sent for to the Cayhas garden, where he feasted me and M. Femel, telling me, that shortly I and my people should have libertie, and be sent to Moha, where I should have redresse of all my wrongs, promising me to be my friend, and before many great Personages, Turkes and Arabs said, what kindnesse he did me was onely for Gods sake; but I well knew it was in hope of some great reward from me. Hamet Aga his letter did us no small good. This day came to towne a Moore of Cairo, an old acquaintance of the Bashaes, and one that had lent him great summes of money at his comming from Stambola, when he was but poore: this man was our next neighbour at Moha before, and when we were betrayed, and had a ship in Moha roade, bound for India, which he greatly doubted our ships would have taken, in regard of the wrongs offered us, but they let her quietly depart, contrary to his expectation, so that hee became our great friend: he writ his letter in our behalfe to the Basha, and therein did much blame him in using us so hardly, saying, he went about to destroy the Countrey and trade, in taking such courses with us: at his comming before the Basha, he iterated what he had written, and much more; willing him to have a care, the Trade of the Red Sea were not destroyed by his meanes, and therefore counselled him

A Moore of Cayro our great friend.

to returne me all my goods, and to send me and my people away contented. His letter prevailed much with the Basha: for when he sent for us up, it was his purpose to have put us to death, and to have made slaves of all the rest: none in the Country durst speake so boldly as he. Of this which I have written concerning the Moore of Cayro, was I enformed by Shermall and Hamet Waddy, who were both present at reading the letter, and likewise heard the conference betweene the Basha and him. This Hamet Waddy is an Arabian Merchant, very rich dwelling at Zenan, and is called the Bashas Merchant: he stood my friend very much, in perswading the Basha that we might be kindly dealt withall, and suffered to depart.

The eighth, I made petition to the Basha, requesting, That whereas at my comming from Moha, I had willed the Commanders of my ships to forbeare hostilitie for five and twentie daies, and after to use their discretions, if in that time they heard not from me; the time beeing almost expired, that the Basha would vouchsafe speedily to censure my cause, or give me some comfortable news to write them, to stay them from doing harme, to which they might easily encline, being without Head or Governour.

The eleventh day, I was sent for to the Cayha, who told me that now all things were ended, and that my stay there was for the rest of my company which were comming from Aden, and that presently after their comming up, we should all be sent to Moha.

M. Fowler, and eighteen more arrived at Zenan.

The seventeenth, M. Fowler and eighteene more of their Company arrived at Zenan; they were presently brought before the Basha, and such like questions demanded of them as hee did of me. Afterward, M. Fowler, John Williams, and Robert Mico were sent to keep me company, and all the rest to the Common prison to the rest of my men, where they were all put in irons, and their allowance from the Basha, browne bread and water, they would have all died with hunger

and cold, had not I releived them better then the Basha.

The twentie fifth, I was sent for to the Cahays garden, where we spent some houres in conference: he told me I should presently goe with him to the Bashaes garden, where the Basha would have conference with me: he counselled me to sooth him up with faire words, and not crosse him in any thing; I asked him what he thought, whether he would surrender me all my goods: he said, he could not tell: I asked him whether I should have my Pinnasse againe: he said likewise he could not tell: but in any case he willed me not to speake of it to the Basha, but at my comming to Moha to write my letters to him, and he would solicite the Basha in my behalfe, and doubted not but to obtaine it for me: I told him, I thought it fitter to demand it now, then hereafter; for that I was desirous to know what to trust unto: he bad me use my discretion. The chiefest cause that made this man our friend, was for a summe of money which I had promised to give him: he would not be seene to meddle therein himselfe, but appointed Shermall, Consull of the Bannians, to treat with me concerning the same: he demaunded much, and I was willing to part with nothing. We spent three or foure dayes consulting this businesse, in the ende I was constrained to give them content, in promising after my deliverie to pay him fifteene hundred Venetianoes: which beeing done, the Cayha tooke Horse and rid to the Bashaes garden, and bad our Truchman bring me and M. Femel thither. When we came to the garden doore, wee staied an houre before we were admitted to the Bashaes presence: we found him seated in a Summer-house, in a chaire, his Cayha standing at his right hand, and halfe a douzen others at the backe of the Chaire. [I. iii. 257.] I was lead by two men, which held me by the cloake till I came within two paces of him; and there they stayed me, M. Femel comming behind me at libertie, without his leaders: he demaunded of me how I did,

and bad me be of good cheare, for that shortly I and all my people should have their libertie, and be sent to Moha, where I with twentie nine more should remaine, till all the ships of India were come into Moha, and the rest to be sent aboord; and when all the said ships were come in, and the winds setled Westerly, I and the rest of my company should be permitted to go aboord, and proceed on our Voyage to India. I besought him he would not detaine so many of us: he answered, thirtie have I spoken, and thirty shall stay: then I demaunded, if our goods should be surrendered; he answered, no: for they were all put to the Gran Seniors accompt. I demaunded my Pinnasse, he said likewise she was put to the same accompt. I told him, divers provisions belonging to the ships were aland at Moha, and desired I might have them surrendered; he said I should: then I spake to M. Femel, willing him to speake againe that our goods might be surrendered; which he did, and was answered as I was: then I prayd him to assure me of one thing, and that was, whether all my people should be permitted to depart aboord the ships, the time of our abode being expired, he promised me upon his word, not any one should be stayed, but be all sent aboord, and all things, had I Turke to my slave, hee would not detaine him: for which his kindnesse I gave him thankes: then he beganne to excuse himselfe, praysing his owne milde nature, in that it was our haps to fall into his hands, he had dealt mercifully and favourably with us, which had it been in the time of any of his Predecessors, we had all suffered death for our presumption, in comming into that Countrey so neere their holy Citie: and that which now was befallen us, was by order from the Gran Senior, he being urged thereto by the complaint of the Bashaes of Cairo and Snachen, and the Sheriffe of Mecca, who had certified the Gran Senior at the being here of the Ascension and her Pinnasse, that they had bought all the choice ware of India, whereby his customes were much diminished, and would be the overthrow of the Trade of

The complaint of the Bashas of Cairo and Snachen against the English.

these Seas, if it were permitted; and therefore wished it might be carefully looked unto: whereupon the Gran Senior dispatched his letters with a commandement to him, That if any more Englishmen, or any other Christians did come into those parts, to confiscate their ships and goods, or to kill or captivate all the men they could get into their power: but he minded not to deale so with me, but more favourably, in permitting us without further harme to returne to our ships, hoping it would be a warning, that neither we nor any other of our Nation, would repaire thither any more.

February 1. 1610. *The Basha made a Vizir.*

The first of February, I and M. Femel were sent for to the Cayha, who gave me counsell to goe to the Basha, to bid God give him joy of his late received Dignitie: which was, the Gran Senior had made him a Vizir, and sent him letters of great favour, with a Sword, and rich Robes belonging to a Vizir, which Robes and Sword are a confirmation of him in so high a place and calling. These Presents from the Gran Senior, were received two daies before with great solemnitie: and the party that brought them, was met by the Basha, and all the chiefe of the Citie, with all the souldiers, horse and foote, sixe miles without the Towne. Where a Tent was set up, where the Basha disrobed himselfe, and vested him in those which were sent him by his Master; and so in great pompe came riding through the Citie to his owne house: I and others of my company, by the appointment of the Cayha, had a place appointed us, where we did see his comming into the Citie: our Trudgman, by the appointment of the Cayha, conducted us to the Vizirs house, where we stayd not long, but were admitted to his presence: I told him, my comming was onely to see him, and to congratulate his new received honour, and to pray God give him joy: hee gave mee thanks, and bad me be merry: for what he had promised me, he would performe, and be better to me then his promise: he was very pleasant, and tooke this our comming kindly: and so, as a great favour, Master Femel and I were per-

mitted to kisse his hand, and dismissed, returning to our lodging.

Many of our people in the meane while fell sicke and weake through griefe, cold, naughtie aire, bad diet, evill lodging, and waightie Irons; I never ceased soliciting the Cayha, till hee had procured their liberty out of that loathsome prison, so that the eleventh day they were all free of prison and Irons, and had a house in the Towne, and libertie to walke abroad, and take the fresh aire: also the next day the Cayha sent me halfe a dozen of Beefes, to bestow among my men; so that in fewe dayes all of them, I thanke God, recovered their former health and strength. The Cayha informed me, that Regib Aga had writ earnestly to the Basha, that we might all be sent downe to Aden, and there taken into our ships: by which meanes his Towne of Moha, and such ships of India as should passe the Bab, should be secure from danger or any harme our ships might doe them. This wicked counsell had prevailed with the Basha, had not God raysed the Cayha for our good to perswade the contrary.

Our men set at libertie.

The seventeenth in the morning early, the Cayha sent for me, M. Femel, and others, and told me, the next morning I and my people should depart for Moha. After wee had broke fast, hee brought us to the Basha to take our leaves: he beganne againe to extoll his owne clemencie, and the power of the Gran Senior, saying, he had a long Sword, straightly charging me I came no more into those Seas: adding, that neither Christian nor Lutheran might come thither, no, though they had the Gran Seniors Passe: for so had he commanded him: then I requested, if any of our Nation came thither, before I could give advise to England, that they might not be betrayed, as I was, but plainely denied Trade, that they might know what to trust to, and to be permitted quietly to depart; which my request he would in no wise grant: then I intreated him to write to Regib Aga, to effect what he had promised me, otherwise he being my mortall

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enemy, would wrong me and my people: he answered with great pride, Is not my onely word sufficient to turne a whole Citie upside downe? if Regib Aga wrong you, I will pull his skin over his eares, and give you his head: is he not my slave? and therewithall appointed the Cayha to write my dispatch. I demanded answer of his Majesties letter, but he would give me none. This done, I departed. I told the Cayha I had never a weapon, and therefore I desired leave I might buy a Sword, and ride downe as I came up like a prisoner: he acquainted the Basha therewith, and he sent mee one of his cast Swords. The Cayha also this morning gave me an hundred peices of gold of fortie Madines the peice: and fiftie pieces had he given me not many dayes before: so that I received from him in all an hundred and fiftie peices of gold, and from the Basha nothing but his rusty Sword: the Cayha is of a liberall disposition, and the Basha exceeding covetous: if any man be knowne to bee rich, he had need to carrie himselfe uprightly: otherwaies the least occasion will cost him his head, that the Basha may enjoy his goods, as lately befell a rich Aga, whom he caused privately to be cruelly murthered, and presently after seazed upon all he had.

The eighteenth, I paid all duties of the Prison, and went to the Cayhas Garden, where wee brake our fast, received my dispatch, and a Letter to the Governour of Aden for re-deliverie of the Pepper-Cornes Boate; I requested his Letter to the Governour of Tayes for delivery of a Youth of Master Pembertons, which was left sicke there, (I was informed hee was inforced to turne Turke, hee writ his Letter and sealed it: the effect I know not) which being done I tooke my leave and departed: my selfe, Master Femell, and Master Fowler were mounted on Horses, and all the rest upon Asses and Camels, we had two Chauses to conduct us, and a Horseman, the other afoot.

They depart from Zenan.

The description of Zenan. This Citie is somewhat bigger then Bristoll, of good building of stone and lime, with Churches or Meskits;

it is environed with a mudde wall full of Battlements and Turrets. On the West-side there is a great deale of spare ground enclosed within the walles, there they have their Gardens, Orchards, and Houses of pleasure, it standeth in a barren and stony Valley, with high Hils enclosing it, not being farre off, whereof one which is to the Northward over-looketh the Towne, whereon is built a small Castle, to keepe it from the mountaine people, who accustomed from thence to offend the Citie. It hath no water but Wel-water, which they digge deepe for; Wood is very scarce, and fetcht from farre, and very deare; In the Easter-most part is the Castle inclosed with mudde Walles full of Turrets, in which Turrets every night they place their Watch, which keepe such a hollowing one to another all night long, that a man that is not acquainted with it can hardly sleepe; the Basha and some other principall men dwell within this Castle Wall, the Keepers House wherein I was imprisoned, joyneth to the wall, and at the foote of the Wall is a spacious yard, wherein a great number of people, for the most part Women and Children, are kept Prisoners or Pledges, to keepe their Parents, Husbands, and Allies from Rebellion. The Boyes while they be little goe loose in the yard, but after they bee come to bignesse they are clapt in Irons and carryed to a strong Tower, where there bee many more kept in like case, there they remayne during the Bashas pleasure, those Women and Children which remayne in the yard live in little Cottages, which they have made of purpose; the Children goe for the most part naked, without it be very cold, and then have they Sheep-skinne Coates to keepe them warme, they be as wilde and rude as if they were brought up in the Mountaines. This night we arrived at Siam distant from Zinan sixteene miles: which is a small Towne with a Castle upon the side of a Hill, the place and Countrey about it is very barren, and yeeldeth small reliefe to Travellers.

Siam a small Towne and Castle.

About midnight we departed from Zenan, and the

Surage. next day being the nineteenth, we came to Surage, about ten a clocke in the forenoone: it is likewise a small Village distant from Siam about eighteene miles, the Countrey barren and the people poore, and goe almost naked, save a cloth about their wastes reaching downe to their knees. We departed from hence at mid-night.

Damare a good Citie. Wee came to Damare the twentieth, about eight of the clocke in the morning; it is a Citie built of lime and stone, but separated in five parts one a prettie distance from the other, so that it seemeth to be so many Villages. It is seated in a spacious Valley or Plaine, having plentie of water and all kind of graine, with all other provision for sustenance both for themselves and their poore Neighbours, who live in great penurie and want, it is distant from Surage twentie miles. We tarryed heere two dayes by order of Abdela Chillarby, the Bashas Cayha, who is Governour of this Province.

Ermin. The two and twentieth, we departed from Damare about two a clocke after mid-night, and came to Ermin betimes, it being a small Village and distant from Damare some fifteene miles.

Naqualsamare an Inne. The three and twentieth, we arrived at Naqual Samare, being a common Inne for all Travellers. The Turkes call them Censors; which are built at the cost of the Gran [I. iii. 259.] Signior, for the reliefe of Travellers. There be many of these Censors betweene Moha and Zenan, this Censor is seated in the middle of a very steepe hill called Nackhilsamar, and some few scattering poore houses about it, upon the top of this hill is a great Castle, wherein the Governour of the Province which is an Arabian dwelleth. These craggie Mountaine Countries, are for the most part governed by the Arabians, for the people of these Mountaines cannot brooke the proud and insolent Government of the Turkes: no Turke may passe this way, neither upward nor downeward without a Pasport of the Governour of the Province from whence they come, this Censor is distant from Ermin, some fourteene miles.

The foure and twentieth wee arrived at Mohader, which is a little Village at the foot of the great hill, being distant from Nackelsamar, some thirteene miles. Our Chauses had warrant from the Basha, to take up Asses for our men to ride upon, which accordingly they performed over-night; but the next morning the Arabians lay in ambush in the way and in despight of our Chauses tooke their Asses away, neither of our Guardians daring to give them a foule word. *Mohader a little Village.*

The five and twentieth, being arrived at Rabattamaine a Censor with some Cottages and shops adjoyning thereunto: it is seated on the side of a hill and is distant from Mohader sixteene miles, groweth Poppie, whereof they make their Oppium: but it is not good. *Rabattamaine an Inne.*

The sixe and twentieth, we arrived at a Coughe house in the middle of a Plaine: it is called Merfadine, and distant from Rabattamaine sixteene miles. *Merfadin.*

The seven and twentieth, we arrived at Tayes, being a Citie of halfe the bignesse of Zenan, and walled round with a mud wall: here we stayed all this day and the next, in which time of my abode there, I used the best meanes I could for recovery of a Youth of Master Pembertons, whom the Governour Hamet Aga had forced to turne Turke, and would by no meanes depart with him. But Walter Talbot having the Turkish Tongue was permitted to speake with him in a Chamber amongst other Boyes and Youthes, who weeping, said unto him he was no Turke, but was deluded by them, they telling him that I and all my people were put to death at Zenan, and if he would turne he should save his life, but he would not yeeld unto them. But afterward some of the Agaes servants carrying him to a Hot-house, when they had him naked circumcised him perforce. When I saw I could not get him I delivered Abdela Chillarby the Cayhas Letters, which was, if that he was not turned he should deliver him me. When the Aga had read this Letter, he told me the effect saying, that Letter was warrant sufficient for keeping of him. I suspected the *Tayes a Citie.*

Letter was to that effect when it was given me, and that made me not deliver it at first. This Citie standeth in a Valley under very high hils; and upon the top of one of the highest hils is a faire and strong Castle: all kind of victuall is very cheape here, in the Countrey thereabouts is made some Indico, but what quantitie or of what goodnesse I could not learne. This Citie is very populous, and so is all the Countrey and Cities we travelled through.

Indico made.

Eufras. March, 1. 1610.

The first of March, we departed and came to Eufras about noone, being sixteene miles from Tayes; the Countrey we travailed Mountainous and stoney. The Towne little, scituate on the side of a hill. About the fift of January great multitude of people resorteth hither from farre, where they doe some foolish Ceremonies to one of their Saints and holy men, which lyeth buried there: which being done they goe all in company to Mecca on Pilgrimage. The Governour of this Towne is a Turke, and used mee and my people very kindly at our going up, and hearing of my comming downe, he sent one sixe miles to a place, where two wayes meete, to bring us to his Towne, where we were most kindly used by him.

Assambine.

The second, we departed thence and lodged at a Censor called Assambine, some eleven miles from Eufras. Here is no Towne but a few poore Cottages.

Accomoth.

The third, we went from thence and came to another Censor some thirteene miles off: it is called Accomoth standing in a barren common with a few Cottages by it.

Mousa a towne.

The fourth in the morning, we departed thence and came to Mousa, seventeene miles from Accomoth: the Countrey we travailed plaine and barren, and small store of Inhabitants. The Towne of Mousa is not great, and unwalled, but very populous. It is scituate in a plaine indifferent fruitfull; hereabouts likewise is made some Indico. Wee departed thence about mid-night.

Moha.

The fift in the morning about eight of the clocke we came to Moha. We rested two or three houres by the

way at a Church or Coughe house called Dabully built by a Dabull Merchant. If we had not stayed here, we had come to Moha before day. A mile without the Towne, we were met by our Carpenters, Smithes, and such others as were detayned there, the day before their Irons were taken off, and they had libertie to walke abroad. The first question I demaunded was to know what became of Master Pemberton. They told mee hee lighted upon a Cannoa, and got aboord, wherof I was not a little glad; for I was very doubtful never to have seen him more. At the Townes ends, and all the way to the Agas house, the people stood very thicke, and as wee passed by bad us welcome backe, for it was nothing pleasing to the people of the Countrey to heare how treacherously the Turkes had used us: we rid till wee came to the Agas house where wee alighted, my selfe, Master Femell, Master Fowler, were brought before him, where I delivered my Letters from Zenan, He received me after his wonted dissembled shew of love and kindnesse, bidding me and the rest welcome, saying, he was glad of our returne safe, and sorrie and ashamed of what was past, and prayed me to pardon him, and [I. iii. 260.] that hereafter he bad me assure my selfe he would be my friend, and that the harme that had be fallen us was not long of him, for hee did nothing but what his Master commanded him. I soothed him up, but beleeved nothing he said, he read the command of the Basha, and said all things should be performed accordingly. Whereupon he called in for Breakefast, and caused us to sit downe with him, bidding mee eate and bee merry: for now he had eate Bread and Salt with me, I need not doubt of any harme. After breakfast, he went to seeke for a House for me, we had a faire large house appointed us neere the Seaside, where we continued two dayes, but afterward wee were removed from thence to a great strong House, standing all alone in a spacious Church-yard in the middle of the Towne: and for our Guard a Captaine and his Company were appointed to that charge, who

warded all the day, & by night our house was enclosed round with his armed Souldiers. The cause why we were remooved from our first house, was because it was too neere the water side, they doubting from thence we might attempt an escape.

The description of Moha. This Towne of Moha is one third part lesse then Tayes, unwalled, very populous, and seated close by the Sea-side in a salt, sandy, barren soyle. The Governours house is close by the waters side, and here by the same is the Key or Bridge which shooteth a prettie distance into the Sea: to which Key all Boates belonging to any shipping, are enjoyned to land for feare of stealing of Custome. And close adjoyning to the Key is a platforme, whereon are planted some doozen of Brasse Peeces, at the Westerne end of the Towne there is a Fort wherein is the like quantitie of Ordinance: this Fort was ruinate at our first comming thither, but since pulled downe to the ground and new builded. This after-noone came the Darling into the Roade, who brought us newes of the wel-fare of the rest, which was no small comfort to me after so many troubles.

The Darling came into the Roade.

The Captaine of a ship of Dabull. The sixth, Nohuda Melech Ambor, Captaine of a great ship of Dabull, which came into the Road two dayes before my arrivall at Moha, came ashore with a great many of Merchants with him, he with the rest were carryed about the Towne in pompe, and afterwards feasted by the Aga. I likewise was sent for to this Feast and entertayned with all love and friendship. The Aga in presence of them all called for the Alcoran, kissed it, and voluntarily swore and protested, that he ought me no evill will but wished me all good, and would endevour himselfe to pleasure me the best he could, his heart being cleere of malice or hatred, and was much grieved for what was past: I returned him thankes, seeming greatly satisfied therewith, although I gave no credit thereto, but was forced to indure with patience what I could not remedie, till it pleased God to provide better.

The seventh day, the Aga made a great Feast at his Garden-house for the Dabullians, to which I and Master Femell were likewise invited. The Dabullians were all mounted upon gallant Horses with rich Furniture, and we upon a couple of tyred lame Jades, which wee brought from Zenan.

The eight, wee were all sent for to come before the Aga, my selfe with all the Merchants, Carpenters, Smithes, and others, whom he (to the number of thirtie) thought good, were appointed to stay aland, and the rest which were thirtie sixe, were sent aboord the Darling.

The ninth, had I made an escape, had I not beene more carefull for others, which I should have left behind me, then for my selfe. This day the Darling having taken in thirtie sixe men as aforesaid, and provided of some necessaries they lacked, departed towards the other ships on the Coast of Habashe: where they had found out in the time of my absence an excellent Road, for all windes that blow in these Seas, it is called Assab Road, where they had wood and water enough costing nothing but the fetching, the water is a little brackish, but seemed fresh enough to them that had lived in want thereof, the people of the Countrey bee as blacke as the Negroes of Guinea, they be all Mahometans alongst the Sea-coast: but up in the Land they bee Christians and Subjects to Prester John, they goe almost naked save a cloth about their wastes, which reacheth to their knees. They were at first comming of our people very fearefull, but after they were acquainted, and a peace confirmed by oath on both sides, they daily repayred with refreshing, as Beefes, Sheepe and Goates, and sold them for money at reasonable rates. And afterward they desiring course Callico rather then money, I furnished them therewith from Moha: In trucke whereof they sold their Cattle farre better cheape then before for money, dealing faithfully and kindly with our people, notwithstanding the Turkes sought to worke them to the contrary, by meanes of small Barkes which passe to and fro. The

An excellent Roade on the Coast of Habashe, called Assab Roade.

Rahaita. King of this Countrey hath his abiding at a Towne lying upon the Sea-coast called Rahaita, some fortie miles to the Southwards neere the Bab, hee sent some of his chiefe men to the Commanders of the shippes with presents, they returned them the like: who entertayned those which were sent very courteously, with promise of any thing his Countrey yeelded. Their vulgar speech is not understood by the Arabians, the better sort of them speake and write the Arabian Language, in which Tongue their Law of Mahomet is written.

[I. iii. 261.]

§. IIII.

Indian shipping at Moha; Sir Henry Middletons escape from the Turkes, and enforcing satisfaction.

April 1. 1611. APrill the first, 1611. the Darling departed for Assab, with leave every ten dayes to returne, to see how I did: this his unlooked for kindnesse I hoped in God would bee a meanes to worke my freedome. The second, came into the roade another ship of Dabul, full of people. The Nohuda rid about the Towne in a painted coate, as the manner is. These robes are but lent them for the present, and afterward returned to the keeper of the Ward-robe, to whom belongs a dutie for lone of them. The third, came a Jebba from Aden, which brought the Pepper-cornes Boat.

Another ship of Dabul.

The third ship of Dabul. The fourth day, came an other ship of Dabul, which laded at Achin with Pepper: these three great ships belong all to the Governour of Dabul, who is a Persian, and a great Merchant, and hath many slaves, whereof Melick Amber is one, and is in great credit with him: he had the managing of the goods belonging to these three ships: he is a Negro, borne in Habesse, and might cost his Master fifeteene or twenty royalls of eight, and now never goeth out of his doores, but with great troopes of followers, like some great Lord.

The sixth, I sent to the Cayha Abdela Chillarby a faire peice, and a small barrell of powder, which I promised to send him at my comming from Zenan. The seventh, came from India a smal ship laden with cotton. *Another small Indian ship.* The eleventh, came from India two small barkes Mallabars, of one of the Iles of Maldivia: the chiefe of them came often to visit me, till he was forbidden by the Aga our enemie. The twelfth, there came two Barks from India: for then the wind was Westerly; which continued so for five dayes, and afterwards came to the South South-east againe. The fourteenth, came in a small Barke laden with Cotten, for the Bannians. The fifteenth, came another from Bassanor: the Nohuda came to visit me at my house, which the Aga repined at. The seventeenth, came into the Towne a great many Cammels, and divers Merchants, which came from Damasco, Sues, and Mecca, to trade with the Merchants of India. *Merchants of Damasco, Sues, and Mecca.* The nineteenth, came in a ship and a barke of Cananor, the Captaine of the great ship came to visit mee with great troopes following of him: which the Aga stomaking, sent for him whiles he was talking with mee, and forbad such resort unto me. The twentieth, came in a ship of Calicut, and the Darling. The three and twentieth, came in a small barke of the Kings of Zacotora, which came from Goa.

The second of May, 1611. I dispatched Letters *May 2. 1611.* for England of all our proceedings in those parts: one Copy to the English Consul at Aleppo, and another to the French Consul at Cayro: which letters I delivered to a Guzerat. The tenth, came in a small barke from the Coast of Swahell or Magadoxo with Slaves, Elephants teeth, Amber: there had wont to come every yeare hither from thence foure barkes with like lading, but this yeare would come no more, for that their Countrey are in warres, and the Portugals had burned their shipping. *Cancamarra in S. Laurence, where Captain Rowles Capt. of the Union was betraied.* These men buy their Negroes and Amber at Cancamarra, in S. Laurence, where Captaine Rowles was taken and betrayed; we enquired of them if they

could informe us of any thing touching him. Also this day about noone came in the Darling, and according to her wonted order shot off a peice for a Boat; the shot grazed upon the water to the Towne-wards, whereat the Aga was displeased; but gave leave I might send aboord. I writ my letter, and sent one of my servants aboord with it, commanding him to tarry aboord, and come no more ashore, and withall to tell M. Pemberton, hee should not send his Boat a land till he heard further from me.

The eleventh in the morning, at the dawning of the day, the Aga with all the chiefe men of the Towne, were rid abroad in great state to his Garden to be merrie: which I seeing, did not a little glad my heart, and gave God thanks, which offered me so faire meanes to put that in practise, which long before I had determined: For Hamet Aga, and others had told mee the Basha would not performe his word, but for feare. I writ my letter to M. Pemberton, wherein I certified him, I minded as this day to make an escape aboord, and that I would convay my selfe into an emptie But, and so be carried downe to the Boat as an emptie Caske: and therefore willed him the Boat should be sent with all speed, manned with choice men; and withall to send me a bottle of Aquavitæ, and an other of wine, to make drunke my Keepers; which he accordingly performed: before I made M. Femel acquainted with my determination, I made him sweare unto me to be secret, and to use no perswasions with me, to with-draw my mind from that I had resolved upon: whereupon I shewed him what I had written to M. Pemberton; and withall, shewed him how that himselfe and others should walke out of the Towne to the water side, to such a place as hee well knew, and I appointed, where I would not faile, God sending mee into the Boat, to take him and the rest in. Also I acquainted him, that the Carpenters and others I had appointed to embarque themselves to the South-ward of the Towne, where lay a Boat hard

The Indian ships were come in, and the Turkes promises were not performed, but many apparant evidences that they never should, caused S. Hen. Middleton to shift for his best escape.

by the shore, with mast and sayle ready fitted for their purpose; but withall, I had given the Carpenters warning not to embarque themselves, till such time as they saw the shippes Boat put off from the Bridge. All things sorting out well to our purpose, the Subasha (which was our guardian, and left in Towne onely to looke [I. iii. 262.] to me) fell to drinking hard at a Racky-house: and I beeing doubtfull of any good performance from my enemies the Turkes, had long bethought me of all the meanes I could devise from time to time to make an escape, but could not light upon any project, that had not apparent danger, both to my selfe, and those that should attempt to escape away with me. Onely this devise it pleased God to put into my head, whereby I might bee secretly conveied into the boat without beeing discovered: for my Keepers and Souldiers eyes were onely upon me, wheresoever I went: all the rest of my company might walke abroad any where by day time without suspition, or any great regard: I never went out of doores, but two or three souldiers attended upon me wheresoever I went. The Boat being come, and Keepers all drunke, and all things fitted, about twelve a clocke at noone the Subasha returnes from the Aracke-house, and being in one ende of our house, but a wall betweene us, where his abiding was, the better to guard us, I began to put my businesse in execution: and appointed the Carpenters to take others with them, and to go by two and two in the best manner they could to avoid suspition, and shift for themselves in the Boat aforesaid; but in any case not to meddle, before they saw the ships Boat under sayle. To M. Femel, and those that I appointed to take into Lee-ward of the Towne, I gave order likewise, to goe two or three in company alongst the Sea side, to the place I had appointed them to take them in, and there to tarry my comming. After I had given these directions, I was conveied into my Tub, and safely set aboord the Boat: which beeing done, I forced

Sir H. Middleton escapeth aboord.

out the head of the Caske, and came aboord, causing them to beare up with the leeward point, where I tooke in John Fowler, Benjamin Greene, Rowland Webbe, Ro. Mico, Ro. Conwey, William Bownes, John Wright, Arthur Atkinson, Thomas Evans, John Wood, and Henry Fortune. M. Femel and other beeing too slacke in comming out of the Towne, were taken before they could come to the boat. The Towne beeing raised, partly by the undiscreet running of some of our people, and partly by seeing the Boat beare up to Leeward, contrary to their wonted course, M. Femel and those with him, had likewise escaped, had he come by land to the point, and not taken water, so soone as others which were both sicke and weake did, which were behind him when he tooke the water. I came to an anchor, and brought the Boat a ground in tarrying for them, to the no little danger of us all: I caused men to leape over-board to reskue him, but before they could get a Pikes length from the Boat, he and those with him were all apprehended: M. Femel discharged a Pistoll in the face of one of them that hardly pursued him, and mortally wounded him before he was taken; it booted me not to stay longer, having all the Town in pursuit of me, and a very narrow and shoald channell to passe betweene a small sandie Iland, and the maine: it pleased God wee lighted upon the right channell, which quickly brought us into deepe water, and out of danger of our enemies, for which his great mercie towards us, his holy name bee blessed and praysed for evermore.

They in the Darling kept good watch in the tops, which so soone as they saw the Boat under sayle, let slip and set saile, bearing up to Lee-ward, to have releived us if need had bin: being come aboord, we espied the Boat wherein the Carpenters were comming towards us: I sent the ship Boat to bring them and their Boat aboord of us. In this Boat escaped George Collinson, Robert Pinis, Nathaniel Symonds, and John

Taylor; but Walter Talbot, who was appointed to come with them, tarried so long before he came, that the Boat was put off, he thought to swim aboord, and was drowned. About two houres after our comming aboord, came two poore Arabs in a Canoa, but so fearefull, they durst not come nigh the ship till they were wonne by faire words, and so with much adoe, one of them entered, and delivered me a letter from M. Femel, shewing that they were in great danger of beeing slaine or spoyled by those that apprehended them, but some of the souldiers, through former acquaintance, bearing them good will, saved them, and brought them to the Agaes, where they tarried his comming. At the first sight of them, he looked as pale as ashes, telling them they should all loose their heads, asking them how they durst attempt such a thing? They answered, they came out of England under my command, and did nothing but what I had commanded, which in no wise they durst disobey. He againe threatned them with losse of their heads, and presently caused them all to be chained by the necks, from which chaine they were quickly released, at the intreaty of Nohuda Melicke Amber, & Nohuda Mahomet of Cananor, and others, and permitted to remaine in our former house, but with a stronger guard then before. This their kindnes proceeded not of love, but for feare of their ships in the road, which were then under my command. I returned answer of the letter, and sent the Aga word, that if he did not send me all my people, with those provisions of the ships which he detained contrary to the Bashaes order (for I minded not to be put off with Farriga) I would fire the ships in the road, and do my best to batter the Towne about his eares: likewise I sent word to the Nohudas, that they should not send any Boat aboord the ships, without first comming aboord of me, and to acquaint mee with their businesse, nor to carry any thing out of them aland, without my leave and order.

A letter from M. Femel.

A stout message to the Aga.

After my departure, there was no small disturbance in the Towne: the Aga not knowing how to answer the Basha, feared it would cost him his head, the Subbasha which was my keeper at his wits end, and knew not whether he might stay or flee for his life. The Emeryor bahar (or Lord of the Sea as they terme him) in little better taking, beeing accused of consenting to my escape; one of our Porters tooke Sanctuary in [I. iii. 263.] one of their Churches, and would not be gotten out from thence till hee had his pardon, and the Nohudas and Merchants in great feare of losse of their ship and goods, most of them sending Presents of victuals, and refreshing to Master Femell and the rest, which before tooke scorne to speake to them. At night I sent the Boat well manned to carrie the newes to our ships, with order for their comming over with all speed. I plyed to wind-ward in the Darling, when the Tyde served, and rid a little without the great ship, so that I had her and all the rest under the command of our Ordnance.

The twelfth, came aboord Nohuda Mahomet of Cananor with Letters, telling me the Aga was sorrie I was so departed (which I knew to be true) for that he was determined within few dayes to have set mee at libertie, and all my people, to my owne content: and for the provisions belonging to our ships which were ashore, hee would deliver them, but for my people hee could not deliver them without order from the Basha, intreating fifteene dayes respite: in which time if I had not all my men in safetie sent aboord, they desired no favour. I told him likewise, I must have my Pinnasse surrendred me, for that I would not depart the Road without her; he sayd hee would acquaint the Aga with my demand of the Pinnasse, and doubted not but that I should have her at the time limited. I yeelded to his request, upon his promise that I should have both men and Pinnasse within the time prefixed, I durst not as yet demand restitution or

satisfaction for my goods, till such time as I had all our men from the shore. At his comming ashore, hee acquainted the Aga, that he had concluded a peace for fifteene dayes, upon his promise that I should have my men and Pinnasse restored within the same time. The Aga was very angry that I demanded the Pinnasse, and sent for Master Femell and John Williams, and asked what I minded in demanding the Pinnasse, which was the Bashas by agreement with mee, saying, I might as well demand the goods as the Pinnasse, both which were put to the account of the Gran Signior: they said I could not well proceed on my Voyage without the Pinnasse, but for the goods they assured him I would never demand them; In the meane time, the Darlings Cables, Anchors, Pitch, Tarre, and other things being ashore, were brought aboord: And few dayes escaped that I had not one present or other of refreshing from the Aga, Dabbullian, and other, which would scarce take knowledge of me whilest I was ashore, but now glad to flater me. This morning early came a Boat from shore aboord the innermost ship: I caused the Gunner to make two shot at her, which caused them to come aboord mee. I threatned them if they did so any more to hang them, and burne their ships; so that afterward they durst not attempt the like.

The thirteenth, the Increase and Pepper-Corne toward night came to anchor in the sight of the Roade: for they could not fetch in that night, the Lee-ward tyde beeing come against them.

The fourteenth, they got into the Roade and I went aboord the Increase, where I was received with great joy of all my Company.

The eighteenth, there came into the Roade, a ship of Diu, belonging to Shermall the Shabander, laden with India Commodities, which I did imbarque both people and goods, and caused her to ride hard by me. The next day being the nineteenth, at the intreatie of Shermall, I licensed all the people (save some few to *A ship of Diu.*

looke to the ship) to goe ashore. This day being the twentieth day, I heard nothing from the shore. The one and twentieth, Master Femell writ to me they had bin all chained by the neckes.

The five and twentieth, came aboord Nohuda Mahomet and certified me, that the Basha had given order for release of my people and Pinnasse, and promised to bring them aboord on the morrow. I shot off three Peeces at his departure. This day all our people ashore were chained by the neckes, and the next day released. The cause they were so used they could not learne.

The six and twentieth, Nohuda Mahomet returned, saying, the Pinnasse was lanched, but the Aga would neither deliver her nor the men, till I had given him a writing firmed by my selfe, and foure or five more of the principall in our ships with oathes to performe the same, to contayne in effect a perfect peace with the Turkes his Subjects and Indians, and not to meddle in this Sea or elsewhere in revenge of any thing that had passed, nor to demand restitution or satisfaction for any goods taken from me: I told him, I marvelled hee came every day with new matters, he had the day before promised, as this day to bring me all my men and Pinnasse aboord, which I looked to have had performed, and for better securitie he and those with him should remayne Hostages aboord till I had them, and therefore willed him to advise the Aga: he alledged that he being imployed of his owne voluntary motion in this businesse, should reape much discredit and be laught at for his forwardnesse, if he should write to that purpose, and therefore hee told me plaine he would not write whatsoever betyde him, but promised, if I would give him such a Writing as he demanded and send him ashore, he would bring me all my people aboord before night: I seeing I could get him by constraint to yeeld to nothing, thought best to give him some content, though it

were somewhat that might but carrie the name of what hee desired. I thereupon caused a Writing to be made in English, firmed by my selfe and five more, contayning a briefe Relation of the treacherous usage of us in this Countrey and nothing else, wee setting to our hands as Witnesses of truth of the same Writing: withall I sent advice to Master Femell, how [I. iii. 264.] he should interpret it unto them. I delivered him the Writing he desired, but sweare I would not, saying, my word should be truer then a Turkes oath at all times. Ashore hee went, leaving some of the better sort of his Company for Pledges, whom he bad hang if he brought me not all my Company aboord that night: comming ashore he handled the matter so, that a little before night he returned with Master Femell, John Williams, Christopher Cuningham, Water Woodward, John Clarke, Henry Bauldin, Edmund Glover, Tobie Birch, Alexander James, and Merciline Longfield. Three of them were vested, to wit, Master Femell, John Williams, and Cuningham, with paltry Vests of little worth. Another was sent to me, which they said came from the Basha, the Nohuda would have put it upon my backe, desiring mee to weare it as a favour sent me from the Basha: I refused it, telling him, I scorned to weare any thing that should come from so unconscionable a Dogge and my Enemie, by whose order I had received so much wrong; he seeing I would not take it, left it with my man, and so departed, carrying with him the Turke taken in the Darling, which had remayned aboord the Increase, till that present: hee promised to returne in the morning with our Pinnasse.

The rest of our men set at libertie.

The seven and twentieth, according to promise the Nohuda came aboord and brought my Pinnasse, and demanded of me if all he had promised were performed. I told him no, for that I had not all my company, they keeping from me the Boy at Tayes, which they had forced to turne Turke, and him would I have

The Pinnasse restored.

before I would release the ships: he told me he would tell the Aga, and returne me his answere, and so departed. This morning early I called a Councell, wherein I propounded whether I should release the ships according to promise, or detayne them till restitution were made me. It was concluded that I should release all the ships which were of India, and our friends; and set our hopes upon the ship that was to come from Sues. Likewise I demanded what course were best to take for recovery of the youth at Tayes; by some it was thought bootlesse to demand him, but to hope of taking some Prisoners of worth, which might procure his libertie. I was of a contrarie opinion, and thought it fittest to demand him, now when wee should have many to sollicite for him, rather then depend upon hopes of taking of Prisoners, which we might faile of, and so it was concluded to demand the Boy presently, and no speech at all to be made of our goods restoring.

The eighth and twentieth, there was a Writing sent me from the Aga, wherein he, Nohuda Mahomet, and Shermall Shebander bound themselves ships and goods, that I should have within twelve dayes the Boy from Tayes, so that I would release the ships; I gave them leave to unlade the ship of Diu, and goe and come to the other ships at their pleasure. This night Master Femell dyed of a Callentura, or rather poysoned by the Turkes, as the opinions of our Chirurgions are.

M. Femell dyed.

June 1. 1611. The first of June, were discharged out of the ship, three Boats lading of Cotton. This evening we had a gust with much wind, which came from the shore, which brake our Land Cable. The wind was so hot we could hardly indure it. I was faine to flye to my Cabbin, not being able for heate to stay aloft. I writ a Letter to the Basha in Italian for restitution of my goods, and satisfaction for damages; I was answered afterwards, the Letter was not understood for lacke of an Interpreter. I againe imbarqued the ship of Diu,

Exceeding heat in the Red Sea.

and would not permit them to unlade any more goods out of her, till the Basha had satisfied me to the value of seventie thousand Rials of eight, which I had lost and was damnified by him: I considered with my selfe that this was the surest way to attayne to somewhat in liew of our losse, and not soly to relye upon the taking of the ship of Sues, which the Turkes might easily prevent me of, by giving advice by land.

The second, came Ally Haskins, my Interpreter at Zenan, aboord, and brought mee commendations from the Basha, saying, he was sorrie I was gone after that sort away, for he was minded to send me away better content, and that he had prepared a rich Vest to be sent me and a Horse: and likewise the Cayha had him commended heartily, and desired mee not to take any violent courses here, but seeke for Justice at Stambola, for if I did any thing which might be displeasing to the Basha, it would cost him his head, that was the chiefe cause of my sending backe to Moha; and told me he had brought the English youth with him from Tayes, by order from the Basha, which the next day he said should be sent aboord, conditionally I would permit the ship of Diu, and the rest to discharge. I answered him I would in no wise release the ships, till I had restitution or satisfaction for my goods and damages to the value above-said.

The third, the Aga desired peace for twelve dayes till the Basha had knowledge of my demands. The next day Ally Haskins, Tocoursie a Bannian, and others came aboord, and withall desires I would draw out the particulars of my losses, that they might consider thereof ashore. I fulfilled their desire, and by writing set downe my losse and hinderances to bee seventie thousand Rials of eight, and withall sending the Aga word, whereas at first I was received by him, and came aland at his intreatie, and upon his word and promise of kind entertaynment and free and peaceable Trade, he like a treacherous Dogge, without any cause

or offence given, had cruelly slaine divers of my people, and villanously imprisoned my selfe and others, and robbed and spoiled all he could sease upon to the value of seventie thousand Pessos, beside great charges and losse of time, if therefore he did not presently make mee restitution or satisfaction for the same, I would doe my best to batter the Towne about his eares, take all the goods out of the Diu ship into mine owne, and burne all the ships in the Roade, and not depart thence till I were sufficiently revenged: all which I could doe without breach of promise, the time of Truce being out, and they not having performed Covenants with me.

[I. iii. 265.] *About my demands and the Agas alligations and answeres, messages, and Letters passed betweene us day by day, and at his intreatie I granted Truce for twelve dayes: in which time he certified his Master of my demands.*

This day being the sixt, the Aga sent mee a peremptory answere, demanding who gave mee leave to come into those Seas, saying, sith I came without leave I was justly dealt withall; and touching the goods, and whatsoever else, he had done nothing but what he had order from the Basha, who himselfe told me so much: and if I were not pleased with what was past, the best way were to referre it to the hearing of our Betters at Stambola. And if I shot at the Towne, he would shoot againe at my ships; and for the ships and goods in the Road they were none of his, but if I did either hurt the Towne or ships in the Road, it would not be pleasing to the Sultan, who would be sure to be recompenced for any harme I should doe them. To which I answered, to come into this Sea, I needed no leave but Gods and my Kings, but for my comming ashore, the Aga had not onely given mee leave, but much intreated mee. And for my goods I knew nothing I ought the Basha, neither was I his Factor, neither had I at any time received any thing of his or any the least curtesie, neither had I done him or his any wrong, and therefore no way his Debtor wherby he might challenge any of those goods which by his order I was robbed of; wherefore I must and would be paid for them, not at Stambola (where neither the Basha and Aga durst shew their faces

to answere such shamefull wrongs, which they had falsly charged the Sultan to have commanded them to doe) but even there where I had beene wronged, would I be righted: and if they found themselves agrieved, they might goe to the Court of England to seeke their remedie: for to Stambola I minded not to goe.

The eight, I sent Master Pemberton to Assab to buy fresh victuals, we having very many men sicke in our ships: I was afraid to have my provision from Moha, doubting poysoning, which by friends I was warned to take heed of. *Feare of poysoning by the Turkes.*

The nineteenth, came aboord Shermall Sabander, Ally Tocorsie, and many others of the chiefe of the Bannians, to make agreement with me, and brought with them Master Pembertons youth decently apparelled in new clothes after the Christian fashion, which the Sabander bestowed upon him. After some kind congratulations passed on either side, the Sabander began to tell me, that he had alwayes loved and favoured me and my people, and was alwayes readie to doe me what kindnesse he was able, and for the injuries done mee by the Turkes it did as much grieve him as if it had beene done to his owne people, for which his love and pittying of me in my miseries, he was like to pay at too deare a rate, without I would now shew my selfe favourable unto him, For that the Basha had enjoyned him to give me satisfaction, or had sent order to cut his throat, and sease upon his goods: and this he protested was not fained, but the verie truth. I answered, it was the Turkes that had robbed me, and done me many injuries, and from them would I looke for satisfaction, and not from any other: he willed me to leave those talkes, and come to my demands. I told him he knew what I demanded, for that I had sent it ashore in the Arabick Tongue in writing; he said, if my demands were answerable to that Writing, it were but labour lost to have further conference there abouts. We spent most part of the day in beating the prizes of our lost Commodities: and

in conclusion, with much adoe, we came to agreement that all the Lead and Iron should be surrendered, and eighteene thousand Rials of eight in money, within fifteene dayes for satisfaction of all our goods and losses sustayned, and thereupon a peace concluded betweene us and them for two yeares, from the Por of Moha to Cannanor, upon the coast of India, conditionally, that the Basha give mee a Writing under his hand and Seale, for confirmation of this peace betweene our Nation and theirs, for the time before specified. In this moneth, *Great sicknes.* and about this time beganne a generall and most grievous sicknesse in our ships, few or none escaping, it beganne with a great paine in the head and stomacke, bereaving them of sleepe: the best remedie for it was vomiting and bleeding, but some were taken with Fevers withall, who were long before they recovered their healths: the rest that escaped the Fever quickly recovered, and God be praysed, few died thereof.

July 2. 1611. And the second of July, we received the last payment, the Sabander being there himselfe, I cleered all reckonings with him, as well for money borrowed of him whiles I was Prisoner, as for money disbursed afterwards by him. He demanded of me the money I promised the Bashas Cayha, which was a thousand Venetianos: which I would in no wise pay, although hee much urged me with my word and promise, and that he should be forced to pay, for that he had passed his word for the same. I told him the Cayha had not performed what hee promised mee, in setting me and my people at libertie. How the Cayha and he will agree, I know not, but I doubt the Cayha will constraine him to pay it. Drawing towards night, the Sabander and the rest tooke their leave of me to goe a-land: and for his farewell, I caused three Peeces of Ordnance to be discharged.

The third, came againe Tacaroy and Ally, and bought some Vermillion of mee, for which I gave them credit: they promising to come over to the other side within [I. iii. 266.] fourteene dayes, and make me payment, also to bring

me some provisions of Graine, as I had given them order to buy me at Moha, and a Writing from the Basha for confirmation of peace concluded. In the afternoone we warped out of the Road, and that night set saile toward Assab, but could not get thither till the fift day in the morning. *Assab.*

The sixth, I went a-land and caused all the Wels to be emptyed and clensed for feare of poysoning, for it was often told mee at Moha, the Turkes practised with the people of Assab, to poyson the Wels. From this day till the thirteenth day wee spent in watering and buying refreshing, not any thing in that time happening worth writing. *The Turkes practice to poyson the Wels of Assab.*

The thirteenth, the King of this Countrey hearing of my escape at Moha, and my arrivall in his Countrey, sent three of his chiefe Servants, being attended with thirtie Souldiers, with a Letter, and a Present of refreshing to me. The effect of his Letter was to bid me welcome into his Countrey, with offer of any thing I stood in need of, and that his Countrey did affoord: as also not a little rejoycing of my escape from my Enemies, with many other Complements. I feasted and rewarded the Messengers, and returned them with a Present to the King their Master: which was a Vest of broad-cloth, and a faire looking Glasse. *A Letter from the K. of Assab.*

The seventeenth, came Afelba from Moha, wherein was Tocorcie the Sabanders man, and another Bannian. They brought with them divers provisions, which I left order with them to provide me; as also the money they ought me, but the Writing from the Basha, for confirmation of peace on his behalfe they could not get, but made excuse the Basha was so busie in the Warres, he could not intend it, so that it was manifest he intended to keepe no quarter with our Nation.

The foure & twentieth, we all set sayle out of Assab Road, to put that in practice which long before I had determined, which was to ply to wind-ward as high as Camaran, & there to abide the comming of a great ship,

which yearely commeth about this time richly laden from Sues to Moha: hoping to bee sufficiently revenged for all my losses and disgraces offered mee by the Turkes: and the rather did I desire to meete with her, for that I understood the Traytor Jeffor Basha, and his Disciple Regib-Aga, had great adventures in her. From this day till the last of this moneth, wee plyed it to wind-ward, the wind still opposite to us, wee sayled by day, and commonly anchored by night: we past many and sundry dangers for lacke of a Pilot, and many times were like to have come a-ground, to the hazard and losse of all, had not God preserved us. And yet she escaped us in the night, as we found in our returne.

§ V.

Their departure from Surat, and what happened there with the Cambayans and Portugals.

August, 9. 1611. *They returne for India.*

THe ninth of August, 1611. in the morning we set sayle, and in the evening about eight of the clocke we anchored three leagues short of the Bab-mandell. The tenth, the Darling and Release appointed to goe out at the Wester channell, which they found to be three leagues over, from the Mayne of Habeshe to the Iland Bab-mandell; one third of way over from the Iland they had no ground at forty fathoms, the channell cleere without dangers, & not as all the Turkes & Indians reported, to be full of sholes and Rocks, and not navigable for shipping. This their false report was to make us beleeve there was no other passage in and out into that Sea, but at the Easter channell, which may be so fortified that no shipping can passe that way, but shall be in danger of their Ordnance, for it is not passing one mile & halfe over between the Arabian shore, and the Ile, and upon the Mayn lyeth sholes a good distance off; we in the Increase and Pepper-Corne passed out at the narrow channell where we came in. About foure aclock in the afternoone we all met without the

The Westerne chanell of Bab-mandell, three leagues broad.

The false reports of the Turkes and Indians.

straights, and were in nineteene fathome, being some foure miles from the Arabian shore, we steered all this night our course alongst the Land.

From the twelfth day, till the seven and twentieth, much wind with calmes and contrarie winds with a great current, setting South-west about foure miles an houre: for looke in all this time what we got when we had a favourable gale, we lost that and more when it fell calme, being carryed backe by the current. *A greater current setting South-west Westerly.*

The seven and twentieth, we had a gale of wind to carrie us off. Wee had sight of Mount Fœlix a head-land to the West-ward of Cape Guardafui, at sixe a clocke this night. This hill bore South halfe West: about ten at night it fell calme with a great Sea, out of the South-east. At mid-night came up a gale at South South-east and South, finding still as we sailed this great Sea which was a manifest signe wee brought our selves open of Cape Guardafai: for so long as the land was in the wind of us we felt none of this Sea. *Monte de Fœlix.*

The thirtieth, we plyed into the Roade of Delisha, and about noone came to an Anchor in the Roade, wee found there riding a great ship of Diu, and two small ships, one of Naggina, the other the Kings, both ships of India, both bound for the Red Sea, taken short with the Monson. The Captaine of the ship of Diu came aboord mee with divers others, who certified mee our people at Surat were well, and very well intreated, and were daily expecting shipping from England: and that Captaine Hawkins was at Court with the King, where hee was made a great Lord, and had great allowance from the King by the yeare. And for Captaine Sharpeigh, the King had given him money to build a ship, which then was almost readie at Surat to bee lanched, this and many other things he told me, which I doubted were too good to be true. *The Road of Delisha in Sacotora.* [I. iii. 267.]

The Monson was farre spent, and therefore I desired the Nohuda of Diu, to helpe mee with his Boates and people to ballast and water, which hee with the others

most willingly granted, proffering me all the water in their ship: so willing were they to have mee gone from them. I had all the water out of his ship, and imployed his people to fetch some from the shore.

I was often in hand with the King to sell mee his Alloes: I could not of long time bring him to aske reason for it. In the end, with much adoe, I bargained with him for all, paying dearer for it, then Captaine Keeling did for his. I think the Indians were in hand with him for it, and that was the cause he held it so deare. I left Letters with the King, which hee promised to deliver to the first English ship that should come there.

Sept. 3. 1611. The third of September, having finished my businesse, I made haste to bee gone. I had with much adoe a simple fellow out of the ship of Diu, to pilot me upon the Coast of India, who took upon him to be a good Coaster, in the afternoone about two a clocke wee weighed Anchor and plyed out of the Roade.

The six and twentieth, betweene nine and ten of clocke wee weighed, having a gale of wind, which brought us into the Roade of Surat, we ridde by the three Indian ships in seven fathom. A mile from us, ridde seven sayle of Portugall Frigats or men of Warre: there were thirteene more of them which were within the River of Surat; the Portugalls long before our comming thither, had intelligence that we were in the Red Sea, and bound for this place, so that these Frigats were purposely sent to keepe us from Trade at Surat, or else-where, upon that Coast. The Captaine Major of them is called Don Francisco de Soto Maior, is intitled Captaine Major of the North, he reapeth great benefit to himselfe by giving Cartasses or Pasports to all ships and Frigats, which trade upon that Coast. Any ship or Frigat which hath not the same Passe, are confiscate or lost. This night I discharged my Pilots, paying them well for their paines: I sent by them Letters to such of our people as they should find at Surat, for I could not learne how many (or who they were) that were there resident.

Twentie Portugall Frigats at the Road of Surat.

The nine and twentieth, there came a small Portugall Frigat from the Admirall of the Armada, (as they terme them) wherein was one Portugall and his Boy, who brought mee answere of my Letter sent the day before from the Captaine Major, wherein hee used some complements, certifying me that he was glad to heare I belonged to a King a Friend, and that he and his would be readie to doe mee service in any thing hee might, provided I brought a Letter or Order from the King of Spaine, or the Vice-Roy, for my trading in these parts, which if I could shew him, he would willingly obey: if otherwise, he must guard the Port he had in charge, where the King his Master had his Factorie. I returned answere by word of mouth by the same Portugall, that I had neyther Letter from the King of Spaine or Vice-Roy, neyther had I need thereof, for that I was sent by the Kings Majestie of England with Letters and rich Presents to the Great Mogoll, and to establish the Trade begunne in those parts: and for the Factorie they had there, I came not to harme the same, but that they might continue in the same estate they were: and for our Factorie or Trade, I see no reason why the Portugals should oppose themselves against us, for that it was a free Countrey for all Nations, and the Great Mogoll nor his people any way in Vassallage to the Portugals. And therefore willed him to tell his Captaine, he should in friendly manner permit those English which were at Surat to come aboord, and conferre with me concerning our Affaires, and that he would not urge me to use force, for by the one meanes or the other, I must and would have them: many other speeches past which were here too tedious to write, I bestowed a Vest of broad-cloth upon the Messenger, and so dispatched him away, hee promising the next day to returne.

Answere from the Portugalls.

We seeing it was not possible without Pilot to goe over the Barre, set saile from the Barre foot (where I had beene to discover in the Darling) and in the evening

came to an anchor in the Roade. I went aboord the Increase, where I found Letters from the shoare: they came from Surat from Nicholas Bangham, formerly a Joyner in the Hector, wherein I was certified that wee had no Factorie there, and that he was sent from Captaine Hawkins from Agra, to recover some Debts that were owing there, and likewise he had Letters from Captaine Hawkins, but durst not send them aboord, lest they should be intercepted by the Portugals. What was become of the Factors and goods he mentioned not: I wrote to him, to send mee those Letters and other particulars concerning our businesse.

Nicholas Banghams Letters from the shore.

Hoja Nassan Governour of Surat.

The third of October, Hoja Nassan the Governour of Surat, and the Governours brother of Cambaya, sent a Mogoll unto me with a present of refreshing, and in their names offered to doe me all the kindnesse they could, but the Portugals, hee said, were the cause they could not doe what they would, but for their part they desired to trade with us, which they see no way possible to effect, so long as we should ride there, and the Portugall Armado by us, and therefore they would counsell me to goe for Goga, a better place, where wee should ride nearer the shore with our ships, where the Armado could not hinder our landing; and likewise [I. iii. 268.] it was nearer [illegible]mbaya, where there were more Merchants, and [illegible]r and better store of merchandize for our turnes: [illegible]ving to this effect delivered his message, hee was desirous to know what I determined to doe, whether I would stay heere, or goe thither: I answered, as yet I had received no answere fro[illegible] the shore, save a letter of small import, and till I knew what was become of our country-men and goods formerly left in the Countrey, I could not resolve him; and therefore I desired him to be a meanes, that some one of our people might come abord to conferre with me, and Pilots to conduct us thither, and then would I quickely resolve them what I would doe: in the meane while I could say nothing, I gave

him and his Interpreter a small reward, and dispeeded them.

The fift, a Bramyney, or Priest of the Bannians, which came with the Mogoll for an Interpreter, came in a Boate of the Towne with a letter from Nicholas Bangham, and Captaine Hawkins letter from Agra, dated in Aprill last, relating the manner of his favouring and dis-favouring by the Great Mogoll, his ficklenesse in granting us Trade, and afterward disallowing the same, giving the Portugals Firmaes against us, contradicting thereby what formerly he had granted to us and our Nation. By the same Messenger came two letters of a latter date from William Finch, from Lahor, the one to the Commanders of any English shipping arriving at Surat, the other to the Company in England, relating his proceedings, and intent to goe home over Land, the unconstancie of the King and people of the Countrey, the practice of the Portugals, and many other circumstances advising me in any wise not to land any goods, nor hope for Trade in those parts: for that the people were all fickle and unconstant like the King, and durst not offend the Portugals. I having perused these letters, grew hopelesse of any Trade in that place, yet resolved to trie the uttermost what might be done before I would depart: I understood by Nicholas Bangham's letters, that Captaine Sharpeigh, John Jordayne and others, were comming from Cambaya to Surat, to go along with me; and although I could have no Trade, yet would I endeavour my selfe in all I might to get them all aboor and not leave them behind me. The Indian shippes which rid by me had given over their Voyage to the Southward; for that the Monson for the Southward was past. The Braminey desired my leave that they might carry their ships into the River, which in no wise I would grant, willing him to tell the Governour and the rest of the Owners, that their ships should not depart thence, till I had all the Englishmen at Cambaya and Surat aboord of me; if I had permitted them to

A letter of Captain Hawkins from Agra.

A letter of William Finch from Lahor.

have gone, I should have frustrated my selfe of either sending too, or hearing from our people ashore: The Portugals intercepted both letters and men as much as they could.

The two and twentith, the Portugals had laid them in ambush to cut off some of my men sent on shore: which when they saw their best time of advantage brake out, and came in great heapes, confusedly running toward our men and boates; they discharged their shot at us, and we answered them againe with ours, both from those my men a shore, and also from my Frigat, which rid close to the Land, all my men retired in safetie to my boats and Frigat, and the Portugals after some hurt received, returned behind the hills out of shot, and so in worse case then they came, went backe to their Frigats. There were of them seven Ensignes, and might be in number about three hundred men; at this instant when they came upon us by Land, five of their greatest Frigats which rid a little way off to the Northward, came running upon us, and shot at us, being nothing neare within shot. We went with our Frigat and boats aboord our ships to dinner, little hoping of any newes, as at that day, from our people ashore: the Portugall Frigats rowed to the Northward, and anchored where they rid before: I advised with Captaine Dounton, Master Jourdayne and others, what course were best to take, and it was thought fit to abide no longer there, but to returne to the roade at Surat, where rid the Increase, and there to determine what we had best to doe.

Novemb. 8. 1611. The eight of November, Nicholas Bangham came from Surat, and brought with him some refreshing, which with himselfe were very welcome: the newes held of the comming of Mockrib Can. The Vice-royes sonne came into the River with an hundred saile of Frigats, the greatest part of them being Merchants bound for Cambaya: I caused this night our ships which rid within to come off and anchor by me, lest the enemies,

An hundred sailes of Portugall Frigats.

whose strength I knew not, might attempt ought against them.

The ninth, The ships riding without the Sand, Hoja Nassan came downe to the Sea-side: I went to him with my Frigat and boats, and had conference with him; he promised mee (not to saile) two dayes or three at the furthest, hee would returne and bring goods with him to Trade with me; I told him I had been heere a great while, and could get no refreshing of victuals for my money, and therefore desired him to give order the countrey people might bring me some, which he promised to doe, and upon the same tooke his leave and departed.

The eighteenth, I received a letter from Nicholas Bangham, wherein he wrote that there was little or no hope of trade to be expected.

This last letter of Nicholas Bangham, together with the breach of promise of Hoja Nassan, brought me out of hope of Trade, thinking all their former promises to be nothing but inventions to delude and weary me, and in the end to turne me going without Trade, which they durst not let me have for feare of offending the [I. iii. 269.] Portugals, and yet loath to offend mee with absolute deniall. These things considered, I determined to be gone, and therefore had often writ to Nicholas Bangham to come away, but Hoja Nassan would not permit him: he seeing he could not get leave to come, he stole secretly out of Towne, and as this day arrived heere. Anone after Hoja Nassan missing him (as it seemeth) and doubting at his comming that being hopelesse of Trade I would be gone, sent Jaddaw the Broaker presently after him with a letter from himselfe, and another from Mockrib Can, promising speedily to come both unto me. To which, in regard of his former promise breach, I could hardly give credit, yet I resolved to spend some few dayes more to see the event thereof. The Portugals lying all in the River, not daring to come nigh us by Sea, thought to entrappe us by Land, and

therefore a great number of them ambushed themselves behind a row of sand hills, not farre from our landing place, where they kept close, but God be thanked they failed of their expectation, all our people without hurt recovering the boate. In the meane season they in the ships were not idle, but let flye apace at them, both with great shot and small: the Portugals thinking to find us unprepared to bid them thus welcome, presently betooke them to their heeles, and fled behinde the hilles, where they lurking a while, not daring to shew their heads; they left one lying upon the Strand being mortally wounded in the head, which our people brought aboord.

The foure and twentith being Sunday, Jaddaw the Broaker came aboord, and brought me word Mockrib Can was comming, and would be with me before night. After dinner I went to the shore side with my Frigat, where I found Hoja Nassan, who sent me word Mockrib Can was comming, and would be presently there. I returned aboord and made choyce of a good Present to give him; which being effected, being well accompanied, I went directly aland, where I found Mockrib Can, Hoja Nassan, with great troupes of men abiding my comming, at our meeting we embraced each other; our ships at the same time discharging some Ordnance to bid him welcome, which he seemed to take kindly. After I had delivered him a good Present, we sate downe upon Carpets spred upon the ground, where passed some conference betweene us: being neare Sun-set, I entreated him he would be pleased to go aboord my ship, and there take his lodging for that night, which he presently granted, carrying with him his owne sonne, Hoja Nassan's sonne, and divers others his chiefe Followers, but Hoja Nassan would not goe; it pleased mee well to see him so confident, and made mee conceive better hopes then before, he having all this part of the Countrey under his command. I gave him the best entertainment I

The enterview of Mockrib Can, Governour of Cambaya, and Sir Henry Middleton.

could, setting before him such Cates as upon such a sudden I could provide, which he, and those with him fel roundly to. After they had done eating, I delivered him our King's Majesties Letter directed to him, and told him the effect thereof. He seemed to be very much pleased that his Majestie would vouchsafe to write unto him, and promised me to doe us all the good he could, not onely for our present Trade, but also to give us any place or harbour I would appoint or name, where wee might fortifie ourselves, if we so pleased. In fine, I not demanded any thing, but I found him as ready to grant, as I was to aske: growing late, I left him to his rest and departed.

The five and twenttieth in the morning, Mockrib Can busied himselfe in buying of Knives, Glasses, or any other toyes he found amongst my Company: I went with him and showed him the ship aloft and below: any thing he liked belonging to the ship he carryed with him away gratis, besides many toyes of my Companyes, which he liked, I bought and gave him, endevouring in all things I might to give him content: after he had been fore and after, he returned to my Cabbin, where he would needs see all my Chests, Trunckes, and Lockers opened and searched. Whatsoever he saw there of mine that he tooke liking to, I gave him for nothing. By this time victualls being readie, he went to dinner, which being done, hee was desirous to be gone to see the other ships, and there behaved himselfe in like sort.

The thirtieth and one and thirtieth, I sent Master Fowler, John Jordayne, and other our Merchants to see the goods: they returned and brought Mustrels and the prices: we set downe what we would give for each sort, desiring them to doe the like by ours, that so we might come to agreement for both: they held me off with delayes, posting me off from day to day, but concluding nothing, they would neither offer for our commodities, nor abate in theirs. And

The delusions of the Guzarats.

whereas I had sold Mockrib Can all our Sword-blades the cheaper, because he should take the one with the other, they had chosen out the best of them, and returned me backe the worst, being the better halfe, and no speech when we should be paid for them: which done, they removed their goods to bee gone for Surat. And upon the same made Proclaimation upon great penalties, that no victuall or other thing should be brought us: leaving me without cause thus abused.

Decemb. 8. 1611. The eighth of December in the morning, came Mockrib Can with all his crew upon the strand, and about some fortie packs of their goods; I came a land with a good guard of shot and halberds: I went to him to his tent, where after friendly salutation and complements past, wee fell to treat of businesse: and agreed for prices of all our Lead, Quick-silver, and Vermilion, and for their goods likewise to view thereof. It is to be noted, that all these goods did not belong to these two great men, but also to the Shabander, and divers other Merchants: yet for the most part, the businesse were carried soly by Hoja Nassan, no man daring either to [I. iii. 270.] buy or sell with us, without his prevention and leave, by that meanes advancing the prices of their goods, and abasing ours, to their great advantage, and our great hinderance and losse.

The ninth in the morning, we began to land our Lead, and to receive some of their goods: as also to be in good *Mogulls letter.* forwardnesse to make price for the rest, when a Letter came to Mockrib Can from his King, which dashed all his mirth and our proceedings for that present. Hee was very pleasant before he received and perused it; but afterwards became very sad: hee sate a good pretie while musing, and upon a sudden riseth up, & so goeth his way, without once looking towards, or speaking to me, I being seated hard by him. Before he tooke horse, he better bethought himselfe, and sent for me: when I came to him, he embraced me, telling me hee was my Brother, praying me to excuse this his sudden departure,

for that he had earnest businesse, and must be gone: but he would leave Hoja Nassan with me, to receive and deliver those goods already bargained for, and to bargaine with me for more: shortly after, we heard he was put out of his government of Cambaya, Hoja Nassan being lately put out of his government of Surat (and others put in their places) this afterward we judged to be the effect of the Kings letter, and the cause of his discontent. Mockrib Can being of late Governour of Cambaya, and all the Sea-coast thereabouts, hath now nothing left him in this Countrey, but the place of the Customer of Surat.

The tenth, the new Governour of Surat, and Assan Ally came aboord the Pepper-corne to mee to see the ships. After they had been there a while, we went t the Trades-increase, the Factors being ashore to see the weight of the Lead, whic[illegible] no little trouble was neere-hand all landed, and embarqued ready to bee sent a shore: they intreated Hoja Nassan that he would be pleased to goe in hand therewith, for that it would aske a great time in doing: the Factors would have weighed with our English weights, which he would in no wise agree unto: the Weigher of Surat was there with the weights of the Towne, and with that weight would he have it weighed. In the end, seeing no other remedie, they gave him way, and began to weigh with the countrey beame. After some fewe drafts, they desired they might understand the beame before they proceeded any further, to know whether the Weigher told them the truth what it weighed: for he knowing it, and they not, he might give them what weight he list: likewise they made triall of those they had weighed by his Beame, by ours, and found very great difference, in five Pigges tenne or eleven Maunds, each maund being three and thirtie pound English weight. Hee seeing he might not have the Lead at what weight he listed, began to cavill, saying, he would have halfe money, halfe goods for his commodities, otherwise we should not have them, rayling

and raving like a mad-man, calling for the Carmen to drawe away the goods, saying, he would none of our Lead, nor other goods, but instantly be gone: I being aboord the Increase with the Governour and Sabandar, the Factors which were a shore sent one aboord a purpose, to advise me of their proceedings, and how that Hoja Nassan was causing the Carmen to yoake their Oxen, to draw away all the goods they had brought, and if I did not take some speedie course for preventing the same, he would goe from his bargaine, and returne all our goods upon our hands againe: I thought hee was apt enough to doe so, by that little experience I had of him, as also a custome they have in this Countrey (and by report in most parts of India) that what bargaine soever is made betweene Merchant and Merchant may be revoked, so it be done within the compasse of twentie foure houres, yea although he have given earnest, and carried away the goods bought, yet hee may returne them, and have backe his earnest. I understood this bad custome before I landed any of my Lead, and doubting to have such a tricke put upon me, I did purposely send unto Hoja Nassan, John Fowler and others, to know whether he would stand to his bargaine, before I landed any Lead, which would put us to much trouble to land it, and therefore I would be at a certaintie with him: he before many witnesses, promised them to take it all, and be as good as his word, and that with all speed they should land it. And now comming to the point of performance, hee flies from all he had formerly promised: I advised with such as were about me what we had best doe, and it was thought the surest way, to keepe those men which were aboord me for pledges, till they had performed with us, and if we could get Hoja Nassan into our possession, to keepe him, and free those: whereupon I detained the Governour and Sabandar, telling them how Hoja Nassan had dealt with me, going about to delude me as formerly, and therefore there was no other remedie, but to keepe them for pledges for perform-

Rude custome in buying.

ance of the bargaine. The Governour counselled mee to goe a shore, and fetch the man himselfe, which I did, giving the Governour a good Present, I let him depart, keeping Hoja Nassan and the Sabandar for pledges aboord the Pepper-corne.

Hoja Nassan & the Sabandar kept aboord as Pledges.

The nineteenth, Hoja Assan Ally the Sabandar came from Surat: he shewed mee a couple of Letters, which were sent from the Vice-roy from Goa, one of them directed to himselfe, the other to the Captaine Major of Diu: I opened and perused them both. The effect of the letter to the Captaine Major was, that he had received his letter, whereby hee understood the especiall good service done against the English, in putting the English Captaine and his people to swim to his Boates for their safetie, otherwise he had taken them prisoners or slaine them: for the which he highly commended him, having done the part of a valiant Captaine, and worthy souldiour; which good service done to his King and Countrey, would redound to his great honour: for the which hee gave him as many thanks, as if hee had taken the English Captaine prisoner: and partly to gratifie him, [I. iii. 271.] he bestowed those Frigates, which hee lately before had taken from the Mallabers upon him, certifying him he had sent his sonne in the Armie, which was young, praying him to assist him with his counsell, whereby he might gaine a great name. Thus was the Vice-Roy and my selfe abused, by the false reports of a lying Braggard. The other letter to the Sabandar, was to thanke him that he would not permit the English Nation to trade at Surat, willing him to continue in that mind, and he should doe the King of Portugal great service, for the which he should not loose his reward. This day came divers Carts laden with provisions for the ships from Surat, bought by Nicholas Banggam.

The foure and twentieth, the accompts on both sides were cleered, and businesse finished, the pledges on either part released, they promised us to deale with us for the rest of our Commodities: they tarried till the sixe and

twentieth day, but did nothing worth noting. The seven and twentieth, came a Jew aboord me, which brought me a letter from Massulipatan, dated the eighth of September, from one Peter Floris, a Dantiscan, employed by the Company, shewing his setting out in February, his speedie and safe passage and arriving there in the beginning of September.

A letter of Peter Floris.

Januar. 2. 1611.

The second of January, 1611. I wrote to Captaine Hawkins, from whom I had received a letter the eight and twentieth of December: and sent Captaine Sharpeigh, Hugh Fraine, and Hugh Greet, to set the minde of Captaine Hawkins in some better course, then he seemed to aime at in his last letter to me. As also to buy some Indicoes, and other commodities, if they might be had at reasonable rates.

Capt. Hawkins commeth aboord our ships.

The sixe and twentieth, Captaine Hawkins and Captaine Sharpeigh came to the water side: they had left their carriage behind them five miles off: I landed with two hundred armed men, and went to meet them, to safegard them and their goods from the Portugals, which I doubted would doe their best to intercept them: we met them about some three miles off and brought all in safetie aboord our ships, not seeing any Portugals.

The seven and twentieth, I sent John Williams and one of our Factors to Surat upon businesse. This day Mockrib Can came to Towne; he had been to meet a great Commander, which was comming from the warres of Decan, and was to passe by Surat. Before his going out of the Towne, he sent for M. Jourdaine, and willed him to commend him to me, and to certifie me that he was to goe out of the Towne, but would not tarry out above three dayes, and at his returne he would be as good as his word, for what he had promised concerning our Factory. Now at his returne, he sends for him againe, and with a frowning countenance, contrary to his expectation, demands of him what he did there, and why were we not all gone: he answered, that hee staied upon his word and promise that we should leave a Factory,

otherwise he had not been there: he said againe, we should have no Factory there, and that the long staying of our shippes there, had hindered him in his Customes tenne hundred thousand manuveys, and therefore in the Kings name charged them to be gone with speed out of the Towne: for neither trade nor Factorie was there to be had for us. John Williams returned this morning, and two carts with provisions came from Surat. The nine and twentieth, I sent for the Factors at Surat to doe as Mockrib Can commanded, to hast and come away, for that I would be gone.

§. VI.

His going to Dabul, and thence to the Red Sea, and enforced trade with the Guzerates.

THe ninth of February in the morning, beeing calme, we warped over the sand with the Increase: had we not got over this tide, we had lost the whole Spring. This road of Swally standeth in the latitude of twentie degrees fifty seven minutes: variation sixteene degrees thirty minutes. The eleventh in the morning, we set sayle for the road of Surat, and anchored there in the afternoone, by a new ship of Surat lately launched, and came out of the River, she was bound for the Red Sea. The latitude of this roade is twenty degrees fortie two minutes. *February* 9.

The road of Swally is in twenty degr. fiftie seven min. Variation sixteen degrees thirty minutes.

The twelfth, we weighed and drove to the South-ward, & anchored two leagues from the road by a ship of Callicut bound for Surat, out of which ship I tooke a Pilot for Dabul. The thirteenth, we weighed & drove down; at noon came a gale Northerly: at the comming of the wind we had seventeene fathome: we halled off West by South, in twelve and foureteene fathome: after steered South West by West till foure a clocke; betweene which time wee had from foureteene to twentie fathome: upon a sudden we came to eight fathome, and then to sixe, being then in my

opinion from the ship that rid in the road of Surat tenne leagues: then we haled in East, and East by South three quarters of a mile, and found from sixe fathome to twentie againe: then wee steered South-west by South, till one a clocke after midnight, being for the most part against the tide. At that time the water shoaled in two casts from twentie to fifteene fathome, having run in nine houres some seven leagues and a halfe: then we haled off three houres (being little wind) [I. iii. 272.] till we came to twentie fathome: then we steered South South-west, at which time we see the land, with two hammocks thereon, bearing East South-east some eight *Damon.* leagues off: which wee judged to be Damon. At sixe in the evening, we haled in South South-east, the wind Northerly: it suddenly fell calme, and so continued till past midnight. This morning our latitude nineteene degrees fifteene minutes, having steered all night South by West, and our depths between twelve and fourteene fathome, five leagues off the shore, in the morning little wind, at noone came a gale; we steered South, the winde West North-west. In the evening being betweene foure and five leagues from the shore, we had thirteene fathome; at Sun-set we judged our selves thwart of *Chaul.* Chaul. We steered South all night with a faire gale of wind.

The si[illegible]h, wee steered alongst the coast South and by E[illegible], till six a clocke in the evening, keeping for the most part in ten fathome or there about, at which *He arriveth at Dabull, and there hath Trade.* time we arrived in the Road of Dabull, which standeth in the latitude of seventeene degrees, two and fortie minutes, variation sixteene degrees and thirtie minutes.

The seventeenth, the Pilot which I had out of the Mallabar, I sent ashore in a Fisher-boate with a letter which I had at my being at Moha, from Mollich Abor, Captaine or Nohuda of a great shippe of this place. The letter was to the Governour, to entreat him to use me kindly, and to Trade with me. In the afternoone, the Governour and Mellick Amber, each of them sent

me a small present of refreshing, and many complements, offering me any thing the Countrey did afford; and if I pleased to send ashore, he would deale with me for our commodities: I sent a couple of Merchants ashore with a good Present, who were bid kindly welcome, and well entertained whiles they were there.

The eighteenth, nineteenth and twentith (Boats passing each day betweene the shippes and shore) were spent about the sale of some goods, the particulars with each dayes businesse, I referre to the account of the Merchants, holding it not fit here to be expressed. By the three and twentith, we had delivered all our goods we had bargained for, and no hope of further sales in this place; I determined with all speed to be gone from hence.

The foure and twentith, I called a Councell to advise what we had best to do: I propounded whether it were better to goe from hence directly for Priaman, Bantam, &c. or to returne to the Red-sea, there to meete with such Indian shippes as should be bound thither, and for that they would not deale with us at their owne doores, wee having come so farre with commodities fitting their Countrie, no where else in India vendable: I thought wee should doe our selves some right, and them no wrong, to cause them barter with us, wee to take their Indicoes and other goods of theirs, as they were worth, and they to take ours in liew thereof. All my opinions were for the Red-sea, for divers reasons. 1. First, the putting off our English goods, and having others in place thereof fitting our Countrey. Secondly, to take some revenge of the great and unsufferable wrongs and injuries done me by the Turkes there. And the third and last, but not the least, to save that ship, men and goods (which by way of Massulipatan) wee heard was bound for those parts; which we held unpossible to escape betraying. These things considered, we concluded to goe backe for the Red-sea: from this day to the seven and twentith, wee spent in getting fresh water aboord: they had bought all my Red-lead, and it was carried ashore

and delivered, but afterwards disliking it, they returned it backe. In the evening we saw a ship in the Offing, two or three Mallabars which rid by us, told us shee was a Portugall ship of Cochin bound for Chaul: I sent the Pepper-corne, Darling and Frigat to fetch her in to me.

A Portugall Shippe taken. The eight and twentith, my men in the Frigat had pillaged them, which I tooke from them and returned to their owners: her lading was Coco-nuts, having little else in her. This day we spent in romaging the Portugals ship, I could find no bills of lading in her; some small matter I tooke from her, in regard of former injuries offered me by the Captaine Major Don Francisco de Soto maior at the barre of Surat, as namely, taking my goods, and hindering my Trade. In that I sustained no further harme by them, it was not for lack of good will, but lacke of meanes, as manifestly appeared by letters of the Vice-roy and others, which came to my hands by chance; what I had from them, I have under the hands of the chiefe men in her.

March 24. *Zacotora.* The foure and twentith of March wee had sight of the Iland Zacotora, and at foure in the afternoone, the point of Dellashaw bore South South-west six leagues off, variation nineteene degrees. From the foure and twentith at noone till this day at noone, wee steered North-west and by West, and West North-west, and West all night, thinking by day-light to have beene neare the Westermost part of the Iland; but contrary to our expectation, wee found wee had gone little a head, having had a faire gale, which shewes we have had a great currant against us. From noone till foure in the next morning, wee steered alongst the land with little wind, and then it fell calme, the currant carrying us directly upon a rocke, which lyeth foure or five leagues from the wester part of Loccatra: we were forced to anchor till we had a gale to carry us from it; about two houres after came the wind Easterly, wee weighed and stood to the Westward, and at noone we were foure leagues from the Rocke, here wee found a currant setting to the Northward.

Anno 1612. *Currents.*

The seven and twentieth, we steered West South-west, we met with a great currant setting to the North-ward; in the morning we were thwart of Abba del Curia, and before night had sight of Cape Guada fui, being some seven leagues off: from yesterday noone till this day night, our course West South-west, we might go in that time eight and twentie leagues our true way West little Southerly: we stood in till midnight, and then haled close of a wind to the Southward, and so spent the night till day. [I. iii. 273.] *Abba del Curia.*

The eight and twentith, by eight of the clock we were faire by the shore, mid-way between the two Capes of Guardafui & Felux. *Cape de Guarda fui.*

The second of Aprill, Master Pemberton came aboord of me, and told mee that he had been at Soccatora, and the King shewed him a writing left there by Captaine John Saris (who was Generall of three ships) wherein he related what time he came out of England, his places of refreshing by the way, and his arrivall there; as also his proceeding to the Red-sea to seeke Trade; specifying likewise that he had perused a writing left there by mee, wherein were alledged many reasons to disswade him from going thither; yet having the Gran Signiors Passe, he hoped of better entertainment then I had. Hearing this unexpected newes, I called a Councell to advise what we had best doe; whereabout we spent but small time, for that we were quickly resolved to proceed as formerly we had determined, having now no other way left: for backe we could not returne till the Westerly wind were come, which could not be before midde May. Whereupon I presently dispeeded Captaine Nicholas Dounton, and left him in the Pepper-corne to tarrie there abouts till the fifth of this moneth, for the keeping of the Port of Aden. And I with the Trades-Increase and Darling to keepe the two-fold entrance of Babbelmandell. We steered from thence with the head of Aden, being about seven leagues off: about foure in the evening wee were thwart of Aden: this evening variation thirteene degrees *April* 2. 1612. *Captaine John Saris.* *Aden in twelve degrees, seven and fortie minutes.*

and fortie minutes latitude of Aden, twelve degrees and fortie seven minutes.

The third, from foure a clocke the second day, till this day morning little wind, wee steered alongst the Channell West by North, and West North-west, towards the heat of the day it began to blow, we continued our course as before. About Sun-set we anchored in twentie fathome foure leagues short of the Bab, where we rid till the next morning.

The fourth, in the morning about eight a clocke we weighed and set saile, and about ten in the forenoone wee *Babmandel.* anchored within Bab-mandell in eight fathome water. Faire by the Channell which wee came in at, is halfe a league over betweene the maine of Arabia and the Iland. Presently at our comming to an anchor, there came a Boat from the shore aboord of me, wherein was a Turke and three or foure Arrabian souldiers. The Turke was chiefe of the place, sent by the Aga of Mo to guard it. He promised that if I would have a letter sent, he would presently dispatch a foot-poste away, who should returne within three days with answere, whereupon I writ a letter to Captaine Saris at Moha, wherein I certified him the cause of my comming, and what I determined to doe.

The sixth, came in a Jalba of Zela, a place without the Bab, upon the Habashe shoare, bound for Moha: her loding was Mats. I bought of her twelve sheepe, and so permitted them to depart. This day much raine.

A ship of Basanor. The seventh, came in a ship of Basanor, in the morning early before day, which I caused to come to anchor by me, one of Captaine Saris Merchants called Richard *Letters from Captain Saris.* Wickam, came this morning with Letters from his Captaine, the effect thereof I omit to write here. I returned him answere thereof, by a Turke which came in his company, but Wickam I stayed with me, for that I doubted they of Moha would have kept him Prisoner, for that I imbarqued the India ships.

The eight, in the after-noone came in a ship of Diu, (bound for Moha) I sent off my Frigat to fetch her in, who brought her to an Anchor by me. This was the same ship I detayned the last yeare in Moha Roade. This day we romaged these two fore-said ships, and tooke out of them such goods as were for our purpose, which were brought aboord me. *A ship of Diu.*

The ninth, came in a small Frigat of Shaher, laden with course Ollibanum, wee bought some part thereof, and paid them Rials for it to their content: we continued romaging the India ships for more goods. The eleventh, I stayed a small Barke of Sinde. *A Frigat of Shaher.* *A Barke of Sinde.*

Note that ever since our comming into the Bab till this twelfth day, the wind kept still upon the South-east quarter; but now at North-west, and likely to blow hard: the last yeare the same day the wind came up at North-west, and continued so for three dayes. This course the wind holds every yeare: the rest of the day, and the next we spent in moring of our ship, as also the Indian ships which were readie to drive ashore, had not we layd out moring for them, the wind blowing hard at North-west. *Note.*

The fourteenth, came Captaine Saris into the Road about eight in the morning, and anchored by me with his three shippes. They saluted me with their Ordnance, and I them; Captaine Saris, Captaine Towerson, and Master Cox (their chiefe Merchant) came aboord of me, where we spent all that day in friendly communication: I acquainted him with my great lacke of Cables, which he promised to supply. At night they departed to their ships, Captaine Saris inviting me and others the next day to dinner with him. *Captaine Saris and his Fleete of three ships.*

The fifteenth, I went aboord the Clove, where I and those which came with me were kindly entertayned, he shewed me the Gran Signiors Passe, and read it to me. Many words passed betwixt us, he promising to himselfe much good Trade at Moha if I had not come, which my experience found to the contrarie. At last wee agreed [I. iii. 274.] *The Gran Signiors Passe.* *This Passe I have of Captaine Saris his gift.*

and sealed it in Writings interchangeable, that he should have one third part of what should be taken, paying for the same as I did, for the service of his three ships in the Action: leaving the disposing of the ships afterward to me, who had sustayned the wrongs.

A ship of Calicut. *A ship of Carapatan.* The sixteenth, came in two ships, I sent my Frigat and brought them to anchor by mee, the one was of Callicut, laden with Rice, bound for Moha, the other was of Carapatan, laden with Pepper, which ship came from Achen, and was bound for Aden, but by Captaine Dounton being chased to Lee-ward of the place, they determined to goe for Moha. This Carapatan is a place neere Dabull, they being subjects to the same King.

A ship of Cananor. The eighteenth, came in a ship of Cananor bound for Moha, she came from Achen, her lading for the most part Pepper.

The Hassain of Surat. *Another shippe of Surat.* The nineteenth, came in two ships of Surat, the one called the Hassany, belonging to Abdelasan, bound for Zidda, the other a small ship of my old friend Hoja Nassan, bound for Moha. I caused them to anchor by me, taking their Sayles from their yards, and kept some of the chiefe men aboord of me; by them we understood the Great Mogols Mothers ship, called the Rhemie, was shortly to come.

A ship of Diu. The twentieth, came in a ship of Diu, laden with India Commodities, bound for Moha, and presently after came in

A ship of Dabul. a ship of Dabull: shee passed by us, I sent my Pinnasse after her, which caused them to come to an Anchor.

The one and twentieth, I sent away Passengers out

A small ship of Calicut. of the Surat ships: about noone came in a small ship of Callicut, bound for Moha, which ship we stayd.

A Frigat of Shehor. The two and twentieth, came in a Frigat of Shehor, which came from Goa, bound for Zidda, laden with grosse Ollibanum: and presently after came in sight a

A great ship of Diu. great shippe which passed the great Channell, and was chased by the Darling, who caused her to anchor by the Hector, she was of Diu, bound for Swaken, laden with India Commodities.

A.D. 1612.

The three and twentieth, came in the Rhemy of Surat, the Queene Mothers ship laden with India Commodities bound for Zidda; she was stayed with the rest. In this ship were fifteene * hundred persons. In the after-noone, I made signe to the Darling to come to mee, which presently she perceived and came; I delivered each ship their Sayles, and willed them in the morning betimes to be ready to saile with me, for that I would go to Lee-ward to the Road of Assab.

The Rhemy a great ship of Surat.

**Plentie of Pilgrime Merchants, which it seemes the Jesuites have learned in these parts of the Saracens, which in all the Indies advance the Affaires of State and Merchandise to their Countrey, & wealth to their Companies, under colour of preaching the Gospell; as this Booke yeelds many Witnesses.*

The foure and twentieth, we weighed and set saile from the Bab, and all the India ships with us: leaving the Thomas and Darling, to ply up to the Bab, and went for the Roade of Assab: we arrived at Crab Iland about five aclocke, and came to an Anchor with all the Fleet, in twelve fathome water; where we rid all night, the wind at South South-west.

The five and twentieth, in the morning wee weighed and all the Fleet, and stood in for the Road of Assab, and about one of the clock we came to an Anchor in seven and a half of fathoms.

The Roade of Assab.

The seven and twentieth, we fetched good store of Indicos out of the ships of Surat and Diu, the Clove being in the offing in sight, plying to and fro, and not seeing us, I caused the Gunner to shoot off a Peece of Ordnance: which they hearing, answered mee with another, and presently bore up for the Road.

Chap. XII.

Nicholas Dounton Captaine of the Pepper-Corne, a Ship of two hundred and fiftie Tunnes, and Lieutenant in the sixth Voyage to the East-Indies, set forth by the said Company, his Journall, or certaine Extracts thereof.

§. I.

Their comming to Saldania and thence to Socatora.

July, 22. 1610. THe two and twentieth of July, at foure in the after-noone, wee had sight of the Table and point of Saldania, bearing East, distant twelve leagues, but by reason of calmes and uncertaine winds, it was the foure and twentieth day before wee were mored in the Roade, where we found three Hollanders, one whereof was bound for Bantam, and in her Peter But Generall of thirteene Saile outwards bound, who having spent his maine Mast, and lost com-
[I. iii. 275.] pany of his Fleet, put into the Road for to refresh his sicke men. The other two having made traine of Seales at Pengwin Iland bound home.

Bay of Saldania. Saldania is a Bay some fourteene leagues North North-east from the Cape Bona Speranza, and North by West ten leagues from Cape Falso, which is East-ward of the former, and may both be seene in the said Bay: these two Capes are also divided by another great Bay, the distance betweene these two Bayes, is some three leagues being low marshie ground, extending South and North, which on either side is invironed with Mountaines. In this Bay of Saldania, when you have brought the Norther point thereof, West North-west, North-west and by West, for a small ship North-west, thwart of the ledge of rockes (or watering place) neere the shore, which will be

laid (as it were) in the swampe betweene the high Mountaines, called the Table and the Sugar-loafe, in sixe, five, or foure fathome according to the draught of your shippe, in cleane ground, and good anchor-hold you may safely ride. Pengwin Iland with his ledge distant three leagues off, bearing North North-west halfe West, and stretching to the North and by West of you in the road. The maine land also, though it be thirteene leagues distant, trendeth a way to the West and by West, so that there is little above three points open to let in the North-west Sea, which is the greatest stormes. Saldania having in former time been comfortable to all our Nation travelling this way, both outwards and home-wards, yeelding them abundance of flesh, as Sheepe and Beeves brought downe by the Salvage Inhabitants, and sold for trifles, as a Beife for a piece of an Iron hoope of foureteene inches long, and a Sheepe for a lesser piece, whereby weake sicke men in former Voyages have been easily recovered and made strong: now contrariwise, whether our Trade here were spoyled by the Dutchmen we here found, who use to spoyle all places where they come (onely respecting their owne present occasions) by their over-much liberalitie; or whether the Cattell in former times so abundantly brought downe, were preyes taken by warres from one another, or other differences which might make them greedy of yron, to make heads for their Launces or Darts, which now by peace or reconciliation they have little need of; the true cause, for want of understanding in their language, I know not. But well I found, that all the devises we could use by bribes or otherwise to them, which daily came downe to our tents in faire weather, would procure nothing from them for our sicke mens reliefe, but foure Cowes, and those foure Cowes which we did buy, were so old and leane, that there was but little goodnesse in the flesh; for which they would take no yron, but thin pieces of Copper of sixe inches square, and some seven sheep at peice three inches square of copper, cut out of a Kettle, whereof they make rings by sixe or eight together, which

Provision more scarce at Saldania then in times past, and why.

they weare on their armes, which being bright and smooth, unto them seemeth very brave.

Filthy people and loathsome. These people are the filthiest for the usage of their bodies, that ever I have seene or heard of: for besides the naturall uncleannesse (as by sweat or otherwise) whereto all people are subject, which the most by washing cleare themselves of, contrariwise this people doe augment, by anointing their bodies with a filthy substance, which I suppose to be the juice of herbes which on their body sheweth like Cow-dung, and on their wool of their heads is so baked, like a scurfe of greene herbes. For apparrell, they weare before their privities the taile of a Cat, or some other small beast, and a cloake made of a sheepsskin, reaching downe to the middle of their thighs; and according to the weather, they turne some time the hairy side, and sometimes the drest side to their bodies.

Saldania sheep. Their Sheep have no wooll, but haire, and are partie-coloured like Calves; their legges are longer, and their bodies larger then our sheepe in England, but not so fat.

Jewels and Ornaments. The Principall of these people weare about the bight of their armes, a thin flat ring of Ivory, beeing very smooth, and wrought compasse neere sixteene inches wide, and on their wrists some sixe, eight, tenne, or twelve rings of Copper, bright and smooth, all either fastned together, or wrought in one. Other toyes also, as Bracelets of blue glasse, and pearle shels, which are either presented them, or by idle people given them for Estridge egshels, for quils of Porcupines, which without restraint the Dutchmen did ordinarily buy, also an other most strange and filthy wearing, to what purpose I know not, as the guts of Cattell about their neckes, which makes them smell like a Butchers slaughter-house. In their hands they carrie a small Lance or Dart, that hath a small yron head, and a few Estridges feathers as a fan to keepe away the flies: they have also Bowes and arrowes, but when they came downe to us, they would leave them in some hole or bush by the way. They are straight made people, and nimble of foote, it seemeth that their habitation is mooveable, to

places of best pasture for their Cattell, as in the Valley betweene the Mountaines, whose tops (farre up into the Countrey) were covered with snow at this time, but those neere the Sea-side are cleare thereof, notwithstanding they are very high.

Wild Beasts. Wild beasts there are of divers sorts, but these we have seene, Fallow-deare, Antilopes, Porcupines, land Tortesses, Baboones, (also the Dutchmen told us of Lyons, but wee saw none) Snakes, and Adders.

Fowles. Fowles also abundance, to wit, Wild-geese, Duckes, Pellicans, Passea, Flemincos, and Crowes, which have in their neckes, as it were, a white band, and small birds greene coloured, and divers other sorts unknowne. Also Sea-fowles, to wit, Penguins, Guls, Pentados, which are spotted [I. iii. 276.] blacke and white; also a grey fowle, the Pinions whereof are blacke, which the Portugals call Alcatrasses, and Shags or Cormorants at the Iland in great abundance, and an other kind of fowle like Moore-hennes.

Great numbers of smal Whales. Fishes there are of divers sorts, but these following have I seene, to wit, in faire weather there are a small sort of Whales in great numbers; at the Iland Seales in great abundance. With the Saine, we tooke fish like Millets, being as large as a Trought, Smelts, Thornebackes, and Doggs: and on the Rockes, Limpets, and Mussels abundance. In the fresh water the Unions men caught with a Saine, abundance of Millets, as when we met with them they told us. It is a very wholesome aire, and aboundeth with good fresh water, both for filling in the roade, and for travellers in the land, which in small streames descendeth from the Mountaines.

One morning by my instigation, my Generall and I, accompanied with thirteene men more, whereof foure were small shot, went to see if we could find place where we might cut wood; and beeing gone some three miles, and finding none but small greene wood, whereof we in the Pepper-corne, by reason of our great want, were forced to cut: my Generall desirous to get refreshing for our weake sicke men, determined to walke about the

The Table. Table, to see if wee could see any Cattell, that we might by any meanes buy for our relieſe, not thinking it would have beene so long a journey, where we past through a most uneasie, unequall, stony, unbeaten (and as it were) overgrowne wildernesse, wherein often we were to descend and ascend, through many deep and hollow water-courses, over growne with trees from side to side, which were made with the raines swift descent from the hill called the Table, and after a while found a beaten path (wherein we past, seeing many pens wherein Cattell had been kept) which for that it lead from-wards our ship, we were forced to leave, and againe had a most vile tiresome travell for a while, till we hit into another path, which led along the Mountaines towards the roade, and having past a while betweene the Mountaines, as neere as they would give us leave, still following the beaten path which was our best guide, at length we passed over in the Swamp, betweene the Southermost Sugar-loafe, and the Table, at which time we had sight of the Sea side, alongst which wee went over the sides of the Cliffes, which at length we forsooke, going by judgement East towards the Swamp, between the Norther-most Sugar-loafe and Table, where in the morning (after we had rested our selves a little by a fire) we made haste, and past over the aforesaid Swampe; and before breake of day we came to our Tents, where we found all our men that could be spared, disturbedly in armes, divided into two Companies, the one halfe under M. Thornton, the other under M. Pemberton, determining at day light to separate themselves, and againe to meete on the other side of the Table, to goe and seeke us, which intent our approach did prevent, refreshing our selves with what our friends had prepared for their intended journey. All the day we kept the Table on our right hand, and the Marsh on our left hand, which neere the Mountaines is much pestered with rockes, which have fallen from the top of the Mountaine. It is moist ground, and seemeth to be good pasture for Cattell. In divers places scatteringly wee sawe some trees of small

stature, somewhat broad topped, bearing a fruit in bignesse and proportion like a Pine-aple; but the huske, not so hard, and spungie, the seed whereof were devoured by the birds, and the husks remaining on the trees, the leaves whereof were in forme of our Housleeke in England, but not so thicke.

At this time was their Spring, both Trees and Herbes blowing over the earth. It much repenteth me that I came unprovided of all sorts of Garden-seeds, which might be helpefull or necessary for reliefe of any Christians, which hereafter might come hither, which though the Salvages should somewhat spoyle, yet every Christian Captaine would seeke to augment, and re-edifie the same. Also Acornes, which in time may doe good to posteritie, for trees are not here so long in growing, as in our cold Countreys. I will not contradict all such as will esteeme it more idlenesse in me, to wish to sow where it is many to one I shall never reape; yet for my selfe I esteeme it more idlenesse in me, that I had not bin so provident as to have sought means in England to have performed the same. And I would to God I could or had meanes, to leave a profitable remembrance for Christian Travellers unto the ende of the world, in any place where I shall come.

Garden-seeds to be set at Saldania.

Now having to our utmost endeavours here finished all our necessary businesses, to wit, watering, and somewhat relieved our weake sicke men with what refreshing wee could get, which was principally Mussels, we prepared our ships to set saile the ninth of August, which by contrary winds was crossed, untill the thirteenth day following.

They depart from Saldania.

The thirteenth of August at foure in the morning, we set saile from the roade of Saldania, having the wind faire at South South-east: and at sixe a clocke in the afternoone, the Cape Bona Speranza bore South-east, distant sixteene leagues.

The sixteenth in the morning, Cape Bona Speranza bore North-west and by West, distant twelve leagues, and by foure a clocke in the afternoone, wee had brought

Cape des Aguilhas.

the Cape Aguilhas North-east sixteen leagues distant, our course being South-east. The eighteenth day, little wind, but an high Sea flowering on the top like a breach in shoald water. The nineteenth, we had a very strong gale of wind.

[I. iii. 277.] *Madagascar or S. Laurence, in the latitude of 23. degr. 38. minutes.*

The sixth of September, at three of the clocke, wee discried the Iland of Madagascar, or S. Laurence, in the latitude of twentie three degrees, thirtie eight minutes, and at sixe a clocke we anchored in twelve fathome water in the bay of S. Augustine, where we found the Union of London, the Vice-Admirall of the fourth Voyage (whose people was distressed, wanting victualls to carry them home) who related unto my Generall, their infortunate loosing company with their Admirall and Pinnasse betweene Saldania, and the Cape Bona Speranza, and never since heard of them, how they put into this bay, outward bound to seeke them, followed also after them, and put into Zanzibar, (an Iland bordering on the Abaxin coast) where the Portugals made shewes of favour and trade, inticing them to land with their boat, where they betrayed and tooke three of their men; the rest seeing the danger, fled with the boat unto the ship, who proceeded on their journey, till with contrary winds, before they could recover any fit Port, for want of water they were forced to return towards the bay of Antongil on the East South-east side of Madagascar, but the wind or the course not suiting with their determination, they put into a good Harbor or Bay of Jungomar, on the North-west corner of Madagascar, where they were a while fed with good words, and faire promises, and kind entertainement by the King; that in short time the Cape Merchant, in hope of trade for Ambergreece and other things, grew so conceited of this heathen Kings plaine meaning, that at the Kings request went not alone to him, but perswaded his Captaine and other Merchants to accompanie him, who being brought to the Kings presence, hee sent also for the Chirurgion, Trumpet, and Drum, who refusing to goe to him presently, there

Three of the Unions men betrayed by the Portugals at Zanzibar.

Or Vinganora. The Captaine of the Union with the Cape Merchant and others betraied at Jungomar in Madagascar.

sallied out of the woods a great number of people, which attempted to force the boat and men in her, with Darts, Arrowes and Lances, who perceiving themselves prevented by the good care and endeavours of them in the Boat, they pursued the Boat with armed Canoas out of the river, untill by many shot from the ship she was rescued. And few dayes after while they lingred in hope of some good newes from their Captaine and Merchants, they attempted the ship with a demy army of some hundred Canoas, which came in order and forme of an halfe Moone, which to prevent brought themselves under saile, and shooke them off, and departed on their journey. It seemed that they could not fetch Socatra, or the Master unwilling to go to the Red Sea, or Surat, but went to Achin, and there dealt for some fit commodities with the Guzerates, & from thence to Priaman to lade Pepper: where the Merchant made bargaine to receive it at Tecçoa, an Iland three leagues distant from Priaman, at fifteene, foureteene, and thirteen Ryals and an halfe of eight by the Bahar of Pepper, every Bahar is three hundred and twelve there. This ship the Generall plentifully supplyed with victuals, for whose reliefe he made the longer stay; he also united them in love one unto another, who at our comming in were divided, to wit, Samuel Bradshaw for his sober, discreet, and provident carriage in the Companies busines much envied by their factious Master, and his adherents; whom wee left in the said Bay, as seeming lovers and friends.

They attempt the taking of the Union, with an armie of 100. *armed Canoas.*

The Union left in the Bay of S. Augustine Septemb. 9. 1610. *bound for England.*

In this Bay we continued seventie houres; it is for the most part all deepe water, and uncertaine, no ground in divers places (by divers reports) in two hundred fathome; by us further examining of deeps had beene in vaine, but we found all the South shore in a manner, from the Wester point to the high cliffe-land, all flat rockie, whose ledges are to be seene dry at the low water. At the Easter end of the rockes neere the cliffe, wee anchored in twelve fathome, and might have rid neerer the shore in seven fathome: we came in out of the Sea with a

strong gale at South South-west, but comming neere unto the land, the wind grew duller, yet blew reasonable fresh in the day, but in the night ordinarily calme the time we were there; but that beeing the newe Moone, which makes the fowlest weather in the Countryes, I cannot say of other times. On the land it seemes alwaies to be very hot, especially when the Sunne is to the South-wards of the Equinoctiall.

Strange trees. In this place are two trees of divers kinds, some so full of fat sappe, that fire beeing put to it as it standeth greene, of it selfe it will runne up, blazing in the leaves and branches: the Timber is soft, and the leaves and boughes yeelds a yellow sap. An other sort also of trees, whose timber is neere as hard as Lignum vitæ, and of colour white, with a small brown heart, whether any kind of white Saunders I know not: that wood which we cut off for fire-word in the Pepper-corne, which was the most plentifull of any sort there, did all hang trased with cods of greene fruit (as big as a Bean-cod in England) called Tamerim: it hath a very sowre tast, and by the Apothecaries is held good against the Scurvie; our Admiralls men who had more leasure gathered some as it was greene, for their particular uses. Here is also plentie of an herbe (which for his forme is scarce to be discerned *Sempervivum.* from a Sempervive) whereof the Alloes, called Alloes Socatrina is made of all sorts, but I know not whether these salvage people have either the knowledge or the use thereof.

The people, by what occasion I know not, forbore to come to us, so that wee gat no kind of Cattell for refreshing, neither beife nor mutton, whereof others heretofore have been offered for a Ryall of eight an Oxe, but now it is said, that for want of government in the Union, when any was brought downe, what the Factor did providently forbeare to keepe downe the price, [I. iii. 278.] disordered fellowes for their owne particular, gave what *Disordered bartering hurtfull,* the salvages demanded, so that now they can scarce get any for tenne shillings a piece. It seemes, that in all

places of this Iland, men must stand upon their guard, for the people are treacherous. Yet by report, stout and valiant, and not ignorant in ordering of their people in battell array, as it seemed by their order at Gungomar, when they assaulted the Union. Their weapons are Bowes and arrowes, Lances, and small Darts which they carry in bundles. *Note.*

Now having performed all our necessary businesses, as wooding and watering, and relieved our Countrey-men to the utmost of our powers, we set saile out of the said Bay.

The ninth day of September, at foure a clocke after-noone, we set saile out of the Bay of S. Augustine, leaving the Union there as afore-said. *September.*

The one and twentieth, the wind beeing at East South-East, and the Current by my judgement setting South-west, wee were intangled with a Lee-shore, which we called the Carribas, which are divers small Ilands, of which also lieth divers ledges of Rockes that are by the breach of the Sea onely discerned; and spent sixe dayes before we could quit our selves of them, beeing betweene tenne and eleven degrees South latitude. *Note.*

This Coast lieth neerest North-easterly, and South-westerly, and the wind all these sixe daies betweene the East North-east, and East South-east; so that against our wills wee were still forced to Lee-ward, though by towing with our Boates, and otherwise, we endeavoured to get off. This place by my judgement may be to the North-ward of Mozambique, somewhat more then seventie leagues: by night for the most part we were neerest those dangers, which were alwaies betweene us and the shore, that wee could never discover neere the maine, nor give any good judgement of the distances betweene Iland and Iland, neither set them downe their true forme. *Mozambique.*

The greatest danger is in the strength of the Current setting on, and no place to anchor in, beeing deepe water close aboord the Rockes; and though somewhat neere

these Rockes you have ground, yet it is so deep and foule ground, that there is no anchoring; and on the Norther part hereof, though by my estimation wee were little more then two leagues from the shore, yet wee had no ground in an hundred and fiftie fathome. These are sandy Ilands, and (for the most part) were full of Trees. After it grewe darke every night, wee might see the fires on shore made by the Countrey-people, but wee had no list to spend so much time as to goe on shore to speake with them. After it pleased God that we had once got cleare of these dangers, wee to our great admiration, *Current.* found the Current to carry us to the North-wards, as much more as by our judgement the shippe went: as when by our judgement wee might goe some fifteene *October.* leagues, we went thirty leagues. The second of October we had much raine.

The ninth, we found the Current to cease, except it set to the East-wards, which we could not discerne. The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, we found our selves to loose every day, more and more by the Current.

The sevententh at Sun-rising, wee descried two Ilands, *Duas Irmanas.* which for their likelihood are called the Duas Irmanas (or the two sisters) which lie one from the other West by South, and East by North, and are distant from the West point of Zacotora some seaven leagues and an halfe; we steering North North-east with the West point of Zocotora, had these depths, twentie three, twenty foure, and twentie sixe fathome, distant from the said point some three leagues and an halfe. After wee had got about the Wester point, wee found the wind to shorten, so that it would not permit us to leade it alongst the coast, but by the helpe of a Current we were put off, the Admirall and the Darling anchored in twelve fathome, while I in the Pepper-corne, through calmes, and a gale of the land, could not get into shoald water to anchor in, till the ninth day at noone, what time wee anchored in twelve fathome, neere to a Towne called Gallanzee, and toward the coole of the evening I went with the Pinnasse

and Saine, unto a low sandie point, thwart the Admirall and Darling, a league to the East-ward of our Shippe, to trie to get Fish for refreshing of our people; hoping in the coole of the Evening there to meete with my Generall, which fell out accordingly to my desire. God blessing us with abundance of Fish, which served all the whole Fleete two meales, and much longer if it would have kept. Heere my Generall informed mee, how that the people with whom in the Morning hee had spoken, had confirmed that which hee greatly doubted: which to our griefe would prolong our Voyage: which was, that the Easterly Monson was alreadie come, and all our hopes of getting to Cambaya were frustrate for this nine Moneths, of which wee expected to bee better informed by the King at Tamerin, the place of his residence. *Abundance of fish.*

The twentieth day being Saterday, we anchored at a point neare six leagues short of Tamarin, and five leagues from the point of Galanzee, which we did by the helpe of a Sea-turne, which continued long that night, but not contented by gaining and holding that place, till we could by day bee better advised, by reason of an edy tide by the shore on the West-side; by the shore where wee rode, on the West-side thereof, which forced our sternes to wind-ward, and a little flattering gale of the land, wee weighed, and were forced off into the Currant: So that the one and twentieth day wee were carried back thwart of the Towne of Galanza, and farre off in great depth. *Tamarin.* [I. iii. 279.]

The two and twentieth, we in the Pepper-Corne were like to have bin put cleane off the Iland, but the Admirall and Darling got into shoald water, and there anchored, and about two a clock I also anchored in the Bay Westward of Gallanza in six fathom, & presently went on shore with my Pinnasse, carrying Barricos to seeke fresh water; going with a flagge of truce, to see if any of the Inhabitants would come to mee, for I earnestly desired to speake with some of them, in hope to have procured some Goates, or other refreshing for our people, but none, as it seemeth, durst come to us, *Gallanza.*

for feare of the Kings displeasure, who will have nothing sold to any stranger, but from himselfe; it seemeth he would have none of his people have to doe with any strangers, but that all intelligences, allowances, for fresh victuals and prises, must come from himselfe, as afterwards I found, though now I wondered to see the people stand afarre off in troupes, and came not neare us, which made me thinke they had spies attending on them by the Kings order to be the cause. So at night having filled thirteene Barricos of water, I returned aboord: this night being a high water at nine of the clocke, at a full Moone, I esteemed it flowed upright, betweene ten and eleven foote; all the time of flowing the streame sets to the Northward, I meane close by the shore: and with the ebbe and a small gale of the shore, we set saile, and stretcht it alongst the shore some foure or five mile, thwart of the sandy Bay of our fishing, and neare our Admirall, and finding *Currant.* the Currant there to set off to the Westward, we anchored till the next helpe of the tide or wind.

The five and twentieth being Thursday, as the wind served we set saile, and about eleven of the clocke we anchored in eight fathome, a mile from the land right *Tamarin.* against the Towne of Tamarin, where the Kings house is North from the Castle, on the top of the hill above the Towne; at our anchoring the Generall shot off five peeces of Ordnance, I three, and the Darling one. The Generall sent Master Femell on land, handsomely attended with the Pinnasse, fitted with a red Crimson tilt, presenting the King with a Present, which was from the Generall, a faire gilt Cup of ten ounces, a Sword-blade, and three yards of Stammell broadcloath. The King to receive them, had by the water-side in readinesse fitted, an Orrange-tawny coloured Tent, where he sate attended on by the principall of his Countreymen, the Arabs and a guard of small shot; they continued conference more then an houre: hee thankfully received the Generalls Present, bade him welcome, shew-

ing desire to see him on land, promising him water free, and what else the Iland did afford, at reason, according to the drought of the Iland, which continued two yeeres without raine; for Alloes not a pound to be had, his owne Frigat being gone to sell it in the Red-sea. For the Ascension, he saith, came first hither in the moneth of February, and finding a Guzerat ship here, within eight dayes shee departed in her company towards the Red-sea, and eight dayes after came in her Pinnasse, who made no stay, but followed her Admirall, and in July, both the Ascension and Pinnasse returned out of the Red-sea to Zacotora, where they hastened to take in water: and soone after departed towards Cambaya. Further hee saith, that his Frigat being at the Port of Bazain, neere Damon in India, they were informed by the Portugals, that the said shippe and Pinnasse arriving on the Coast too soone, before the Winter and foule weather was past, were both cast away, but the men saved. The King sent the Generall a Present of twelve Goates.

The Ascention and Pinnasse cast away upon the Coast of India.

The six and twentieth being Friday, my Generall went well attended on, and with a guard to visit the King; our ships gave him, as before, five, three and one peeces of Ordnance, and hee was received on land by the Kings order, with ten great shot, & otherwise he was received by the King, in orderly and civill sort, and had both for him and his followers so good cheere provided, as the place could presently afford: but the King shewed no willingnes that we should here make any longer abode, for he would not yeeld that wee should set up our Pinnasse heere; his excuse was this: that neither his own ship, nor any other, as the Guzerat, which he hath great profit by, dare not come into this place while we are heere: and further, I suppose the time we stay heere is very chargeable to him in this respect; for to shew the strength of his Towne, he hath drawne downe the Arabs and others from all parts of the Land, and while they stay heere, they live on his charge,

The King visited.

which I thinke is the only occasion he would have our absence: this day wee filde a great part of our water. Saterday, we almost made an end of watering out of a pond, fed by springs descending from the hilles. Sunday our people went on land to recreate themselves, and did no other businesse.

King of Fartac, or Canacaym.

This King of Zacotora is called Mulli Amore Bensaide, and now is here but Vice-roy under his father, who is King of Fartac in Arabia not far from Aden, and comes into the sea at Camrican. Hee saith, that his father holds warre against the Turkes of Aden, in his owne defence, for hee denied us a letter to the Governour of Aden, saying, hee would not doe us so much wrong. The people that he useth for his Honor and strength in [I. iii. 280.] Zoccatra, are the Arabs, the rest that live in most servile slavery, are the old Inhabitants of the Iland, which have been banished people.

How Alloes is made.

There is for Merchandize growing upon Zoccatra, Alloes Soccatrina, which they make about August, of an herbe like unto Semper-viva, which we have in Spaine, but no great quantitie, not passing a Tunne in a yeere;

Sanguis Draconis.

there is a small quantitie of Sanguis Draconis, or Dragons blood, a little whereof our Factors bought at twelve pence a pound. And Dates which serve them for bread, which the King sells at five Rialls of eight by the hundred. Cattell for mans sustenance these, Bulls and Cowes at twelve Rialls of eight a piece, Goats at one Riall a piece, Sheepe at halfe a Riall a piece, and Hennes at halfe a Riall a piece; all exceeding small, according to the drie rockie barrennesse of the Iland: wood at twelve pence a mans burthen; every particular is a very deare pennyworth; and what else this Iland may yeeld, I am yet to be informed of, but of rockes and stones, drie and bare, it seemes the whole Iland is composed.

§. II.

Of Abba del Curia, Arabia Fœlix, Aden and Moha, and the treacherous dealing of both places.

THis day all our important businesse being done, wee set saile, directing our course to Aden-wards in the Red-sea, taking leave of the King with three shot out of the Admirall, one out of the Pepper-Corne, and one out of the little Darling. Our course, after wee gate off the land, alongst by Abba del Curia, to Cape Guardafui, which is the Eastermost point of Abax, was nearest West, distant foure and thirtie leagues, to wit, from the Wester point of Zacotora, to the East end of Abba del Curia, is fourteene leagues. And Abba del Curia a long narrow ragged Iland, may be in length East and West, some five leagues; from the West end of Abba del Curia, to Cape Guardafui, is fifteene leagues; on this Iland, Abba del Curia, the King of Zoccatra hath some people and Goats; North from the middle thereof, neare three leagues, are two great white rockes, neare adjoyning one to the other, and are some halfe a mile in length; these rockes are not white of themselves, but made white with the filing of Birds.

They depart from Zacotora for Aden.

The length of Abba del Curia.

Two great white Rockes.

The one and thirtieth, being Wednesday, at eleven a clocke we were thwart of the Wester point of Zacotora, and at two a clocke, the white rocke, called Saboyna, wee left North on our Star-boord side, which beareth North-west, and by West, foure leagues of the most Wester point of Zacotora; and at three aclocke afternoone, we descried the two highest Mountaines of Abba del Curia, bearing West South-west distant ten leagues.

Saboyna.

The first of November, being Thursday, at Sun-rising we were thwart of the middle of Abba del Curia, leaving it on our Larboord side, two leagues and a halfe off, and the two Rockes on our Star-boord side distant halfe a league; at noone wee were in North latitude

Novemb. 1.

twelve degrees and seventeene minutes, the variation seventeene degrees and five and thirtie minutes: this after-noone we met with a currant, which set us to the South-ward. At one in the after-noone, we descried *Cape de Guardafui.* the Cape Guardafui, but it was night before we came neare it; so that we past it by night, without any true discovery thereof.

The second, being Friday, in the morning we were thwart of an high Mountaine, nine leagues Westward from the Cape Guardafui, and betweene that point, and another high point, five leagues distant West southerly by the Compasse, there is a low sandie point, lying one league and a quarter off, into the Sea; and some three leagues more Westerly, we anchored, and went on land with all our Boats for to cut wood; wherof we in the Pepper-Corne had great need: heere we met with some of the Inhabitants, who informed us that the last Mount we past, is called Feluck, or by the Portugals, Fœlix: but so soone as they knew we were Christians, they fled from us.

The third day, being Saturday, we landed againe, and cut more wood; and after-noone we set saile, standing on our way Westward towards the Red-sea, *Novemb.* 5. continuing our course till the fifth day ten a clocke, at which time we descried the Coast of Arabia Fœlix, bearing North North-west, and North by East, being distant from the nearest land, some twelve leagues; at noone I found my selfe in thirteene degrees eight and twentie minutes North latitude: at Sun-set wee were distant from the land some twelve leagues; the Mountaines within the Land all high, very rough, without shew of grasse, wood, or any other fruitfulnesse; wee now directing our course West and by South, as the Coast lyeth, soone expecting to see the Citie of Aden, for that with my first fall with the land, I esteemed my selfe not above foure and twentie leagues short to the Eastward thereof: but whereas I esteemed the ships made their way North-west by North, over the Gulfe,

by reason of the Currant, we finde they have made a little better then North; and that at our fall with the land, we were little lesse then threescore leagues short of Aden, we continued our course alongst the Coast with a good saile all day, and a short saile all night, to the end not to over-shoote Aden all the way, for the most part in five and twentie, twentie, fifteene, twelve, ten, and eight fathoms. [I. iii. 281.]

Wednesday at Sun-setting, below the Mountaine, being very neare it, on the sudden we descried Aden, which is situate under the foote of an unfruitfull mountaine, a place where I should scarce have looked for a Towne, but it is set there for strength, where it is very defencible, and not by any enemie easily to be wonne, if the defendants within be men of resolution, and so that it be formerly victualled, and provided of munition; and to Sea-ward, though it be in a manner drie at low-water, there stands an high Rocke somewhat larger than the Tower of London, which is not by enemies to be in hast ascended, by reason it is so steepe, and that but one way by narrow steps to get up, where foure men may keepe downe a multitude: this Rocke is so walled, flankered, and furnished with Ordnance, as it seemeth to me, it may command both the Towne and Roade: yet who will avoid it, may ride in nine fathome water without their command, or within their command, from nine fathome downward. Also a little distance to the Northwards of the foresaid Rocke, is another rocke, being low, almost even with the water, which is of small compasse, whereon is a Fort built and well furnished with Ordnance, the souldiers usually continuing in this Garrison of Aden I could never understand, but according as occasions are, they are drawne down from other Inland Townes. The low countrie adjoyning within it, doth supply it with provision, and partly with their Barkes, which passe in Trade from Aden to Barbora, a Towne right over on the Abexin side, from whence

A description of the situation of the Citie of Aden in Arabia Fœlix.

A secret. *The latitude of Aden* 12. *degr.* 35. *min.* *the variation Westerly* 12. *degr.* 40. *min.*

they bring Cattell, and much fruit, and provision, with Mirrh and Incense, and what else I must conceale till further information gotten. This Towne standeth in the Latitude of twelve degrees, and five and thirtie minutes, the variation Westerly, is twelve degrees and fortie minutes; it floweth, by estimation, upright between six and seven foote water on the change day: a South-east by East, or North-west by West Moone, maketh a full Sea: this mountaine, at whose foote the Towne standeth, is a Peninsula pointing out into the Sea, and toward the maine is first a narrow necke of sandie ground, and within of the like, a larger marsh-like ground stretching up to the Mountaines, which may be from the Towne sixteene or twentie mile. At our first anchoring, the Governour in the darke of the evening sent an Arab in a Canoa to view our ships, who refused to come aboord, though he were called.

They send a Present to the Governour of Aden.

Thursday morning, the same Arab came aboord the Admirall from the Mir or Governour, to understand what we were; if friends, we should be welcome to land; this while was a Present making ready to send the Governour, which was a graved Turkie-fashioned Peece, and a principall sword blade, sent to land by John Williams, and one M. Walter, Linguists, with other Factors to accompany them. The Turkes not permitting them to come into the Towne, entertained them without the Gate, neere the waters side, yet with great shew of joy, pretending much kindnesse to our Nation, with whom they say they have had much familiaritie in Stambola, Aleppo, and other places, but used not one word of any trading with us, but framed their speech to make us understand, that they every day expected the comming of thirtie thousand souldiers: which to us seemed very strange, that so barren a Countrey as that seemed to bee, could yeeld provision for so many people. But understanding their speeches proceeded of feare, it was signified, that our Generalls

request unto the Governour was, that for his money he would give him a Pilot, to carrie his ships to Moha: then he told them that he was but Deputy to the Mir or Governour, which was out of the Towne, and the next morning would be returned; and then the Generall should be thereof informed. He sent the Generall a Present, which was two Barbora sheep, with broad rumps and small tailes, some Plantans, and other fruits, wherewith our people returned.

Friday, the Generall sent againe betimes in the morning, to require a Pilot for Moha; then they were brought into the Mirs house, and still continued with faire words; but the Mir was not yet returned: but when the Deputie-governour heard our ships were under sayle bound away, he sent no Pilot, but a request that if the Generall would not stay and trade with all his ships, yet that he would stay one there for their supply, demaunding the prises of divers of our Commodities, which gave present shew of content, if performance might follow accordingly, with glozing shewes of Indico, Ollibanum, Mirh, and divers other things there fit for us; but before the Messenger came to give knowledge to the Generall, our ships were so farre about the point, that by reason of the Current, we could not againe get about the Easter side of the point in sight of the Towne, but anchored thwart of a Bay on the South side of the Towne: The Generall seeing divers people fishing in the Bay, and great store of people of fashion on the hil, went to the shore side in his Pinnasse, to enquire of them when the Current might change, and that we might get about. The Deputie-governour shewed himselfe angry, pretending our comming was to discover their strength, and with no good intent; in so much that John Williams was in doubt they would have staied him: but the Mir now present being lately come to Towne, seemed not so rigorous, but dissembled the matter, giving good words, granting a Pilot for Moha; yet desired that one

Turkish tricks.

Mir is Lord.

of our ships might stay for their supply, saying, that that Towne by former Governours ill usage of strangers was growne out of Trade, which he did endeavour to [I. iii. 282.] set on foote againe, hoping by us to make a beginning; and further, that as he was a Governour, so had he a Basha was superiour over him, from whom if all our ships departed without trading at his Towne, he should have blame, in that it would be imputed to his ill usage of us, to drive us away. And for that we understood by others, that the former part of his speech was true, our Generall and we thought the latter part to be true also (which was meerely to delude us) which the Generall by the Messenger did in a manner grant, so we could find safe riding for our ships, the dangerous Easterly Monson on this shore, which he made slight or little regard of, wishing our ruine, and no safetie.

The cunning treachery of the Turkes.

Munday morning early, John Williams was againe sent to the Governour for his Pilot, according to the last nights promise, and had now answer from the Governour, that the Pilots wife would not permit he should goe, unlesse we left foure of the principallest men in the shippes in pawne till his safe returne; which bred in us a generall dislike of their inconstancie, yet the Generall, for performance of his former promise, determined to leave me behind in the Pepper-corne, but altered his determination in my direction; for whereas before I was directed not to carry above a quarter part of our goods on land at one time; now we were to carry none at all; for since they will not trust us with one of their rascall people, but on such disgracefull tearmes, therefore he thought fit not to trust them with any of our goods; but if they had need of any of our commodities, as they pretended to have, they should buy and pay for it aboord the ship; and in case they mistrust any evill dealing, we should exchange pledges; so that for so many as for doing their businesse they should need to have aboord, we should deliver on land so many of the neerest like in

qualitie: if not liking of this, that we may follow our Admirall to Moha. The same day about noone, all things being determined of, the Generall with his owne ship and Darling, departed towards Moha, and as they prepared to set saile, they descried a saile in the Offing, which they supposed to be a Guzerat bound to Moha, out of which the Generall had hope to procure a Pilot, stood off with her a little while, till perceiving it to be a smaller sayle then before they expected, gave over their c[illegible], and stood on their course towards Babelmandel.

The Darling was a small ship of 90. tunnes.

Tuesday, we laboured with long warps to get up, both against wind and Current, whereby we got well up (as men striving to hasten their owne harmes) beeing thwart of the fishing Bay. The Mir of Aden sent a Boat and a Messenger aboord, to desire to speake with the Merchants, to know whether they purposed to trade with them or no: whereupon M. Fowler, John Williams, and the Purser (for other businesse) went on land, the Merchants declaring to the Mir in what manner we had direction to trade with them. The Mir not liking of that way, in no wise accepted of such trading: this seemed a contradict to his purpose and policie; therefore least after their returne aboord, I should depart for Moha, as they said, he thought best to detaine those three men, thereby to procure him some thing, though he pretended that he staied them for anchorage, and other duties, amounting to fifteene hundred Venetianoes of gold, every one at one Ryall and an halfe of eight.

Mir, or Amir, or Emir, signifieth Lord.

Three of our men staied on shore.

Before this Towne of Aden, I made my unprofitable aboad untill the sixteenth of December, living in continuall danger, if any storme had happened, which is there ever very doubtfull on this Monson, or time of the yeare: by romaging I omitted no meanes for bringing our goods in readinesse, if so it should happen that in the end we find sale or trade with them: for notwithstanding by the varietie of tricks, whereby from

day to day they falsly deluded our people in their hand, as to send Messenger after Messenger to my Generall to Moha, to obtaine license to bring our goods into their Towne, and then the Merchants would resort out of all places in the Countrey neere-hand, to buy the same, which might be said, least we had discovered the unlikelihood of any Merchants in that Towne, likely to doe the same; yet could I never conceit hope of trade or honest dealing among them.

All the time I lay there for the most part, I sent my Pinnasse every two or three daies to land, to know how my Factors did, with some one or two men besides the Cocks gings, which whatsoever they had to doe, they were curteously dealt withall, the souldiers frequenting their company, giving them drinke; and if any man Jew or Bannian had over reckoned them in the price of anything, they would ever be readie to do them right: all which I make account was done by the Governours direction, the better to abuse us, by drawing our people to conceit well of them, and trust their flatterie and lyes, wherein they excell: and on the resort of any extraordinary people into the Towne, they would tell our men, that they were Merchants, come to see if we had landed any of our goods for them to buy, when they were souldiers called in out of some other neere adjoyning Inland Townes, upon some plot in their head newly devised. And likewise our Factors in person were most times kindly used, and were resorted unto by such as the Governour appointed, and that should tel his tale: whereas he had so provided, that not any, not so much as an Arab fisher-man nor other, were permitted to come neere unto me, least they should tell me the truth, to his disadvantage. By my people in the Pinnasse I sent of purpose to discover, by whom I am informed, this Citie in times past hath been great and populous, but at this time, the houses both great and small are greatly ruinated and sunk in everie part of

Cunning treachery.

Aden decayed: the present state thereof.

the Towne, shops of merchandise there are none of any account, Merchants none to be discerned worthy of that calling: for money seemeth to be very scant [I. iii. 283.] amongst them, which appeared when our men offered to change a peece of eight for Aspers, they use to take it from hand to hand, gazing as at a strange thing; an ill signe in a place where a ships lading of merchandize is brought to sell.

This present Governour time growing neere out that he must be gone, and therefore before his departure, would have been glad to have seene us so foolish as to land some of our goods by any devise, would often commend Captaine Sharpeighs confidence in them, who was here in the Ascension sixteene moneths before us, and how at first he brought goods on land without mistrust, and sold it, and his men came boldly on land like Merchant men, of which since wee did not the like; he made doubt whether we were so or not, and that he tooke delight to heare his Trumpets sound on his walls; all which I tooke to be no other then hooking devises and untrue delusions, for I cannot thinke, but that if at the first, like harmelesse men they trusted much, they repented it before they went away. Captaine Sharpeigh was the first of our Nation that came here, and perchance might passe away in some reasonable sort: but since then they have had time to advise themselves how to doe more villanie,) which they have, nothing else to plead. My conceit is, that at our first comming they made account to buy our goods without money, and that their plot in desiring first one shippe to stay, was two-fold. First, it was more likely for them to worke their wills on one shippe, then on three. Secondly, in procuring the stay of this heere, the other two were the better to bee dealt withall at Moha, since what villanie could be wrought on them at both places, was for the service and benefit of our Basha: And they knowing that we were ignorant, that this winter time now ensuing was so tempestious, and unfit for any such businesse of Commerce, and that no

Capt. Sharpeigh the first of our nation at Aden.

ship could long stay there without their favour and friendship, as in the case of fresh water to drinke onely, if there were no wind or Sea to be dreaded, which are both often most vehement, and at Aden is low shoare, nothing to hinder the mayne Suffe and violence of the mounting billowes, whereby they might with good judgement thinke, that in little time we might bee forced from our Road at nine fathome, into five fathome neere to the Towne, in some shelter of the Iland, and under command of their Ordnance. From whence without their leave, we could not have carryed her out againe, or if this faile, he might thinke by coloured kindnesse, or some other device for our owne pleasures, or by want of water, sometime to draw some store of our people, and that of the better sort on land to them, which alreadie he hath: whereby to force them to procure the rest to bring in the ship, but indeed hee had ill counsell. For his haste spoyled his Market at the first, by staying our three men, doubting our ship would be gone: which made me very suspicious and warie in sending but few men on land at once.

Capt. Dountons Letters to Sir H. Middleton suppressed.

Saturday, I sent my first Letters to the Generall to Moha, by a Souldier of Aden, fitted for the Governours turne, whose returne was so ordered, that he never came neere any of us with an answere: he pretended that the Governour of Moha promised delivery of the same, but presently sent him backe with a Letter to Aden.

Thursday, the Governour rid out of Towne, who remayned absent till the first of December, in the meane time our people in Prison were more hardly used, paying in a manner as much to the Messenger for fetching their victuals, as it cost besides, having little countenance or favour any way shewed them: and it was told them that the Mir was gone, and a new was to come in his stead, but it proved not so for that time.

Saturday, about mid-day, the same Mir returned againe into the Towne, and came to our men in Prison, speaking kindly unto them, and causing good provision to

bee made for them, at his owne cost, whereby he guld us by pretended friendship, promising nothing but kindnesse and good dealing, so soone as we should begin to trade, and then they shall have their full libertie without payment of the aforesaid fifteene hundred Venetianos formerly demanded; the custome five in the hundred, all other charges reasonably, and readie Gold for what wee sold, and therefore wishing that as before we had sent a Foole of our Message, that now we should send a man of our owne, with a guide of his, whom wee might be sure would bring true answere from our Generall. This day I made shew to bee preparing to bee gone with the ship: aboord came a Letter from John Fowler to impart to mee this joyfull newes, urging mee againe to write to the Generall, to know his pleasure herein for landing of our goods, wherein I was not so streightly tyed, but I might have done it my selfe, if I had seene any signe or likelihood of good dealing: which seeing no cause of encouragement I kept to my selfe, to the end not to bee urged by the importunitie of others to doe any thing unadvisedly, which might either prejudice my friends or wrong my selfe; now seeing the time was before me till May, to goe to Moha (for so long the Easterly Monson lasteth) at such time as rigorous weather, or being wholy frustrate of trade, should drive me hence, and being once gone, I cannot come hither againe till the fift of May or June, whatsoever thereby were to bee gotten, wherefore, for divers respects, I desired to heare from the Generall.

Munday, I dispatched away the Messenger with a Letter to my Generall (which prooved an after-griefe to me) and eight dayes after we had nothing, but shewes of kindnesse and good quarter, thinking long till our Messenger returned, that we might beginne our good Markets.

Saturday, my Boat-swaine informed mee of his great wants of small Cordage, for divers purposes, wishing that he and some others might goe ashore, to lay some on [I. iii. 284.]

the strand by the Towne wall, now while we had leisure, before our greater businesse came in hand, for which I sent to land to intreate the Governour that our people might doe such a businesse in safetie under his wall: which was promised with great favour, in the best and convenientest place they could find, with a house at night to put up their things till the next day. In the meane-time the Governour set Smithes to mending of shackles for our people, and some of them were by signes told of it, which suspecting nothing, tooke it as a merry Jest, which afterwards they found in earnest.

Twentie more of our men betrayed.

Wednesday, afternoone, my men were all betrayed that went on shoare, bound, shackled, and pinioned, and some put in the Stockes: all tortured and grievously abused, stript of their money and all else they had: my Pinnasse lost, the gings gone amongst the Rope layers. So there was two Merchants, a Purser, and one to attend on them, a gadding Apothecarie, my Chirurgion, and Master Caulker (who carryed my Letter to Moha as aforesaid) my Boat-swaine, and one of his mates, two quarter Masters, the Cooper, Carpenter and Gunners mate, and my Cock-swaine, and five more of the Cockes ging, which in all are twentie persons, some few for their pleasures, the rest to worke, saw the ging who were most of them appointed to keepe the Pinnasse, but being out of my sight, they did what they list, and the Boat-swaine seemed to want their helpe about his Ropes.

Munday, I set saile out of the Southermost Road of Aden, directing my course towards Moha (through the streight of Babel-mandell, in the entrance of the Redde Sea, being distant from Aden (West by South) thirtie two leagues. The Arabs both here and in all other places of Arabia, of all degrees, are in great servitude to the Turkes.

An Eclipse of the Moone.

Thursday, at foure in the morning, the Moone was eclipsed, and at one in the after-noone, I past the Bab, or streight being halfe a league over, having in the midst ten fathome water, and towards both sides eight,

sixe or foure fathome depth, as one list to borrow to, and may be some two miles through which sets a good strong tyde, both ebbe and floud. I left on my star-boord side, a Mountaine and Rockie Peninsula, extending from the Mayne, beeing all neere low-land, with a low narrow necke of sand, and on the lar-boord side, I left a low Iland of some five miles long East and West, being also Rockie; betweene the West end thereof, and the Abaxin Coast, for ought I can discerne is a cleere channell of three or neere foure leagues broad, but I thinke not much used by the ships, for that the water is deepe, and not for anchoring, besides the other is the neerer way. We being past the Bab, were ignorant what dangers lay in our way, or how farre within the streight the Towne of Moha stood, whether in a River or Bay, or how else we knew not, but discovering we kept by our lead betweene nine and seven fathomes, all alongst the Arab Coast, and as the day light ended we anchored in eight fathome, nine leagues within the Bab, against a little Mount standing alone by the Sea-side.

Friday, at sixe a-clocke in the morning we set sayle, standing alongst North, and North by West, as our depths directed us, first betweene nine and seven fathomes, and lastly, betweene sixe and foure fathomes, when wee came to have the shoales without us; but as wee came neere to Moha, which is scituated eightene leagues within the Bab: on the verge of a low sandy barren ground. Our Admirall we saw rid alone (and no Darling) some foure mile into the Sea, in sixe fathome, and riding with two shot ahead, by reason of the vehemencie of the weather, which erst I suspected not: My present cares were somewhat in this unknowne passage, for the safetie of the ship, which without great vigilancie and regard to our depths, might have beene set fast to our further famine: but the neerer I came, the more my griefe gnawing at my heart, as one while reviving my griefe for the losse of so many of my men, and then casting doubts, what might befall my friends

Moha eighteen leagues within the Bab.

here; their Pinnasse mand, I s[illegible]e lye along the ships side wherein was Master Thorn[illegible]n the Maste[illegible] but durst not put off till wee were thwart of them, for feare they should not recover their owne ship againe, being once put off by reason of the wind and currant. I being somewhat neere, as a signall of heavie newes, they puld downe their Flagge, whereby I understood some misfortune was befallen my Generall, I beeing anchored, hee with the Pinnasse came aboord; where after the blasts of passion and griefe (by the defects and frailtie of the flesh) somewhat blowne over, he began by degrees to informe me of all things that had happened since wee parted at Aden: as first of their quicke passage from Aden to the Bab, where they tooke in a Pilot to bring them to Moha, where the fourteenth of November they arrived, that was from Aden in thirtie houres, yet their misfortune was such, that against the Towne and very neere the Road, whether by mis-understanding, or the Pilots neglect to the depths, or being not acquainted with the working of our shippes, it is not materiall to examine, but on the sands the shippe came aground, and so stucke fast that her bilged stood on the shoaldest of the bankes; so as notwithstanding the great Sea by force of the wind, the head and sterne being in deeper water, did heave and set without any painful striking, but to get her off without lightning they could not, wherefore they could not be precise in trusting themselves without pledges in the hands of the Turkes, who omitted nothing to prevent our doubt of being welcom, with great varietie of friendly promises in every thing we demanded, and request once made, they were plyed with Barkes to lighten the ship, wherein they used great expedition, we land as well our Wheat-meale, Vineger, Sea-coales, Pitch and Tarre, with our unbuilt Pinnasse, and other provisions which came next hand, or in the way, as well Tinne, Lead, Iron, and other merchandize to be sould, and staved neare all our water. And of all others, Master Laurence Femell seemed most fearefull, for that in a

The Trades Increase arriveth before Moha in the Red Sea, Nove. 14. 1610.

[I. iii. 285.]

private B[illegible]: he speedily carryed all his things on land, leaving nothing that he regarded aboord of the ship of his owne.

The ship now having laine a ground [illegible] houres, with great travaile to lighten and shift the ship, they got her afloat. *The Trades-Increase set afloat.*

. It is also to be understood, that this part of Arabia, from [illegible] Eastward of Aden, and up the Red-sea to Cameran, which is threescore and ten leagues within Bab-mandell, and I know not how farre within the Land, is called the Land of Yeor[illegible], and now governed by one Jeffor Basha, whose residence is in the Citie of Zenan, which they accompt to bee by moderate travaile fifteene dayes journey, by poste, I thinke they goe and come in that time. And the Governours of Aden and Moha, which is the better place, in that it is of more resort of ships; and these Governours are yeerely placed by him; as at this present in Moha is one Regib Aga by his place or office, who was his servile slave attending on him, and he was preferred to Aden, where he commanded the other yeere, when Captaine Sharpeigh was there, and for that he was a beneficiall Knave to his Master, he was preferred to Moha, a better place. *or Ayaman.*

Now at our first arrivall, he sent to give knowledge unto his Master, with what informations best pleased him, and was to stay for directions from his Master how to deale with us; wee trusted them as men of humane feeling, being ignorant of what was against us. Now while the messenger went to know the Bashas pleasure how to dispose of us: The Aga was laying the ground of his Treason, and drawing every thing toward readinesse, for the effecting of his desired harvest, omitting nothing which might further his villanous purpose, Also by drawing into the Towne from the nearest neighbour Iland Townes and Countrey adjoyning, such and so many souldiers as might fit his turne, whose rigour and malice against us hee neglected not

to provoke, by scandalous reproches, as might best serve for his purpose, as that wee were Pirats and Christians, (which they account as bad enemies to their holy Prophet Mahomet and his Lawes) and that our comming was to discover how to ruinate and destroy the holy houses of their god, as Meca and Medina, and what service they should doe to God and their Country in destroying of us; as also informed them that wee had so much money and goods, as if they would behave themselves valiantly when time served, will make them and their Countrey happie, with so many other deluding devices, as seemed fit for such an action; meane while our innocent distrustlesse men hired and fitted their house, and preparing against the returne of the Basha his answere, for present sale of their commodities, by the aboundant shewes and promises of favour to them. The Aga ever urging, by wondering at our small quantitie of goods in the ship of so great burthen, and ever were Boats sent for goods, after the shippe was afloat, and that there was no more, till further occasion to be landed; his greedinesse seemed to be such, as the poore Arab Barquemen shewed feare to returne without lading; but when he perceived there was no more at present to be had, he went another way to worke; which was, he informed our Merchants, that all ships that came to this Towne in Trade, their Captaine, for their better assurance, as a pledge of good dealing, received the Gran Segniors Vest for their better securitie, which being once invested in the view of the people, no man after durst offer them any wrong; as all the principall officers of every ship had signes of curtesies, the which unlesse our Captaine doe come on land and accept of, he should never thinke him the great Turkes friend, nor beleeve his meaning was good, as hee pretended, and therefore should doubt to give him Trade, lest hee being a Man of warre should turne them to further mischiefe; which unlesse he receive such right, according to the welcome

and custome of the place, he could not but thinke his end not for their good.

The ship now mored in a place, from whence within seven or eight months was no returning, the vehemencie of the stormes so great, the unknowne dangers in these Seas such, no place of more comfort knowne, and no man permitted to come neare us, that either could or would better informe us of the contagious weather ensuing, the dangers there to bee expected, or more comfort elsewhere to be found, but as it were, must stand at the Turkes mercy, whether they will give us life, or restraine water or other reliefe to maintaine the same; our house hired, our Factors and goods on land in readinesse and present sales after answere brought excepted: And now this unexpected doubt cast, whether we be true men or theeves: And no way left to approve the former, or to shunne the latter; but the comming on land of our Generall, on whose safetie depended the carriage and estate of the whole voyage, which could not but crosse their minds and conceit, since they knew his determination was otherwise. Master Femell gave the Generall knowledge of the Aga his words, and further gave him to understand, that the Companies businesse, without his presence on land, could take no effect, but must rest without doing any thing. Which once knowne, Sir Henry Middleton, notwithstanding the little trust he had in the faith and honesty of the Turkes in these forren places, and the infinite regard and care he had to follow and pursue the plot and [I. iii. 286.] benefit of this his journey, as well here, as in India, and places of more hope, now being urged that his absence was likely to prove prejudiciall to the Company; answered, that all his endeavours during the Voyage, were wholly intended for the benefit, and not prejudice of the company, and were it not for the safetie of the ships, and good of the Voyage, he could take delight to recreate himselfe on land, as well as others: wherefore, now since his company there might further the

businesse, and not be imputed unto him for his pleasure, he would not be niggardly of his presence amongst them. Therefore he prepared himselfe to land, to put them out of doubt, and to receive that Vest of the great Turke, as the badge or assurance of safetie to such, as with like solemnitie had it put on their backes. And before his going came Master Femell aboord to informe the Generall of what he thought fit to prepare him in, against his landing: But at the instant, when Sir Henry Middleton was to enter the Boat, whether by any suspicious whispering amongst the Turkes, or whether he felt any guilt of conscience for being the occasion to hasten the Generals landing, to stand before him in any danger that might happen, or some sudden apprehension of feare (as in faint-hearted people never wants) of any violent course by the Turkes to be attempted, the first day of the Generalls landing, or what else I know not, but at the Generalls going to land, hee being Cape-Merchant, and swaying the buying and selling, would have stayed aboord, but could not in such a case bee spared, being so great an actor in the businesse.

Master Femels feare.

Sir Henry Middleton goeth on land.

The Generall being come to land, was met by the Governour and principall of the Towne, was caried to the Governours house, where he had a rich Vest of Cloath of Gold put on his back, a horse very richly furnished for him to mount upon, the Governor holding the horse while the Generall gat up, all which was reason Sir Henry Middleton should accept of, being, as they pretended, the Badge of their friendship.

The communication, after the solemnitie was ended, was such, and so solemnely, and with such protestation and shewes of kindnesse and friendship, as might deceive any honest man, or which is not a deceiver himselfe. Sir Henry Middleton in short time after seeing the varieties of kind shewes by the Governour toward him, and in regard of the long time he had to stay there, desired leave of the Governour, that he

might there set up his Pinnasse, which he brought ready framed out of England; the Governours answere was, That the Countrey was before him to doe whatsoever pleased him, as if he were in his owne Countrey; seeming glad that he would command him any thing which might content him: for which, forthwith Sir Henry Middleton caused presently all things to be brought to land, which need to be used in the said worke, with all his Carpenters, Smithes, or other that might further that worke in hand, and to that end all hast possible might bee used for dispatch of the same. Sir Henry Middleton, with his attendance and furniture, kept house on land, by his continuall presence to further the said worke, which also caused many more to resort on land, for their severall ends, then otherwise would have done. The eight and twentieth of November, Regib Aga his plot growing to ripenesse, and receiving strength by the directions of his Master Jeffor Basha, sent the Generall word in the afternoone, that he had received so good newes from the Basha concerning our businesse, that he could not altogether conceale the same, but thought good, for his content, to send him a taste thereof, till his better leasure served him to reveale the particulers; this seemed to be done, to make Sir Henry Middleton more secure, whose upright thoughts gave him no cause to suspect any such mischiefe, as at present was prepared for him and his. But in the evening, instead of good newes from the Basha, he effected his predeterminate trecherie with iron maces, knocking downe the Generall, Master Pemberton, and the Merchants, with all the rest that at that time were on shore, where they also murthered eight of our men, who by reason of their former favours and shewes of kindnesse, not deeming any such treason to be intended towards them, were naked without weapons to resist such unexpected murtherers. Thus they without mercy, not only in chaines kept prisoners, both by the necke, hands and feete, the Generall with eight and

The bloodie treason of the Turkes.

fortie of his company, and Master Pemberton with nine of his company; but also with three great Boats full of souldiers attempted to surprise the Darling, who rided nearer the Towne then the Trades-Increase by mile, who (not knowing of the betraying of their Masters Boat and men) seeing a Boat comming aboord, esteemed it to be their own boat, but presently descrying two Boats more, and all full of people, began to mistrust false measure. But the Turkes comming aboord, and seeing no man stirring, thought themselves surely possest of her, murthering the Trumpetter, whom they found aloft asleepe; but in the end our mercifull God turned their pretended mischiefe toward us, upon their owne pates, and made them fall into the pit that they had made for us, for in repelling these unexpected enemies, (though to the losse of two more of their owne men, who were slaine in the conflict) were slaine and drowned of the Turkes in flight, seven and twentie, whereof the Admirall of the Towne, who was their Leader, was also one: thus having cleared themselves of them quite, they cut their Cable, and set saile, and stood off and anchored by the Trade, who as yet knew not of the betraying of the Governour, neither of their attempting the Darling, till they of the Darling had informed them thereof, by which meanes they prevented another mischiefe, for that the Trades Boat, with a third more of her men, some to fill water, and others for pleasure were going on shore: also this morning in the Darling, on her gallery, they found one of the Turkes souldiers, who had escaped with life, but their Boats gone was left behind: him they carryed prisoner aboord the Trades-Increase. From this eight and twentieth of November, till the fourteenth of December, by reason of the continuall stormes, they heard no newes from the Generall. But the fifteenth day, John Chambers one of the Trades quarter Masters, with a Flagge of Truce went on shore, where he found the Generall, and the rest in Chaines as afore-said, in most

Seven and twentie Turkes slaine.

[I. iii. 287.]

inhumane manner so that one could not goe aside to ease himselfe, but the rest in a row must goe with him, to their great annoyance; yet at his returne brought hopefull newes of the inlargement of all save the Generall and Master Femell, who were to goe up to Zenan, the place of the Bashas residence, there to answere to such matters as should be objected against them. Also the seventeenth day, the same Messenger went againe on shoare (in manner afore-said) carrying with him certaine provisions and other necessaries for the Generals reliefe, and the rest there with him, who returned with varietie of newes, but none good. Thus much Master Thorneton at his comming aboard me, as afore-said informed me of.

The one and twentieth day in the afternoone, by the same Messenger I sent a Letter to the Generall, to give him knowledge of my mis-fortunes at Aden, who returning brought me a letter from my Generall, in briefe informing me of the businesse before repeated, as willing me if by any meanes I could get out of this Sea, and to stay at Aden, till I had heard what would become of them: also he had sent the Darling to ply out towards Aden, to give mee information of his betraying, and to prevent my comming to Moha; also that he and sixe more of his companie were the next day to take their journey towards Zenan, the Bashas Court, as afore-said. *Decemb.* 21.

The two and twentieth, the Generall with all his company, except the Carpenters, who wrought still in Chaines upon our Pinnasse for the Basha, and unable hurt men, who remayned still in Chaines at Moha, set forth in their journey, attended on by a strong Guard of Souldiers, lest any of them should escape: yet the same evening, notwithstanding their narrow looking to our men, M. Pemberton slipt aside among the bushes with so much haste, as his weak sick bodie was able, made to the waters side, where, although tyred with running, it pleased God that he found a Canoa having in her a paddle wherewith to rowe in her, hee put off to Sea, committing himselfe *M. Pembertons escape.*

to the danger thereof, rather then to stand to the Turkes mercie, and through rowing, his faint wearinesse increased so, that in the morning his inabilitie forced him to give over rowing, having nothing to refresh himselfe but his owne water, it so pleased God that the same morning aboard the Trades Increase, was descryed a Canoa in the offing, which seemed to drive, unto which being reasonable faire weather, the Trade sent off her Pinnasse, who brought both Master Pemberton and his Canoa aboard their own ship, being scarce able to speake through faintnesse.

From this day to the seven and twentieth day, the weather continued for the most part boysterous and stormy. Also this seven and twentieth day, the Darling through foule weather, having lost Anchor and Cable, and not able to performe what the Generall (as afore-said) had sent them about, returned unto Moha Roade: where I, whom they were sent unto, in the Pepper-Corne did ride.

January 2. The second of January with all three ships we set saile out of Moha Road, intending to ply up towards Babmandell, for three respects. First, for ease of our ground tackle, being through long boysterous weather much decayed: and secondly, to seeke place to fill water for our people to drinke, by want whereof wee were very much distressed; and thirdly, and lastly, there to stop the passage of all the Indian ships entring this Sea, whereby to draw the Turkes to release our Generall, people and goods, our great necessitie constrayned this our present attempt in this faire seeming weather; at our first setting sayle, we stood over to the Abaxin Coast, where wee left the Darling to looke for her Anchor and Cable formerly lost, we with the Trades and Pepper-Corne plying up to wind-ward, but having scarce any aboard, the better in the evening anchored on the Arab side in eight fathome, some three leagues to the wind-wards of Moha, and some foure mile from the shoare.

They passe over to the Abaxin Coast.

The third, in the morning, the tyde of ebbe in hand, we set sayle working to wind-ward, as before in the after-

noone, the wind so increasing that I in the Pepper-Corne spent my two top-sayles and constrayned to bring other two new ones to the yard, before which was effected, the night approched, and wee more then halfe Seas over towards the Abaxin Coast, where in regard of the foule weather we formerly had at Moha for two respects I must desire to stop; first, the next morning if the weather were faire, to have the Darling Company to proceed on our former purpose; secondly, the weather unfit, by the place and sight of the Darling to finde easier Roade to anchor in this day betweene eight and nine at night, so soone as we could get into sixteene fathome water by our sounding lead in fast seeming ground wee anchored, the Trade somewhat to the North-ward, or Lee-wards of the Pepper-Corne, and as towards morning the wind increased with a churlish Sea, with cloudie darke weather, in which wee lost sight of the Trades Increase, but by reason of the darke weather doubted nothing, at which time shee had broke an Anchor and drove, and let fall another Anchor, [I. iii. 288.] which afterward driving from sixteene to sixe fathome, they were forced to cut a way to flat the ships head to the offwards to prevent further danger.

The fourth of Januarie, day light approching, wee preparing to weigh our Anchor suddenly, the ship drove from sixteene to eighteene fathome, and before wee could flat our ships head to the offwards, we had lesse then sixe fathome: which soone after increased to eight, ten, &c. We then seeing the Trade (to my disturbance) standing over towards Moha, and seeing William Pemberton in the Darling riding in an easie Roade, to whom I would gladly have gone, both for quiet to my minde, and ease to my ground takle, but that I knew not what need the Trades Increase might have of my Carpenters, in case of any casualties whatsoever I know not of, in my hastening after her the weather rigorous, wee split both our new top-sayles, the night before brought to the yard. They being sowed with rotten twine, as all our sayles for the most part hath beene, through which meanes it became

night, by what time I got into the Road, where presently to my griefe I understood of the Trades misfortune to lose two Anchors and Cables as afore-said, wherefore I sent my Carpenters aboard to stocke some other Anchors, from this to the eighteenth day with little ease, we continued a wearisome Road, to the spoyling of our Cables, as afore-said.

From the sixth day, to the eleventh day, every day came Canoas from the Towne, bringing Letters from the Carpenters with varietie of forged newes, informed them by the Aga, who permitted their sending, the rather for that most commonly it was to get wine or beere, wherewith they pleasured the Turkes, and sometimes sent some little fresh victuals, according as they had wherewithall to buy or were permitted to send aboard.

The twelfth, the Darling returned into Moha Road to us, saluting me with three Peeces of Ordnance, as a signe of good newes, and by Master Pembertons instant comming aboard of me, to my great comfort confirmed; for that hee had found a good watering place, and a very easie Roade for our ships, and his Anchor and Cable that he went to seeke, which as aforesaid they in his absence were forced to let slip.

A good watering place found.

The eighteenth, in the morning there came certaine from Moha to us, bringing two Bullockes, two Goates, certaine Hennes Egges, and some fruits, but no newes from our Generall; This day at one in the afternoone we set saile, standing over towards the Abaxin Coast (where Master Pemberton found the safe Roade and wattring place, and at night wee anchored three leagues short of it, under an Iland (which for the abundance of great Crabs, thereon wee called Crab Iland.)

Crab Iland.

The nineteenth, we weighed againe, and stood neerer into the Bay, and anchored under another lesser Iland.

The twentieth, we weighed againe, and stood further into the Bay, and anchored right against the watering place, some halfe a mile from the shoare, in eight fathome water. I sent George Jeff before in the Pinnasse to seeke

out the River, and to see if hee could speake with any of the Countrey people, who no sooner landed, but by and by there did present them selves unto our mens sight, at least an hundred of the Countrey people armed with Lances, whereof one came to our people beeing of a bolder spirit then the rest, who not onely spake with them, but also desired to goe aboard with them, who at his comming aboard informed mee by an Interpreter, how that the Turkes had sent word unto them, how they had betrayed and murthered divers of our men, and wishing them also to doe the like to as many of our men as they could lay hand on. This yong-man was a principall mans sonne, and was very kind unto us all the time we were in this Bay: he this night did lye aboard the Trades Increase, where he was very kindly used to his great content.

Turkish Pestilence.

The one and twentieth, I with all our Boats, and most part of our men went on shoare, setting some to digging of Wels, some to fetching of ballast, others to filling of some little water out of a little Well wee there found made readie to our hand, and the rest being armed to guard them that wrought, and soone after our landing came downe unto me the Priest, the father and brethren of the young man afore mentioned (who as yet was not gone from us) whom at his comming ashoare they very joyfully received, presenting me with a Goat, I also gave unto them foure of the Trades shirts put in by the Merchants for the Companie, which they very kindly received; promising to bring downe the next day some Goates, to sell unto us for our money, which they very honestly performed, as by the sequell may appeare.

The two and twentieth, I having continued ashoare all night with a good Guard, to see that there should no harme be done to our water, I appointed our men to their businesse as the day before, but by reason of the boysterous weather, none of the Country people came downe to us: the cause of my present continuance on shoare, was for that I see such ill usage of my Generall, and his people

betrayed both at Aden and Moha, although they had made such faire shewes and promises, I having no assurance of the honesty of this people to us, bred in mee suspition what harme might be attempted against us here by the Turkes, or by their perswasion to this Country people, eyther by poysoning our water or other wayes; therefore
[I. iii. 289.] further then needs must I trusted none, so also I continued this night ashoare with a good strong Watch.

The three and twentieth, having setled our Company to every particular businesse, there came downe to us the same men, who the other day had beene with me, and after them followed some others, driving before them divers Goates to sell to us according as they had promised. I very kindly entertayned them, and caused the Purser to buy their Cattle, and in the evening they departed very well satisfied, promising every day to bring downe more, of which they made good performance. This day we made an end of watering.

From the foure and twentieth to the six and twentieth day, they brought downe every day both Goates and Sheepe, whereof we bought according to our occasions and spending, they returning well satisfied.

The nine and twentieth, the wind at North North-west we set saile, I determined to get up to the Bab with all our three ships, there to make stay of all the Indian shippes, that this yeare should enter this Sea, by them to force the Turkes to re-deliver my General, and the rest of his Company our goods and Pinnasse, as aforesaid: but being thwart of Crab Iland it fell calme, the tyde setting right on the Iland, of this time I made the best use I might, for so soone as we had anchored, I accompanyed with Master Thorneton and Master Pemberton, went on shoare with all our Boates, and most part of our men, whom I appointed to cutting of wood, both for dressing our victuals and other needfull uses. This after-noone wee descryed comming over from Moha, two Jelbas, one whereof came directly aboord the Trade, bringing me a Letter from my Generall, dated the fifteenth of January,

informing me of his safe arrivall at Zenan, with all his companie, save Richard Phillips, Master Pembertons youth, whom hee left very sicke at a place called Tyes, who desired to be informed of Master Pemberton, whether he were safely escaped aboord or no, for that he doubted the Arabs attending on their Asses, to have murthered him for his Asse he rid on, of the varietie of hopefull seeming promises of his inlargement, beeing onely delusions; this Letter being kept till the seventeenth of the same, also mentioneth of the safe arrivall of Master Fowler, and the rest of my Company (betrayed at Aden) at Zenan; how God had raised him friends among the middest of his enemies, to wit, the Raha, who is next in degree to the Basha, with divers other that favoureth his just cause; contradicteth my present determination of staying the Indian ships, for that as yet they have no just cause to object against him, it might prove prejudiciall, not only to him and his Company, but also to our Nation trading in the Mediterranian Sea, but that the Basha had cleared Regib Aga of the betraying and murthering of him and his Company, taking it upon himselfe, as that it was done by his warrant and command. To this my Generalls letter by the same messenger, I returned an answere; first giving him to understand of Master Pembertons safetie: our infortunate loosing and spoyling our ground tackle; of my present determination intercepted by his letter; my opinion of their faire seeming, yet deluding promises: and lastly of our safe Road and watring place on the Abaxin Coast, right opposite to Moha, being some 13. leagues distant, where we have refreshing reasonable cheape.

The Road on the Abaxin Coast, thirteene leagues from Moha. February 17.

The seventh of February, the Trade returned to me in the Roade of Assab, Master Thorneton bringing me my Generalls letter, dated the five and twentieth of February, therein desiring me as yet to forbeare revenge on them which have wronged him: also informing me of the present hopefull estate of his businesse, also that five dayes after the date hereof, he with all his Company are

The Road of Assab.

to take their journey downe to Moha, willing mee, till his arrivall at Moha, to expect no more letters from him; also giveth me knowledge of the death of John Baker, one of my Quarter Masters, and Richard Elmesmere, one of the Trades Company. To this my Generals letter, for want of conveyance, I wrote no answere.

March 1. *The Towne.* The first of March, I sent the Pinnasse to the Towne, and in her the Purser, and the said Alle, who in their going, found a place of better water descending from the mountaines, by reason of the raines within the land (whereof we afterwards filled some water; but the raines once ended it was dried up.) They having bought some few Goats and sheepe returned; and in the evening we descried a Boat comming over from Moha to us-ward.

The second, the said Boat came aboord the Trade, bringing me a letter from my Generall, wherein he gave me to understand of the cause of his delay of his journey, partly by reason of a great solemne feast of the Turkes approaching, but principally to have the Sabander of Moha his company, for the more safe travell; also wisheth the Carpenters forbeare to proceed any further in building the Pinnasse, for that the Basha intendeth her for his owne use, and not for us; also willing me to forbeare revenge.

The fifth, I sent the Darling over to Moha, to expect newes from my Generall, where shee found in the Road a great ship of Dabull, called the Mahomet. This day the Generall with all his Company arrived at Moha.

The Mahomet of Dabull.

The eleventh, I doubted lest any evill had befallen the Darling, by reason of her so long absence, set saile with the Trade and Pepper-Corne, standing over towards Moha: but before I was so farre off as Crab Iland, I saw the Darling comming over, and for that the wind shortned upon us, and we not able to fetch the Road, I sent Master Thorneton in the Pinnasse, to understand what newes, but I in the Pepper-Corne with the Trades-Increase, returned into the Road againe: in the evening Master Pemberton with Master Thorneton, and two and twentie of the Trades Company, and fourteene of the Pepper-

[I. iii. 290.]

cornes Company betrayed at Moha and Aden, came over the point of the Iland, bringing me a letter from my general, wherin he gave me to understand of his assured hopes of inlargement, so soone as the Indian ships of this yeere were all come in, and the Westerly winds come. Also that the Turkes had seduced the aforesaid Richard Philips, whom in his journey upwards he left sicke at Ties, him by threatning they had forced to turne Turke, and therefore came not downe to Moha with him, he rejoyceth to heare of Master Pembertons safety, also informeth me that none of the letters I had sent him were delivered to him; also desired my opinion, whether best for him to make an escape aboord, if he can, or to remaine at the Turkes devotion; also wisheth that the Pepper-Corne be the next that comes to Moha.

The eighteenth, I with the Pepper-Corne set saile, standing over to Moha, but being neare over, it fell calme, and a lee-ward tide, whereby I was forced to anchor in twentie fathom water, on a banke which we there found three leagues from Moha: and in the evening there came off a Canoa unto me, to know what we were, deeming me to be an Indian ship, for that by reason of the hazie weather, they could not well discerne us.

The nineteenth in the morning, I set saile, the wind at South standing into the Road, whereas yet was only the said great Dabul man: but before I came to an anchor, my General sent his man aboord me with a letter, that frustrated my present hopes, wherein he gave me to understand that he must be forced to dispeed me away very suddenly, for that my presence caused feare in the Dabullians, and discontent to the Aga. Notwithstanding this my Generalls letter, I sent George Jeffe in the Pinnasse on shoare, by whom I sent two letters, the one briefely to give to understand of our wants, also my opinion of the Turkes performance, who through custome of falsehood, their true performance is not to be expected, but only to feed Sir Henry Middleton with faire promises, to serve their owne turnes; and then we having no matter to worke

upon, save the emptie ships, which the Turkes having their goods on land, would nothing regard, and then my General to remaine at the Turks devotion, whether to be sent aboord according to the Basha his inforced agreement, or to be ransomed at their pleasures, or sent back againe to Zenan, and so to Stambola. The other, if he should think good to shew the Aga, therin making shew, that so long as he was detained prisoner, his power extended not to command us that were free & at liberty, and therefore could not keep us from the Road of Moha, nor in any other thing further then we see good our selves. To these my letters the General writ an answer, the copy wherof followeth.

Sir Henry Middletons letter to Captaine Dounton.

CAptaine Dounton, your overmuch care may worke your owne harmes, and doe me and my company no good, and therefore take nothing to heart more then is cause, for I have had, and still have my full share thereof: and whereas you alledge you are loath to depart this Road without me, I am more loath to tarry behind, if there were any remedie: I made a forced agreement with the Basha at Zenan, that the ships should absent themselves out of this Roade, till all the Indian ships were come in, and then at the first comming of the Westerly winds, both I and all my Company shall be set free: if they faile to performe with mee, then I would have you shew your endeavours; in the meane time you must have patience, as well as my selfe; I would be loath the agreement should be first broken on our side, without any cause given by them. For the provision that should have been sent in the Jelba, it was my fault it was not sent, in that I did not urge it to the Aga. After your departure to morrow, as I desire you to see performed, I will goe in hand with the lading of the goods in the Jelba, which shall not bee above three dayes absent from you: I have promised the ships shall not come in the Roade till the Westerly winds be come, which will be a moneth hence at the furthest, in the meane time you shall

heare from me by Jelbas or Boats, which I will send of purpose: I doubt not but there will be good performance made with me by the Turkes, in that my agreement was made with the Basha, and not with Regib Aga. If I doubted any new stratageme, I would have attempted to have escaped away before this time: I have had, and still have meanes for my escape, were it not to leave my people in danger of their lives; doubt not, if they performe not with me, when the Westerly winds come, but I shall have good opportunitie. I had laid a plot to have escaped, if I could have perswaded Master Femell, but he will by no meanes be drawne to any thing, till he see whether the Turkes will performe or no, he makes no doubt but to be sent aboord with the first of the Westerly winds, when you shall come to demaund us; you may ride in your quiet road-stead on the other side, with all your ships, till God send us that long wished for Westerly wind, unlesse you get a slatch of wind to carry one of your ships to the Bab, to see if all be well there, and so returne backe to you. I know that all sorts of provisions wastes apace in all the ships, which God sending me aboord, I hope quickly to renew.

The seven and twentieth, according to my Generalls requests, I sent the Darling over to Moha, for effecting the foresaid businesse.

The twentie ninth and thirtieth, the Budwees brought downe both Goats and sheepe to sell.

The first, second and third of Aprill, the Budwees brought downe either Bullockes, Goates or sheepe, to sell unto us. *Aprill* 1.

The fourth, the Darling returning from Moha, but the wind taking her short, shee was forced to anchor to the Northwards or lee-wards of the Road, till the wind should come more large.

The sixt, the Darling came into the Roade of Assab, and anchored neare the watering place, neare the Trade, to deliver the victuals and other provisions, which had been [I. iii. 291.]

so long detained by the Turkes, and also brought me a very kind letter from my Generall.

The seventh, the Darling plied up to an Iland neare the Pepper, there to be Carreind (this Iland we called *Crane Iland.* Crane-Iland, for that on it we killed most Cranes) from this day to the twelfth day, the Darling did land her goods and victuals, and unrigged their shippes, and certaine of the Trades Company were gathering of Breming.

The King of Raheta. The one and twentieth, the King of Raheta sent me a Present (by a kinsman of his) being a fat Cow and a Slave, he continued aboord the Trades-Increase all night.

The thirtieth, the Trades-Increase was heilded and trimmed on both sides, so farre as conveniently might be: this day we filled all our emptie Caske with water, being nine and twentie Tunnes, the water being faire.

May. The fourth and fift day of May, wee trimmed all our Boats, being reasonable faire weather, the wind at South South-east. The seventh and ninth day, the Budwees brought downe good store of sheepe and Goates, but through want of cloath, we bought very few, onely three Bullocks, which we gave money for.

Sir Henry Middleton escapeth with fifteene more, the manner you have in his owne Journall. The eleventh, my Generall made his most happie escape aboord the Darling, with fifteene more of his Company.

The twelfth, my Generall sent the Pinnasse over from Moha, and by her a letter, giving me knowledge of his escape, as aforesaid; also desiring me, upon the sight of this letter, to repayre over to Moha, with the Trades-Increase and Pepper-Corne; which direction I presently put in execution, making the ships in readinesse to set saile: but before my comming, hee so behaved himselfe in the Darling, to the terrour of his enemies the Turkes, that neither Boat from the shoare durst go aboord any of the Indian ships, neither from the ships to the shore, without asking his leave, and making knowne their businesses; so that now Regib Aga of Moha, began to sing a new song, and insinuate with Sir Henry Middleton by divers messengers, as by Nohuda Mahumet and others of the Generalls best friends there, with Presents, now

fearing what harmes might happen unto them, in recompence of his treachery towards him, and therefore desired to have peace with the Generall: for Master Femell, before his returne aboord, in more especiall favour, was by the Aga invited to his house, whereto he was urged, and there too soone yeelded to eate and drinke with him; whereupon some former speeches given out by Master Femell, that he would make complaint of his wrongs in Stambola, which now he remembring at his departure, with a smiling countenance told him they might meete together at Stambola. This night being come aboord he seemed overjoyed; but three dayes after, about two of the clocke in the morning he ended his life, as we all thought, by poyson; the Chirurgions opened him, and this was their conceit: whereupon the Generall embarged all his ships.

The death of Master Femell.

The nine and twentieth, at two of the clocke in the morning, as aforesaid, Master Femell, Cape Merchant, died.

June 1.

The first day of June in the evening, we had a very strong gust of wind, being so hotte, that it was able to take away our breathes; it also drave the sand of the shore in such sort, we could scarce looke to wind-ward.

The second, came aboord the Admirall, Alle the sonne of Portugall parents, being a Captaine, turned Turke, who, for that he had been the Generals Trudgman, or Interpreter at Zenan, and so had some acquaintance with him, and therefore was sent downe to capitulate with him of a Peace: he informed the Generall that Master Pembertons said Boy was alreadie brought downe to Moha, and promised the next day he should be brought aboord. This Alle and Taccacee a Bannean, came to know the Generalls demand, which was an hundred thousand Rialls of eight.

Beloule, a place on the Assab Coast.

The eight in the morning, the Generall sent the Darling to Beloule, a place on the Abexin Coast, being ten leagues to the Northward of Assab, to fetch water, and buy some Goats for reliefe of our men, who began to fall sicke of a faint disease; the best remedie for which as we found, was letting blood, and purging of the body; this disease

went away in byles and scabbes, and this disease no man escaped cleare of.

The nineteenth, Shermall Sabander of Moha, accompanied with many of the chiefest Merchants of the Towne, and the Alle Haskie and Tacaccee a Bannian, came in state with divers sorts of musicke, from the Aga to the Generall (aboord the Trades-Increase) to capitulate of the fore-said summe by him demanded, for satisfaction for our said goods, which then, in regard the Generall, and all we saw at the present no more to be gotten, and that which should be agreed upon, to come out of the said Sabander of the Bannians our friend his purse, who daily relieved our men in their misery with bread and other sustenance, not so much as our dogge but also had daily allowance from him; so that alwayes his presence administred comfort to our distressed people: therefore it was concluded, wee to receive our iron and lead againe, and for the rest of our goods not to be had (wherein was concluded all Vests and other presents the Generall had given) the summe at present agreed upon, was eighteene thousand Rials of eight, and for that at present they had not money to defray so great a summe, they desired the Generall to take out of the said ship of Diu, so much goods as he should esteeme a fit pawne for so great a summe (which they would daily redeeme as they could raise moneyes) and then the ship to goe in presently to land and make sale of the rest of her goods: the utmost time limitted for the last payment, was fourteene dayes. The Sabander brought aboord with him, according to promise, Master Pembertons Boy, being clad in apparell of the English fashion.

[I. iii. 292.]

Richard Philips, Master Pembertons Boy, restored.

§. III.

Their departure from Moha to Assab, and after that, higher into the Red-sea, thence to the Socatora, and after to Surat.

THe third of July, having reasonably provided the ships with Rice and other graine (for that our English provision consumed apace) the Generall with all three ships and Pinnasse set saile, and standing over to the Bay of Assab, there by getting daily refreshing, to recover our weake faint sicke men; where we arrived the fourth day, at eleven of the clocke afore noone. The fift, sixt, seventh, eight and ninth dayes, the Budwees every day brought downe either Bullocks, sheepe, or Goats. *July* 3.

The thirteenth, we made an end of watering. The King of Raheta sent the Generall three fat Bullockes for a Present, by one Abdella, his sisters sonne, the Generall very kindly entertained him, and accepted of the Kings Present, presenting him againe with a Vest of Broadcloth; the Generall also gave the King heartie thankes, for all the kindnesse and good dealing received from his subjects, at this his Port. The said Abdella then desired the Generall to come with his ships nearer the Bab, being by their report a good harbour, and is neare the Kings Towne, and more plentifull of refreshing, where he might better shew his love unto the Generall. This day the General feasted him aboord the Trades-Increase, and in the evening caused a banquet of sweet meats and wine to be prepared on shore against their landing, whereof he having both eaten and drunke, very thankfully tooke leave of the Generall, and departed to the King againe.

Their endevor to take a rich Turkie shippe, which came from Sues.

The foure and twentieth, we set saile from Assab, directing our course towards Cameran, an Iland on the Abaxin Coast, some fortie leagues to the Northward of Moha, in fifteene degrees North latitude, in which is a Towne and fortresse, to which place they thought they

were come or neare comming to stay for directions, by reason of our being neare, to the Northwards it is seldome seene that any will attempt going, while the Westerly Monson lasteth, which in the Red-sea bloweth most all Northerly, till the last of July. We turned up all day, and anchored at night, in which we were pestered with a dangerous shoale, to which wee unawares came so neare, that we had oftentimes enough to doe to quit our selves of them, when we had little more water then we needed: this continuing two dayes, having no Pilot, nor other meanes (and the Currants uncertaine) readily to find it: And the weather doubtfull, being in uncertaine places to ride in open water, if the weather in the night should prove adverse, the Generall with griefe being often moved to give over the businesse of seeking the Turkie ship of Sues; himselfe concluded that it was fit for him to provide for the safetie of his owne ships, which are to him certaine, then with too much hazard to pursue things uncertaine, and perchance might misse finding her when he came there; so wee bore up with the Iland of Juball Succor, which is bigge and high, and another great Iland to the Southwards of it, being also high, called Juball Arree; these two neighbour Ilands are invironed with divers other smaller Ilands to the Southwards, and in divers places ledges of sunken rockes, being discerned only by the breaches on them: those Ilands as they lye South and North, by supposition may be in length some ten leagues, they lye North North-west from Moha, where in cleare weather they may plainly be seene, which happeneth very seldome: from the Wester part of Juball to Beloula, the course is South-west by South distant some twelve leagues; little wide of which course lyeth two sunken rockes knowne by the breach, they are neare adjoyning to the said Ilands South by West: from the Wester part of Juball Arree are two Ilands and a Rocke; and from these towards the Coast of Africa South-west lye foure other small flat rockes, lying distant from the former some foure myles and an halfe: there is no danger

Two Ilands called Jubal Succor, and Jubal Arree.

in going neare them, for we found deepe water close aboord the South Westermost of them, being the nearest to the Africke Coast.

The sixt of August, at foure of the clocke in the morning, we set saile from our good harbour of Assab, and before sixe at night we anchored in the Roade of Moha, seeing neare the Towne wall mored and unladen the said Gallion which came from Sues, which we had gone to seeke and mist us, as we were intangled amongst the shoales, and was come into Moha five dayes before, also there was come in one Gally, and three more every day expected. *August* 6.

The seventh, the Generall went in with the Pepper-Corne and Darling (for dispatch of his businesse) so neare as the ships could well ride, and also, if need required, to command all the ships in the Roade: and about ten of the clocke, our old friend Taccacee and Sabrage, the Sabanders man, came aboord with a Present from Shermal the Sabander: to these the Generall gave notice of his businesse, and dispeeded them away. [I. iii. 293.]

The tenth about eleven of the clocke before noone, wee past thorow the Easter Channell of Bab-mandell, finding in the middest nine or ten fathom, and toward either side, seven, six or five fathom, according as we edged in or off; the Darling and Release put out through the greater or South-wester Channell, which may be some foure leagues over, all seeming very cleare of danger, the Release going farre by the shore, on the South-west side of the Iland of Bab-mandell in twelve fathom; the Easter Channell is not above a mile and a halfe over. *Bab-mandel sailed on both sides.*

The eleventh at noone, the high land of Aden bore North North-west, distant some eleven leagues, and by estimation East by South halfe a degree some sixe and thirtie leagues. Note also that from this day unto the end, I reckon the dayes from noone to noone, for that by every daies observation of latitude, I rectifie my traverse, as now from noone the eleventh day, to noone the twelfth day, I reckon upon the twelfth day onely in my discourses,

I reckon according to the true day, as from midnight to midnight, &c.

The one and twentieth, from noone to six at night East, some foure leagues before Sun-rising, we descried Mount Fœlix, bearing East by North eleven leagues distant (by which we certainly perceived how the Currant had abused us) from Tuesday the twentieth day afternoone, to Munday the six and twentieth day, notwithstanding some while of the land, and other while sea turnes, betweene calmes oftentimes a prettie gale continuing sometime foure, sixe or seven houres together, yet by reason of the Currant we could never get a head; but by the said six and twentieth day in the morning, we were fallen to the Westward some foure leagues, the six and twentieth day at nine of the clock in the morning (having continued under a steepe high whitish cliffe all the foresaid time) it pleased God to send us a small gale of wind off the shore, with which wee came off North North-east into the Sea, in hope there to finde the wind more prosperous.

The seven and twentieth, by judgement we might runne East North-east fourteene leagues. This day at foure after-noone, Mount Fœlix bore South by East some nine leagues distant; this Mount, by my estimation, may bee sixteene leagues Westward of Cape Guardafui: this night when it was calme, as also when the wind blew, we met with a potching sea, which well informed me, that we grew neare the length of the Head-land, and began to bring the Southerne sea open of the Cape, or the point of the land: the nine and twentieth we descried Socatora.

Cape de Guardafui

Note that in this traverse from Aden to Socatora is no certaintie, by reason we were so much deluded by the Currant, wherein by the water oftentimes wee seemed to get, yet by the Currant we lost, or were driven backe.

Now having effected all our businesses, as watering and getting some ballast, and bought all the Alloes here to bee had, and left letters of advice with the King of Socatora,

for such of our nation, as in like manner might come to Trade in the Red-sea, both to prevent their losse of time and further trouble.

The fourth of September, at two in the after-noone, we set saile from the Roade of Dellisha, the wind presently grew calme, so that we did little good all the night. *September* 4.

The three and twentieth, at sixe in the morning, being neare the end of an ebbe, we set saile and stood away North and North North-east two howres, some two leagues, the wind at South, our depths from ten to sixteene fathom, and presently as against a wall, seven, sixe and five fathoms. About eight of the clocke, we had sight of the trees of India, which standeth both in South and North Swally, which bore East by North from us (by a meridian Compasse distant six leagues) we runne in East North-east and North-east by East with the floud, still raising the land to the Northward, till neere two of the clocke; our depths uncertaine, sometimes more, and sometimes lesse, shunning divers suspicious riplings, keeping betweene eight and fifteene fathom, we anchored in soft Oze, and by my observation it floweth East North-east one quarter North, and West by South one quarter South by the Moone, and by this time the floud runneth five houres, and the ebbe seven houres, by reason of the Winter freshes by the aboundant raines are not yet fully expelled, and therefore doth overcome or shorten the floud-streames; but at other times, though the Spring-streames goe alwayes strong, yet the floud and ebbe are equally sixe houres a piece. In the Winter-streames, which is June, July and August, my conjecture is that Cables and Anchors, nor Ships bowes can be made of force to resist the streames. The Coast lyeth heere neare North and South; this day being come to an anchor, my Generall sent off his Pinnasse to fetch a Boat which sailed neare us, who came from Surat, and was bound to Goga, loaden with Rice, who informed him we were over-shot Surat a great way toward Cambaia, and that we must returne seven or eight leagues, if wee would goe to the Barre of Surat: this *A boat of Surat.*

Boat the Generall kept with him, because they would use the Master of her for a Pilot.

The foure and twentieth, there came another Boat voluntarily aboord the Admirall, and also continued with good content with us for Pilots: the former informed the Generall, that there were staying for us at the Barre of Surat, fifteene armed Portugall Frigats, to intercept what we should there intend; so at full sea, which was at two afternoone, we set saile with a little wind at South, standing off West into the deeper Channell, turning downe the ebbe while daylight would permit, and then anchored in foure and twentie fathome in a vehement streame, where riding till morning day-light, when the ebbe being spent and we not able to weigh our anchors till the tide broake, so that we made a small tides worke; yet this five and twentieth day night at seven of the clocke, wee anchored some league short of the Roade, Southward of the Barre, where we saw riding at anchor three Indian ships. [I. iii. 294.]

The six and twentieth in the morning, with the tide of floud wee set saile, standing into the Roade, where we anchored by the said three ships of Surat, which were intended to be laden for to goe to Sumatra, but partly by reason of our approach, and partly for that the Portugals would come to no reasonable composition with them for their Custome and Cartas (or Passe) their Voyage was given over, according to our Pilots former information.

Eighteene sayles of Portugall Frigats.

We here found eighteene sayle of Portugall Frigats, whereof sometime more, and sometime lesse, according as they see occasion appeared in our view, al being under the charge or conduct of Don Francisco de Soto Maior, Captaine Major of the forces of Damon and Chaull, accompanyed also with the Captaine Major and forces of Diu: who for a long time together without intermission, so pestred the streames about us, that none could neither out of the River, nor any other way come neere us, but they would narrowly search and see that they had neither Letters nor other provisions, that might comfort or reliefe our necessities, whereby they often tooke occasion to rob

divers of sundry things, with threatnings that they were bringing them unto us their Enemies; and therefore confiscated: by this meanes our men grew to great weaknesse, and every day more and more of our men fell downe with the scurvie, wanting to refresh or comfort them; at last by our Neighbours the ships Boat of Surat, we received a lame advice from one Nicholas Bangham, left by the Hector to attend on the Merchants there. Yet after many dayes, was gotten from him (which for the purpose was lying by him) both a Letter from Captaine Hawkins remayning in Agra (which is the place of the great Mogull his residence) and another from William Finch at Lahor which was going home-wards over land by the way of Persia, by which the Generall understood the little hope they conceived of any good for our Nation in this Countrey people without faith. After some time there was knowledge given by the said Nicholas Bangham, that Captaine Sharpeigh, John Jourdaine, and others were every day expected in Surat, being comming from Agra by the way of Cambaya, which gave some content to Sir Henry Middleton.

W. Finch intended to returne into England by the way of Persia.

The thirtieth, by the Generals direction, I with the Pepper-Corne, Darling, and Release, set saile, endevouring to finde the passage over the Barre into the River of Surat: but partly by the Portugals diligent attendance to cut off from us our Boats which sounded before the ships, if they exceeded the command of our Ordnance, and partly the uncertaine and dangerous sudden shoaldings we in each ship found, did chiefly frustrate our present endevours.

§. IIII.

Many proud affronts of the Portugals. Disgusts from the Indians.

Octob. 1. THe first of October, we all set sayle backe againe towards the Road, where our Admirall rid, but the wind shortening upon us, and the tyde of ebbe growing also strong, we could not fetch the Road, but were put off some foure miles Westwards of the Roade, wherefore it was Wednesday before the wind and tyde so much favoured us as to get into the Road. Sir Henry Middleton wrote unto the Portugall Captaine Major, requiring him that if he could not permit him to Trade here, yet, that he might take in the Merchants and others his Countrymen which were heere on shoare in this Countrey [illegible] hee would be gone from this place; but *Insolence of Portugals.* the Portugall Captaines answere (to this) was No, for hee would carrie them to Goa, and from thence, they should be sent home; also it seemed that John Jourdaine, had beene flattering with the fathers both at Agra and Cambaya, and had obtayned some commendations to the Vice-Roy, or request or hope of conduction into Portugall, knowing at present no better meanes to get into his Countrey: by which Sir Henry Middleton could never imagine nor expect any safetie to such as continue firme to our State and Countrey. And neere the time of this Letter from Sir Henry Middleton, Captaine Sharpeigh by some principall Portugall then on land in Surat, made motion either by Letter or otherwise, to the Captaine Major to give him his Segure (or safe conduct) for his safe passage aboard the English ships; whereupon the Captaine Major, in scoffe wrote unto the English Captaine and his Companions, his Segure for their safe comming aboard his Galliote, without addition for his departure thence, the thing which he required. And further to shew the base account he made of our Nation, added, that if they would take their passage along with him to

Goa, he would use him and his Company with as much favour, as he would doe to Turkes, Moores, or other Nations that use these Seas; and all other Nations (a few Persians excepted) are Jewes, Bannians, and Gentiles, which though it were in him an unpleasing and vile speech, [I. iii. 295.] yet I like well his plainenesse, in shewing them what to trust to before (not thinking they could have escaped his hands) otherwise it is likely, that some of them would have beene perswaded, that their usage should have beene better then is heere promised.

Sir Henry Middleton being very zealous in procuring the libertie of our Countrymen, though both by Captaine Hawkins and William Finch his Letters, and by all else we could understand of the Countrey, all hope of good here to be done for the Company, eyther for present or to come was wholly quenched; he writ to have them come by land and meete him at Dabull, but that journey was thought too tedious, and by reason of the Warres in Decanie, dangerous. The time thus lost seemed very tedious; wherein our water and other provisions fast wasted, our people daily for want of comfortable refreshing, fell generally into sicknesse, which made our estate doubtfull, not knowing where or by what meanes to get refreshing, we being so garded by these our Enemies, that none could come to us, neither could we goe from our ships: And Captaine Sharpeigh made provision for us at the Towne, though without hope that it could escape the Portugall, who lay in continuall waite for it. It being provided, it was in vaine to sell it againe, but order being given to send it howsoever, it was immediately sent towards us.

The eleventh, Sir Henry Middleton, much disturbed in minde at our present doubtfull estate, and our great losse of time, and that to so little purpose, and therefore leaving the Trades Increase in the mayne Road, he with the Pepper-Corne, and Darling, and Release, put in practice to discover alongst the Coast to the North-ward, to find out some place where our shippes might safely ride

so neere the shoare, as to command the place of landing, and frustrate the Portugalls attempts for taking our Boates and people: but the day neere spent, wee anchored neere the North point, thwart of the barre at the enterance of the River of Surat. This day Alonso Gransillio dyed.

Ungracious gratitude.

The twelfth, early in the morning, the Portugalls tooke the Boate which was comming towards us with our provisions: in scoffe the Captaine Major presently sent thankes to Captaine Sharpeigh, for his care of him in sending him victuals for his supply. This said morning at the first of the floud we set sayle standing with the point to the Northwards, and by reason of the quicknesse of the streame, and our suspition in this unknowne place, wee ever put that shippe smallest of draft headmost, and before the smallest we sent our rowing Boates, making no more haste with our Sayles, then that our Boates might keepe head with their Oares. And yet further to prevent what perill by these strong Tydes might happen, wee had our Anchors alwayes in readinesse to let drop whensoever by their signes ahead, wee should understand of any sudden shoalding. The Armie of the Portugals likewise weighed and followed keeping a brest betweene the Pepper-Corne and the shore, they all rowing in order of Battell with their Colours displayed, oftentimes making great shoutes as in some great attempt; the Captaine Major in a small Frigat, going from Frigat to Frigat throughout his Fleet incouraging them, at length the Darlings Boat a good distance of betweene the ship & the land, by occasion of a suspicious ripling & where shee was sounding, presently by the Captaine Majors direction one of their smaller swiftest Frigats (being overbold through our long sufferance) rew forth with great swiftnesse to cut off from us the Darlings Boat, being seconded by another of the same kind. The Master of the Darling seeing his Boat and men in such danger, could no longer forebeare, but for her rescue he began to shoot at them, the former Frigat gat cleere ahead. But the second seeing our shoote flye so fast at her with feare

put on shoare, the men abandoning her ranne away in the mudde; the Armie now comming up for her rescue perceiving our shot came amongst them so fast shoved a sterne leaving that Friegat to our devotion wee perceiving them so to leave her, and for that she was fit to serve our turnes, bestowed the fetching of her. In this Frigat wee found some small quantity of Indico, Cinamon, Cominseed, Cotton Yarne, Mirabolans (dry for Phisick) & one small ballet of Candekins mill, & very course, all of smal value, these things had the Portugals lately taken from a poore Bannian. By this occasion we anchored here in seven fathome water, thwart of the North point in the mouth of the River of Surat, within Musket shot of the shoare at low water, here wee rid till the next day.

A Portugall Frigat taken.

The thirteenth, in the morning we weighed and stood somewhat neerer into the shorewards, and anchored in sixe fathome, presently we descryed divers men on land, wherefore the Generall sent Master Jeffe, and Matthew Bragge ashore with a Flagge of Truce: but they being Portugals, and perceiving them landed, retyred flourishing their Swords as though they had atchieved some worthy exploit: this day about nine a clocke in the fore-noone, the Generall sent a way the Darling into the maine Road, where the Trades Increase rid, she made no stay there, but presently againe returned bringing with her one of the Indian ship Boates, and seventeene of their men whom the Generall at times sent away with Letters to the Towne to Captaine Sharpeigh whom before their going the Generall royally rewarded, also promising them better satisfaction at their returne: five of them were this evening sent away with Letters, who promised to returne againe to us with Letters, but according to their accustomed practice of lying and deceit, they onely spake to give present content and meant the contrary, so that there is no hold in their words. This day there came somwhat neer us a great Indian Boat laden with Paddy, the General made stay of her, and for our present supply, bought of her one Candie, & sixe Maunds of Paddy, which the next [I. iii. 296.]

day we tooke into the Pepper-corne, and they having satisfaction to the us fo.tent, being dismissed, I parted.

The sixteenth twentieeeing two Frigats riding a good distance to the l re in tard of us, which the Generall had desire to see, mmiry were, and to know the cause of their riding there: formh being Portugals, and seeing us rowing alongst the e, tst towards them, they set saile, standing awhile alonith the coast, and then to the Offing; but finding our selvntirurther and further a sterne gave them over, and stor sion with the River, and point of South Swally; we l beted, determining with our net to fish, but the depth out, e water not serving, the General was going up the l ne in his Galliot to fish, at which instant there came a l gale of wind off the sea, wherwith againe came in t two former Frigats, accompanied with two other Frigats, newly come from the bar-foot of Surat. In which was the late Captaine of our little Frigats; who lately hazarded his life by running away in the deep mud, supposed now by worthy valour to recover her againe, (as soon after we were informed) to whose attempt the wind was as favourable, as adverse to us, who had farre to row to wind-ward over a broad shoale, whereon we alwaies had between three and foure foot water; but we somewhat gotten off to set saile, and the Release not farre off to second us: and contrary to their expectations, in stead of flying see all our endeavours bent to hasten the meeting with them, and seeing our Musket shot fell but little short of them, which immediately was like to reach them: but as seemed, their former resolution found some contradict, for they all at once exchanged their steerne for their prowes, giving us some wast base shot in their running away; we pursued long, since we lost not much, we were ever in hope to get ground of them, but the wind increasing, and what betweene our people tired at the oare, and our too small saile to our little Frigat, put them cleane from us, and so we returned to the Pepper-corne, leaving the Darling.

The twentieth in the morning, Thomas Glemham in

the Pinnasse went on shoare to atte[illegible] ing downe of any of he Countrey people, ei[illegible] iessages or provisions to sell, all giving directi[illegible] ame to giv him knowledge by shooting off tl[illegible] kets togeth that the Generall in the Frigat wo[illegible] goe on shoa. the Pinnasse comming on shoare, [illegible] n onely for a Centinell went on shoare, who r[illegible] ooner came to the top of a small hill neere the w[illegible] side, but presently seeing a troupe of Portugals rus[illegible] ut of their ambush towards them, retyred to the Pinn[illegible], who rowed a little from the shoare and anchored; t[illegible] Portugals comming to the water-side, discharged thei[illegible] al shot at our Pinnasse, who so well repayd them w[illegible] heir Muskets, that presently they ran away, soone a[illegible] they saw one of the Inhabitants on Horse-back, who [illegible] comming down (as they suppose) the present sight of the Portugals hindered, and therefore shot off three Muskets together, which the Generals hearing, presently went on the shoare with the Frigat, but contrary to our expectation the said Indian came not downe to them, neither any Message nor Letter, neither from the General nor Captaine Sharpeigh. In the evening some of the poore Inhabitants brought downe some few fruits to sel, which the General caused to be bought, and as our men repayred to the Frigat to come aboord, there came downe unto them three men out of the Portugall Armie, who for some disgust there given them, fled to us for succour, the one of them a Dutchman borne in Lisbone, called Lorenzo de Campo, the other two were Portugals, the principall of them called Frances Consalves.

The one and twentieth in the morning, the Generall in the Frigat went on shoare, where hee no sooner landed, but presently an Indian brought him a Letter from Captaine Sharpeigh, certifying Sir Henry Middleton that the next day he would come downe with all his goods guarded by an hundred Horsemen; this day a Mallabar Boy called Antonio, who had beene five or sixe yeares Captive to a Portugall Souldier in

this Armie[illegible]nding good oportunitie to his desire, fled u[illegible]r succour.

The two and [illegible]th, early in the morning, the Generall went on shoa[illegible]he Frigat, attended by the Release, to expect the co[illegible]g downe of Captaine Sharpeigh, according to his inf[illegible]ation in his Letter: now approaching neere the shoar[illegible]he Frigat anchored, and presently landed thirty men w[illegible]small shot, the Generall appointing one of them for Ce[illegible]nell, to stay on the top of a small hill neere the water[illegible]de; the rest also to be neere the water side, for the [illegible]ter avoiding any sudden attempt, but all to looke abou[illegible] to see if they could discover any bodie comming down[illegible] from Surat-wards: the Centinell in short time saw two Bannians comming from the Northwards, whereof he instantly gave knowledge: these Bannians brought downe some Tobacco, and other trifling things to sell; they beeing come aboord the Frigat, certified the Generall that the last night five Englishmen came from Surat, to a village some foure miles from this place; and that this morning they came from them, and that this afternoone they would come downe to us, presently there sallied out of a valley betweene two hils on a sudden, seven troopes of Portugals, with their colours displayed, whom our men seeing made a stand, the Portugals also made a stand, as having no list to come within the reach of our shot, although there were neere three hundred of them. The Generall commanded our men to retire, and to imbarque themselves: which being done accordingly, the Portugals then made pursuit after them, and with five or sixe Basses (by them brought for that purpose) and other small shot, they began to shoot at our Boates and men, but did them no harme, who failed not to answer them againe with the like, whereby (as afterwards wee were informed) they went away with the worst. Now after longer stay, and our people not comming according to our expectation, the Generall returned aboord the Pepper-corne, determining this afternoon with the ebbe to be gone from this place to the Trades-increase; but

Three hundred Portugals assault our men.

[I. iii. 297.]

as we were setting saile, a company of men were descried comming from the North-ward, wherefore we againe anchored, and the General went on shore in the Frigat, where presently came downe to them three of our Country-men, of the Ascensions company, to wit, Thomas Musgrave, Bartholmew Davis, and William Morgan, who with them brought Captain Sharpeigh, and John Jordaines cloaths and provisions. On Thursday came downe to them Captaine Sharpeigh, with an hundred horsemen for his guard, all armed with Bowes and arrowes and Swords: with him came aboord Jaddow, the Broaker, and a Braman (or Bannian Priest) and an other Indian, Captaine Sharpeigh his servant.

Certaine Englishmen come aboord.

Captaine Sharpeigh commeth aboord.

The five and twentieth, Sir Henry Middleton in the Frigat, went on shore (accompanied by Captaine Sharpeigh, and John Jordaine) where Coja Nassan at the water side promised to meete him, who was there in readinesse according to his promise. The Frigat comming to the water side, the Generall was fetcht on shore on a Pallankin, borne on foure mens shoulders, and there kindly entertained by Coja Nassan, and according to the Countrey fashion, a Carpet was spread whereon they sate to conferre of our present businesse. It was by them in a manner concluded, our ships to goe to Goga, a place on the Wester side of the Gulfe neerer to Cambaya, and to have Pilots from the shore for our more safe conduct; but a sudden (and at this time of the yeere unusuall) showre of raine happening, they brake up their conference, promising the next day there to meet againe, fully to determine of our said businesse.

Our Generall goeth on land.

The sixe and twentieth, according to mutuall promise, the Generall in manner aforesaid went on shore in the Frigat, who anchoring neere the shore side, Coja Nassan in one of our boats sent off Jaddow with a Present of tenne fine Bastas, and fiftie Bushels of Wheate to the Generall, and two Pilots for our safe conduct to Goga: the Generall very kindly accepted thereof, and with the Pinnasse went to the shore side, where on a Pallankin in manner aforesaid,

hee was received and entertained on shore, where they proceeded on their former conference; but the Pilots having discovered the manner of the place, whose unfitnesse gave no content, and therefore their determination therein soone altered, and it was concluded and agreed upon, that our ships should for the space of sixe dayes be gone off to Sea, which the Portugals perceiving, they suppose would also be gone, and then we againe to returne, and suddenly to dispatch our businesse. This Evening we set saile, standing to the South-wards to the Trades-increase, but the wind shortned upon us, so that we anchored some mile West-ward of the roade. This day in the morning, Thomas Lane died.

October. The seven and twentieth in the morning, the Generall departed aboord the Trades-increase, and soone after sent his Pinnasse for Captaine Sharpeigh and my selfe, to conferre about our present businesse, (also he sent men to fetch away the Frigat and Portugals from the Peppercorne:) after a Counsell held, the Generall sent a letter to Don Francisco de Soto, Captaine Major of the Portugall army, therein repeating the manifold discurtesies by him shewed towards us: First, not onely hindering our landing, but also the passage of our letters, kept us from all reliefe for our sicke men; and what at great charge was provided, he had taken from us, and kept us from our people on shore, which if we could have gotten, we had been gone long since: and also his endeavours the twelfth of this Moneth, to cut from us our boats sounding a head our ships, what time we tooke one of their Frigats, which we now having done our businesse, if hee would send for her, we would freely bestow her on him againe. Also the Generall released the Indian shippes, whom for conveiance of letters betweene Captaine Sharpeigh and him, he restrained from going into the River, who now being dismist, they presently departed towards Surat: also wee made ready our ships to be gone off to Sea.

The nine and twentieth, we set saile to sea-wards, the Portugall Frigats still following us in their accustomed

manner. This day we met with a boat bound to Cambaya, laden with Coco nuts, of whom the Generall bought seventeene thousand, which he distributed amongst our people, and the Indian boat was presently dismist: this day was M. Mullenex the second time put into the Pepper-corne. The one and thirtieth, S. Henry Middleton seeing that the Portugals still followed us, determined to stand off no further, but againe to returne to doe our businesse so farre as conveniently we could, in despite of them.

The first of November, according to the Generals predetermination, we returned to the North-wards as the winds and tides permitted. Saterday in the morning, we anchored thwart of South Swally, where the General in the Frigat went on shore, but heard no news from Surat. This night the Portugals in the river shot off divers peeces, which they told the Indians was for joy they had received tidings of the comming of two great Gallies, and twentie Frigats more for their assistance, whereby they abused themselves, in thinking with their lyes to terrifie us, who were now armed to withstand all their villainous practises, usurping authority in an other Kings Dominion, where they have no more to doe then in Denmarke. *November.* 1.

The fifth, Sir Henry Middleton sent William Pemberton Master of the Darling (in whose endeavours he had firme confidence) with his ship the Release and Frigat againe, to discover to the North-wards as afore-said; who there found a bard place, wherein not onely our smaller ships might at high water goe, but also the Trades-increase, being a little lightned, might also goe safely over the Barre, and there ride within Caliever shot of the shoare. [I. iii. 298.] *An excellent roade found.*

The sixth in the morning, with the first of the floud, we all set saile, standing to the North-wards, and anchored thwart of the place discovered: at high water wee with the Pepper-corne, Darling and Release, went in over the Barre, whereon the least depth wee found was three fathome and a foote, but at low water three foot. Beeing in, we all anchored within Caliever shot of the shoare, as afore-said in eight fathome, and right a head or to the North-

ward of us, anchored twelve Portugall Frigats, somewhat without the reach of our Ordnance. This afternoone the Generall and my selfe, with a guard of fortie small shot, went on shoare to seeke out some place where we might relieve our wants of fresh water: in the salt marshes we found a place of brakish water, whereof till better could be gotten, we were forced to make use. Here the Inhabitants brought downe to sell five or sixe goats and sheepe, and some fruits, which for reliefe of our out-tired weake people were all bought.

The seventh, we filled some water, bought some small provisions as the people brought down: we haled the Release a ground, in hope to stop her leaks, beeing as it were in a manner devoured with wormes, for the safetie of her and her people: we erected a Tent, in which I continued, keeping a Court of Guard and Centinels aboard, to prevent the practise of the Portugals our enemies to prejudice us. The eighth, all our Carpenters used their best endeavours to trie the stopping of the Pinnasse her leaks: this day Nicholas Bangham came downe, bringing provisions such as by the Generals directions he had provided, as Limes for our diseased people, bread, lamp-oyle, and candles, and his owne provisions. This evening, some of our inhabiting neighbours of the neerest Villages, informed the Generall, that in the River was arrived two Gallies, and eightie Frigats: upon which newes the Generall altered his determination, and for the better securitie thought good to bring all our forces together, the better to frustrate any practises that might be intended against us; wherefore at his first departure aboord his ship, which rid in the Offing, gave me directions to guard the said Barke upon the shoare, and as soon as the tide served, to heave her a float by my ship, or the Darling, which about midnight was performed; when presently we set saile over the Barre, and rid by the Admirall.

Newes of more Portugals.

The ninth in the morning, Coja Nassan came downe, the Generall beeing then on shoare; hee certified the Generall, that so soone as all our ships were come into

the roade, hee would bring downe goods and trade with us; in the meane time a Market should be kept upon the sea strand, of all necessary provisions; also informed the Generall, that the Frigats last come into the River, was a Caphala or fleete of Portugall Merchant Frigats, bound to Cambaya: at his departure Nicholas Bangham went up to Surat with him.

A Market at the road of Swally.

The twelfth, beeing in the road, we had a Market there kept upon the strand of divers sorts of provisions, to wit, Meale, Bread, Bullocks, Goats, Sheepe, Hennes, Butter and Cheese, Sugar and Sugar-Candie, Limes, Plantans, Water-Mellons, Goards, Onions, Radishes, Pallingenies, Cucumbers, Milke, a kind of Peascod which they call Paupery, and Gindus, a small fruit as big as a little Crab, beeing in taste betweene sweet and sowre, and in the midst thereof hath a small round stone, Sugar-canes, and Tobacco, also Salt-fish dryed, and Praunes, and Palmita wine, which they call Taddy. All these afore-named things were at reasonable cheape rates.

A second assault of the Portugals.

The one and twentieth, my Centinell upon the Mount, saw over the top of an other hill neere adjoyning, the heads of some of the Portugals, who there lay in ambush to the number of five hundred men: he had no sooner given the Alarum, but presently they seeing themselves discovered, they all with their colours advanced, with great celeritie ranne downe, to cut off our people from the Boat; but having a little tasted of our shot, both out of great and small Peeces, and seeing some of their fellowes tumbling in the mud, they made as great hast backe out of the reach of them: divers of them that fell downe, afterwards came to themselves, and made means to crawle away, onely Antonio de Sowso, a Gentleman of Chaul, having a deadly wound in the head, lay still. We seeing the neglect of compassion by his friends, in commiseration fetcht him aboord; whose wound beeing incurable, he died within two houres after, and we buried him on the shoare. Sir Henry Middleton in his ship in the offing, hearing our peeces, and doubting of some disgust, hastned

with his Frigat full of people unto us, yet notwithstanding we gave the enemie leave to take his pleasure on the shoare, without landing to trie any further fortunes with them: going on shoare we found divers of their reliques, as shooes and socks, which for their more expedition away, they left behind: afterwards we were informed by the Muccadam or Constable of Swally, that the Portugals had kild and hurt in this attempt, eight of their people.

The arrivall of Mucrib Chan the Governour of Cambaya.

The foure and twentieth afternoone, came downe Mucrib Chan, with one hundred horsemen, and many more footmen, five Elephants, with divers Camels, Carts and Oxen, for transportation of his provisions, wherein he shewed his greatnesse. Furthermore, he had divers Carts to carrie his Leopards, wherewith at his pleasure he useth to hunt. [I. iii. 299.] Hee was there met by Sir Henry Middleton, at whose landing was discharged a Volley of an hundred and threescore small shot, and at the instant of their salutation each ship in order shot, to wit, the Darling three, the Peppercorne five, and the Trades-increase nine peeces of Ordnance, then was delivered unto him the King of Englands Letter and Present unto himselfe, whereof with all shewes of kindnesse he accepted: and Macrib Chan with sixteene Moguls and Moores, such as he made choice of (leaving the rest of his followers a shoare with Hoja Nassan, and Coja Arsan Alle, and other Merchants, where was erected as it were a little Towne of tents) boldly accompanied S. Henrie Middleton aboord the Trades Increase, where in the best manner the ship affoorded, he was entertained, and continued all night, and part of the next day. Sir Henry Middleton often urged him concerning our maine businesse, which he still put off with delaies till an other time. But all his hooking was, both himselfe and by divers instruments to find out, and buy all such fantasticall toyes, that might fit his turne to please the toyish humour of the great King his Master, and for ought that we could gather, further then served his owne turne, he little respected our selling or buying of our principall Merchandize brought for that place; having

Macrib Chan came aboord the Trades Increase.

satisfied himselfe in that ship by his wittiest inquisition, desired in like manner to see the other ships, where he ranne the like course aboord the Pepper-corne: he bought all our Chests of Sword-blades, whereof he seemed to be so greedy, as he would not trust us to send them after him, but would see them all sent a shoare before his departure, which in few dayes after, having selected out all the crooked ones, and such as liked him, sent backe the rest carelesly, and ill conditioned, as their accustomed manner is to doe all things whatsoever they have bought, when by all the view they can have they dislike the same. Which businesse being ended, they hastened a shoare accompanied by S. Henry Middleton, my selfe, Captaine Sharpeigh, and John Jordaine. He beeing landed, carried us to his Tent, where being all set upon Carpets, with many of his friends, Sir Henry Middleton againe mooved speech concerning our businesse, as aforesaid: which he againe put off till to morrow. When wee saw nothing to be done, and the night approaching, we tooke leave, departing aboord to spend the night in consultation of our next dayes businesse or affaires.

The sixe and twentieth in the morning, Sir Henry Middleton hastened ashoare, thinking to doe much businesse: being come he was informed that Macrib Chan was gone, and yet the better to pacifie him, they told him he was gone to the Portugals to make friendship betweene us, which the Generall well knew was not so, but rather suspected that his going to the Portugals was, having received alreadie from us in presents all hee could get, that hee would now also see what he could get from the Portugals to doe ill Offices against us. Wherefore, laden with discontent, he againe departed aboard his ship in the offing, Hoja Nassan yet staying, pretending of purpose to buy our Commodities, whereof the Generall set downe the particular prizes, but this day being farre spent, it was referred till the day following.

The seven and twentieth in the morning, Macrib Chan sent one of his chiefe Gentlemen and his Broker with a

Base Vanitie. Letter to the Generall: which I supposing to be of import and behoofe of our Common-wealthes businesse, presently in my Boat sent the Messenger aboard the Admirall, the effect whereof was soone found to be no other then to beg his perfumed Jerkin and his Spaniell Dogge, which was denyed him the day before when he begged his Bever Hat: also hee desired our workmen and Smith to make him the modell of a chaine pumpe; also this morning Captaine Sharpeigh and Master Jourdaine went ashoare to Hoja Nassan, to conferre with him of the prizes of our Commodities.

The eight and twentieth, Hoja Nassan departed to Surat, carrying with him the Generals Jerkin and Dogge, which Macrib Chan had formerly begged, and that we should the lesse doubt, he left behind him in his Tent Hoja Jellardin his sonne-in-law, pretending he should stay till his returne. Hoja Nassan being once gone, he set slight, being carelesse of our businesse, and the next night he dissolved his Tent and departed, to no small disturbance to us, seeing none left to rectifie any businesse. This day Bartholmew Davis one of our Carpenters was sent to Surat, to make provision of plankes and boards for re-edifying of the Release, wee thereunto incouraged by their favourable promise, in which is very small hold, for he once there, found nothing but delusions or delayes, for wheresoever he found Timber, either he could not find any to sell it, or not to saw it; so all his businesse was not onely frustrate, but he also in despaire of libertie to returne. This day Master Jourdaine, Master Frain, and others went up to a Village neere adjoyning to view some packes of Indian Cloth, which Hoja Nassan had brought downe thither to barter with us for some of our Commodities: they returning brought downe the Mustraes of everie sort, and the prizes demanded for them per Corge: the Generall upon such as he liked set downe what prizes he would give for them, requiring them to doe the like by his Commodities, and to have answere the next day: but they held them at high rates, and offered weakly

for our Commodities, which they esteemed of necessitie, we must be forced to sell them howsoever.

The first of December, they perceiving that Sir Henry Middleton would not give them their demand for their Commodities, nor sell them his at their owne rates, to shew their carelesnesse, or to try his temper, did not onely speedily send for their Mustraes of clothes, but also carryed backe to Surat, all such packes as they had formerly brought downe to Damka, a Village three mile from us. [I. iii. 300.] Also the poore Inhabitants were restrayned from bringing downe provisions to sell us, as formerly by permission they did. *Decemb.* 1.

The sixth, the Generall was informed the Mock rib Chan, and Hoja Nassan were comming downe, and in the evening we see as it were a Village of Tents pitcht somewhat more then a mile within the land, to the East-ward of the Road, but whether they came in peace or no, we knew not.

The seventh, Jaddow & Narran Brokers came downe, certifying the General that Mockrib Chan and Hoja Nassan were comming downe, and were now at the Tents, and to morrow would bee heere with him. They translated our Kings Letter, and then departed, but yet their extraordinary sadnesse, as men sent by constraint, gave us no hope of good towards us, the rather for that they had formerly restrayned as prisoner our man sent to the Towne about businesse, as also their severitie in proclayming the losse of their noses, to any that should bring downe any provision to us, whereby they shewed their desire to force us away by Famine. This day the Darling was againe haled off to her moring. *Barbarous inhumanitie.*

The eighth, Mockrib Chan and Hoja Nassan, came downe with a great traine to the water-side, and at the same time, to put jealousie of their ill dealing from us, brought downe some fortie or fiftie packes of Indian Clothes, and so increasing to the number of a hundred and eight packes, yet the sight thereof could not moove all of us to beleeve, they meant faithfully to deale with *Chiefe Commodities for India.*

us: but they having extraordinary desire to our Quicksilver, and Vermilion, and Mockrib Chan to our Velvet, though they made smallest shew thereof. Yet for that it could not be had by it selfe, without our Lead and other Commodities, by which meanes they condescended to deale at present for our Lead also, deferring all the rest till some other time, but would not deale with us otherwise, but so as they would gaine fiftie in the hundred at their owne doores without further adventure, and ours which we have brought so farre, wee could not draw them but to such poore rates, as will beare but a small part of our fraight hither.

The ninth in the morning, Sir Henry Middleton went on shoare, not having any sure confidence in their performance, where in words they continued firme. Wherefore the Trades Increase began to land her Lead; somewhat before noone was brought unto Mockrib Chan, a Letter from the great Mogull, whereat he was so dampe, that scarce any words was to be gotten from him, but presently after dinner he departed, but Hoja Nassan, and others continued, as they pretended, to effect the businesse: this night before the Generall went aboord, being still in suspition of inconstant dealing, and seeing the great paines and toile in landing our Lead, and what intollerable disgust or discontent would arise among our people, if by shrinking from their words we be forst againe to imbarque the same, sent some of our Factors with the Brokers to Hoja Nassan to signifie the same, and before further trouble to know his full resolution: who returned him answere, he should not need to doubt, for they would have it all: whereby without further doubt, the greatest expedition was used for landing thereof. This day in the evening, William Johnson Sailer of the Darling, and John Coverdale Trumpetter of the Admirall, ran away to the Portugall Armie, and John Pattison to Surat.

The tenth, there came aboord to see our ships the Governour of Surat, and Coja Arsan Alle, being departed from the Pepper-Corne with the Generall aboard the

Admirall, in the offing this sudden disturbance happened, which crost the content on all sides, for John Jourdaine came speedily from the shoare to informe the Generall, how that Hoja Nassan having alreadie the Velvet and some other things which he most desired, was now in a great fit of wrangling, so that hee thought no good for us would be done: for he had both made them give over weighing the lead; and also sent for his Oxen to draw away the Carts with the packes of Indian Clothes: whereat the Generall grew so impatient, that he presently made stay (to inforce performance) both of the Governour and Coja Arsan Ally, to their great trouble of minde, but after some little pause, the Generall caused them to be imbarqued with himselfe in the Frigat, and came in calling upon me in the Pepper-Corne, to impart what he had done, wishing my opinion, who seeing him in the right way, saw no cause to counsell him to revoke the same, but rather for securitie of our businesse to persevere: from me he departed to the shoare with a reasonable Guard, and gave Hoja Nassan knowledge, what his crosse dealing had forced him unto, and that since the Governour of Surat came in curtesie, and the businesse concernes him not; wisht himselfe to come aboard and take his place, and he would dismisse the Governour; who seeing no other remedie, with a grimme looke and sowre countenance came into the Frigat, and the Governour to his great content was dismist, and they were brought to remayne with me in the Pepper-Corne.

The eleventh, we continued landing of our Lead, and had so lightned the Admirall, that at high-water the night following to our great content, we brought her in over the barre, also having now all our strength together where our businesse lay.

The twelfth in the morning, Sir Henry Middleton sent for the Gentlemen Prisoners to bee brought aboard his greater ship; which Hoja Nassan for long time obstinately refused, till I had order to send him perforce: hee being there, in regard of the hastening of our businesse

it was thought fit to inlarge them both, leaving other [I. iii. 301.] pledges in their places, as for Coja Nassan was Coja Illardin his sonne in law, and one of his sonnes: and for Hoja Arsan Alle, two Persian Merchants. And for pledges on our side to remayne with them in their Tents, were John Williams and Henry Boothby: this night were opened, counted, sorted and agreed for fortie packes of Indian Clothes.

Portugall Fugitives.

The fifteenth, there came to us two Portugall youthes from the Armie, one of them beeing the Captaine Major his Page.

The sixteenth, in the morning wee saw to the Southward five Portugall Colours displayed; whereof the Generall understanding presently by his command, were landed some two hundred armed men with Shot and Pikes to meet them: which they perceiving retyred, in which pursuit being neere unto our Swally, wee met with Hoja Nassan and all his troupes, who was comming downe with some twentie packes more of Indian Clothes: he informed the Generall that the Portugals were alreadie gotten over the muddie Creekes, and were neere unto their Frigats, wherefore the Generall gave over his pursuite, and returned aboord.

Portugalls bravery and flight.

The nineteenth, Peter Rosemary (a Portugall whom wee brought out of England) a Sailer of the Trade, being appointed as Guardian to attend on (or looke to) Francisco Consalves, they both ran away to the Armie.

The seven and twentieth, there came from Surat Hoja Nassan, to see if hee could buy any of our Clothes and other Commodities: but not agreeing upon the prices, hee againe departed. This day by a Jew from Masulipatan, the Generall received a Letter from one Peter Floris (a Dutchman imployed by the Company of Merchants of London trading to East-India, who had there setled a Factorie) certifying the Generall of three ships, which were comming out of England, whereof one was to goe into Red-Sea: which was very unpleasing to the Generall and

us all, in regard of the danger we suspected they should fall into.

The thirtieth, Master Jourdaine and Master Fraine were sent to Surat, to agree for some more Indian Clothes, as also to urge the putting off of some of our Commodities. The same day the Generall received a Letter from Captaine Haukins at Cambaya, signifying that his determination was with all his houshold to take his passage to Goa, and from thence to England; But Sir Henry Middleton conceiting, if hee once get to Goa, his goods would stop his passage to England, if not shorten his life, by the same Messenger did most earnestly and friendly advise him to the contrarie, and invited him to take his passage with us into England: also our people at Surat informed the Generall that Mockrib Chan made shew to bee willing that wee should leave a Factorie for venting of the remayne of our Commodities: which kept us sometime in hope, but afterwards vanisht by inconstancie.

The eight of Januarie, Nicholas Uphlet came downe from Cambaya, with Letters from Captaine Haukins to the Generall, certifying him that by reason of his former Letter, hee determined to come downe to our shippes, and take his passage with us. *January* 8.

The sixe and twentieth, Captaine Sharpeigh, Master Fraine, Captaine Hawkins with all his goods and Family, and the rest (Nicholas Uphlet excepted) came downe, whom the Generall with a Troupe of some two hundred men, went some three mile up into the Land to meete and guard them from the Portugalls, whose Armie was not fare off. *Capt. Hawkins.*

The seven and twentieth, the Generall sent John Williams to Surat, to know their resolutions for leaving a Factory there.

The nine and twentieth, John Williams returned with an absolute denyall of having any further dealing with our Nation, but were all commanded to bee gone out of Surat, not permitting them to stay to receive Debts there owing them: wherefore they sent to know the Generals

pleasure, whether they should presently come downe, or use meanes to delay the time, to see whether their determination therein would alter.

The thirtieth, Sir Henry Middleton writ to our people at Surat, speedily to repaire downe to our ships.

The one and thirtieth, according to the Generals direction, all our people came downe from Surat with all their goods.

February, 6. The sixth of February, there passed by towards Cambaya, a great Caphala, or Fleet of neere five hundred saile of Portugall Frigats.

The ninth in the morning, upon the top of a high water, the Admirall warped out over the Barre, and anchored in the Offing. This day about noone came downe from Cambaya, Nicholas Uphlet, Captaine Haukins servant, whom they had left behind in pawne, as afore-said, for whom we stayed since the last of Januarie, what time our Merchants were expelled Surat. This day in the evening we set saile, and went out over the Barre, and anchored in eight fathome, some mile in the Offing thereof, neere unto the Admirall.

[I. iii. 302.]

§. V.

Their departure to Dabull, Socatora, the Red-sea, and Acts there.

WE departed the ninth, having continued heere the space of an hundred and thirtie eight dayes, in which we sustayned many and sundry abuses by delayes, breach of promises, with-holding the Countrey people from trading with us, and having exchanged a few Commodities at very hard and unprofitable Rates, with-holding further trade, disappointing us of setling a Factorie, with-holding some debts formerly, and commanding our Merchants out of their Towne, and our ships to be gone. The cause moving them to hasten us away (as we afterwards understood) grew thus at the instant of their conference, whether fit for them to permit us to

leave a Factorie, to vent the rest of our goods brought for that place there or no; was delivered into the hands of Mockrib Chan a Letter from Dangie, a Bannian in Cambaya, by the instigation of the Jesuites there; advising them, that if they gave place to the English in Surat, the Portugals would come with force, and burne all their Sea Townes, and make spoile of all the ships they should send abroad, the contents whereof was applauded of most; all agreeing it to be their best course, and thereupon dismist our people, as aforesaid.

The threatnings of the Portugals.

This Road of Swally within the Bar lyeth in twentie degrees, fiftie five minutes North latitude, the variation in sixteene degrees and fortie minutes Westerly, wee found the water highed more on the full Moone spring then on the change, by foure foot: the one beeing foure and twentie foot, the other twentie, the night tydes higher then the day tyde by three foot, according as the wind blew, the Coast or Strand within the Barre lyeth neerest South and North by the Compasse, which the variation allowed is North by East, and halfe East, and South by West halfe West, also at West South-west halfe South, and East North-east halfe North, the Moone makes a full Sea.

Observations of the Tides, &c. at Swally

The tenth, the Generall stayd to dispatch his businesse with Jaddow and Narran the Brokers: also we tooke out of a Frigat bound to the Rehemy at Goga, certaine Candies of Rice and Pitch, giving them Bils to be paid at Surat by two men, who were indebted to Captaine Hawkins account.

The eleventh, in the morning at sixe a clocke at high water wee set saile, and at two in the afternoone we anchored in the South Road at the Barre foot of Surat, by a new ship called the Hassany, bound with the Rehemy unto the Red-Sea: also we tooke out of another Frigat certaine Charcole, assigning them to be paid at Surat in manner aforesaid.

They depart from Surat.

The fourteenth, at one of the clocke in the morning we met with a Banke, whereon wee had from sixteene to thirteene fathomes, and suddenly againe to twentie and

twenty two fathomes, after which we haled up by a wind West by South some three leagues: from sixe a clocke in the morning to noone South South-east some nine leagues, the wind at North, our depths twentie, nineteene, seventeene, and sixteene fathomes, what time wee were some tenne leagues off the Land West-wards in North latitude, nineteene degrees, thirtie seven minutes. At one a clocke we past by three Mallaber ships bound for Surat, laden with Cayro (or stuffe to make Ropes) & Coco Nuts, who there rid in fourteene fathome, nine leagues off from the land to spend the ebbe, and South-east from seven other ships neere in towards the mountaines, from noone to mid-night, we went South South-east some five leagues, the most part of this night being calme.

The fifteenth to noone South South-east sixe leagues, the wind Northerly a very easie gale: this night we heard divers great Ordnance shoot off ashoare: this night our passage hath beene in fifteene, thirteene, and twelve fathome, this land is mountainous mixt with divers Vallies like harbours or entries. Our latitude at noone was nineteene degrees, foure minutes. At Sunne-set, wee were three leagues off the shore, our passage in betweene twelve and sixe fathome. From noone to mid-night our course was South by East eleven leagues, the winde Northerly.

The sixteenth to noone South by East twelve houres, eleven leagues, the wind Northerly, the land high and full of harbor like Bayes all alongst in fine shoalding in five fathome, and foure miles of the land, and nine fathome three leagues of our latitude eighteene degrees, one minute. This day at Sun-setting we anchored in seven
Dabull. fathome thwart of the Barre of Dabull, to which Towne the General went in hope to sel some of his English Commodities, or (as it were) to shoot another Arrow after divers formerly lost.

The seventeenth, in the morning, the Generall in the Frigat went in neere the Barre to discover the depths and so aboord againe, which was five fathome very neere the South point of the entrance, but very little further North-

wards towards the middle of the entrance but two fathome: the latitude of this South point is seventeene degrees, thirtie foure minutes, the variation is fifteene degrees thirtie foure minutes. *Latitude*, 17. 34. *Variation* 15. 34.

This day about noone came off two Boates from the Governour, the one with a present, which was three Bullockes, certaine Sheepe, Plantans, Bread, and water Millions: in the other Boate came the Messengers, which were sent to know what we were, and our businesse, though they before did imagine who we were, partly by our acquaintance with them at Moha, as also their hearing of our being at Surat. The Message, according to the Indian manner, was delivered with many complements and promise of all friendship, and further that they would buy our goods for money, and give us Indico, Cloth and Pepper for the same, (which was more then we could expect, or they had order to grant) for what Indico they had with Cloth and Pepper was presently to be imployed in their owne ships now bound for the Red Sea; upon these kind promises the Generall sent Merchants ashoare both with a present to the Governour, and with Mustres of English Clothes, and other of our Commodities: but of all, except some little Broadcloth and Kersies of our best colours, as Stammels, Poppinjay greene, and other light colours, and lead in barres, we could sell none: for our Red Lead, the Governour bought and sent it aboard againe: and somewhat after the manner we found at Surat, the Governour dealt double with us; granting free leave to sell, yet under-hand had men in waite to restrayne or beate away such as came to buy; so that no man buying made his owne price, for what hee desired to buy: for Corne and other provision and water to be brought aboard for money, wee had with all favour, and at last we had a Cable of eighteene inches, and ninetie sixe fathome of the Countrey stuffe, worth eight pound sterling, for one of the Darlings Anchors. Now, whether such kindnesse as we received were out of their good disposition to strangers, or not, it is hard to judge, they having presently blowne [I. iii. 303.]

Dabull, double dealing.

abroad and informed at Moha, that we endeavour to right what wrongs any should impose upon us, and therefore might seeme to make the best shewes unto us.

The sixe and twentieth, in the after-noone, besides divers Mallaber Merchants ships which anchored by us, we saw also in the Offing a great Ship and Frigat, to whom, two houres before night the Generall sent off the Darling to bring in the said ship: but doubting the missing of her by night, as also the smalnesse of his force to command her, when night came sent off mee also in the Pepper-Corne, with his Frigat well manned to attend upon mee in regard of the Frigat in her companie. About mid-night, though very darke, I gat sight of her riding at Anchor, sending our Frigat to the other running away, and the great ship getting sight of us, was come to saile, but being commanded to strike saile, did it, also their Captaine and Principals to come aboard me, he sent a Souldier and two more in a Canoa, who excused the Captaine to be aged and unweldie, and that their great Boat was so pestered with lading, that they could not row her; wherefore, though unwillingly, I was forced to send my owne Pinnasse for some of the principall Merchants and Souldiers, but with such streight direction to my Cock-swaine, that upon paine of great punishment he should permit none to goe into her, to the end to prevent spoyle. I intended Sir Henry Middleton should be the first Englishman should enter her: meane-while our Frigat with the other which they had taken, returned to us, and to my griefe gave knowledge that they killed one of the Portugals in flying. Now having divers of their men aboard me, I gave direction to stand in for Dabull: but by reason of their ill sterage, which we imputed to be done of purpose, and for that with all our sayles wee could not fetch them up beeing gotten a little a-head us, and fearing they might mend their sayling, and get from us, I caused them to be called unto to take in their sayles, and anchored till day, which directions given and our Anchors readie to let fall, I departed into my Cabin to examine some of the Portugals,

Portugall ship.

what their ship was laden withall: meane-while my Master pretended to doubt whether the shippe were anchored or no, without any order or knowledge sent my Pinnasse aboard, wherein went one of his mates, more greedie of pray then carefull of credit, who did not onely goe into the ship, but there fell to rifling, who though often called made no haste away, till his owne pleasure was fulfilled. Against whose comming aboard, I caused Thomas Glenham, John Staughten, George Cockam and Robert Mico the Purser, to bee readie at the Ladder with a Lanthorne and Candle to search them one by one (in the Portugals sight aboard our ship) and turned them out of the Boate: which being done, and the things throwne into the Boats sterne by Thomas Glenham, John Staughten, and Robert Mico, I sent againe aboard the Portugall ships, willing the Purser to tel them aboard if there were any thing else wanting, they that had beene aboard without my direction should make it good: but by reason that Thomas Love, George Jeff and Matthew Bragge, three Masters Mates of the Admirall lately dead, the Frigat was now commanded by one Terrie a servant to Giles Thornton, who before our Boat gat aboard againe, notwithstanding they were commanded to the contrarie, went aboard with our Frigat, whereas, like disgoverned pilfering people, they runne all into the ship, not forbearing to breake open Chests, tumble into the Frigat, and make spoyle of all things that liked them, forbearing no ill language to such as I had sent to restraine them. But the evill being done, it was too late to undoe it: and though it bred in me much trouble and present discontent; yet I used the best meanes I had left to cure the same, which was, I desired William Pemberton who with the Darling came newly to us, to make the more haste into the Road, and to informe the Generall of our peoples misbehaviour, to the end before they should have meanes to convey away or remove the same care, might bea taken for bringing off all things to light, which the Generall no sooner understood, but at one a clocke when we all anchored by him,

Unrulinesse in Mariners, when Prey is present.

[I. iii. 304.]

commanded both the Frigats wherein our people were, to anchor of and none of them to come aboard him; and Sir Henry Middleton and my selfe with the Captaine, and Merchants of the Portugall ship, went first to our owne Frigat, and then to the Frigat newly taken where our people were, and had every one narrowly searcht, and all things taken from them, and they turned one by one out, as they were searcht, of all what was found belonging to the Frigat was there left, and then our small Frigat was by our Pinnasse towed aboard the Portugall ship, where all the rest was delivered for the use of such to whom it belonged. This ship belonged to Cochin, called the Saint Nicholas, of burthen some three hundred tunnes, the Captaines name being bound to Chaull, their lading confest, was principally dryed Coco Nuts, some Tinne, blacke Sugar, and Racka Nuts, ten Fats of China Dishes, certaine Bags of Allome, and some small quantitie of China Dishes, and some Cayro, or bast Ropes. We made all inquisition possible for their bils of lading, but none they would bee knowne of, which put us to great trouble to find out, the little we had from them, which were certaine bals of China raw silke, some small quantitie of Cloves, and some few Cannastres, and three Chests of Cinamon, and some Waxe to make us Candles: all which was as it were but a mite in comparison of the dammages done us by the Portugalls.

A Portugall ship of 300. tunnes taken.

The Frigat belonged to Chaull and bound to Ormus, of burthen sixtie tunnes, her lading, Rice and Tamarin, out of whom we tooke bagges of Rice for our provision: this businesse continued us in doing every day somewhat till the first of March. By this Frigat the Generall dispatcht away all such Portugalls as came to him from the Armie at Surat, to wit Lorenzo de Campo, and his consort, the fellow taken in the Frigat and the two Boyes, that came away from their Masters, giving them money in their Purses, according to their severall qualitie, besides the apparell formerly made for either of them unto the Merchant, that ought the most part of the

Silke, the Generall gave a fine Broad-cloth, and to the Captaine of the Frigat, from whom wee tooke the Rice, a fine Kersie. Also this day the Governour sent to give the Generall knowledge, that the next day or night following the great Caphala, which past by us the sixth of February afore-said, towards Cambaya, would either the next day or night following againe passe by towards Goa: which howsoever they past either by night or day we saw them not.

The fourth, the fore-said businesse being effected, the Generall called us all to consultation what was best to be done, shewing his desire to goe to the Barre of Goa, there to demand of the Vice-Roy restitution of our wrongs done to us and our Nation by the Portugalls, to the end if that he refused to doe it, we might the better have warrant, to right our selves upon any Portugalls, which by our endevours wee might meete withall; which demand of the most was thought reasonable, but not fit in regard of the shortnesse of time, and varietie of delayes, and treacherous plots we were to expect, to our further abusing; wherefore it was concluded and agreed upon, for that the time not yet serving to go to the Southwards about the Cape Commerin; Againe, to returne to the Red-Sea in this vacant time to see, if we can get away these goods lying upon our hands, in a manner holden for lost, to recover some of our former losses from the subjects of the great Mogoll; as also to crosse the Turkes at Moha and Aden, for the mischiefe they have formerly done us, and principally for to rescue, defend or recover that ship sent out by the Companie, the yeare after our comming out, which wee heard of from Masulipatan, which we have great doubt of, lest she be fallen into like mishap as we did in the Red-Sea, but for that this day the wind served not to set saile, we deferred it to the fift day in the morning. *Consultation.*

The fifth, at sixe a clocke in the morning, we all set saile from Dabull standing away North North-west alongst the Coast, the Generall wishing to see the shippe of *They depart from Dabull to returne to the Red-Sea againe.*

Cochin, neere unto her Harbor of Chaull, cleere of danger by the Mallabars their enemies, and at Sun-set we anchored in seven fathome, some league distant from the land, distant from Dabull some sixe leagues, and short of Chaull some nine leagues, the wind at South, and so veering to the West-wards.

From the Coast of India to Socatora, wee this time daily found our ship further to the South-wards, then by our course we could expect, and especially when we were thwart of the Gulfe, or entrance of Sinus Persicus, which I imagined to be some current setting thence to the South-wards.

The twentieth of March, the Generall despeeded away William Pemberton (in the Darling) before to Socatora, to inquire of our ship bound for the Red-Sea and India, which wee heard of from Masulipatan.

The foure and twentieth, at tenne a clocke in the morning wee descryed land bearing West South-west, some eight leagues distant, being the Easter end of Socatora, being high land, having foure white cliffes or sand hils, the Norther part whereof by reason of the hazinesse wee could not discerne.

The Easter end of Socatora.

The five and twentieth of March, at Sunne-setting, the point of Delisha bore South-east foure leagues distant.

The sixe and twentieth at five a clocke in the morning it fell calme, and the current setting North-ward upon the rocke, whereby we were forced to anchor in foure and twentie fathome water, on the South South-east side of the rocke (which is Saboyna) some halfe a mile distant; at this rocke is great store of fish. Betweene nine and ten a clocke, we againe set saile, standing away Westwards of Cape Guardafui, the wind being at South.

[I. iii. 305.]

The rocke Saboyna.

The seven and twentieth, about foure a clocke in the morning, the rockes Northwards of Abba del Curia, thence distant some three leagues and a halfe, bore North of us some halfe a mile off, which is by estimation twentie leagues West by South, from the Wester point of Socatora: our depthes we there found was sixteene, seventeene and

eighteene fathome; day being come, wee saw the Iland of Abba del Curia.

The eight and twentieth in the morning, at sixe a clocke, the Cape Guardafui bore South-east seven leagues distant, and Mount Fœlix West halfe a point Southerly nine leagues: wee came within foure mile of the land, and the depthes fortie, nine and thirtie, thirtie, seven and twentie, three and twentie, one and twentie, eighteene and fifteene fathome, and about three afternoone, in a fret of wind at East North-east, wee anchored in rough ground in seven fathome a mile and halfe Westwards from Mount Fœlix; all which Coast the Generall coasted along in his Frigat, and tooke in, and brought along three of the Countrie people, which he gave letters unto, to be delivered unto the Darling, if shee came heere after our departure, and so put them a shoare: they informed the Generall, that foure dayes since there passed by towards the Red-sea foure Indian ships. *March.*

The nine and twentieth in the morning, the Generall sent letters to other people on land, to be delivered to the Darling: the countrie people brought downe to our men to sell, some store of sheepe, small Goats, with some small frailes of Olibanum and gumme Arabick, all which they had at reasonable rates; the people still taking us to be Mahumetans, and not Christians, or (as they call them) Franges, whom they favour not, so the Boat returning aboord about noone, the Generall thought good no longer to stay for the Darling; wherefore we set saile, standing away towards Aden in Arabia Fœlix. At foure a clocke in the after-noone Mount Fœlix bore East by South halfe a degree South, some eight leagues distant.

Franges. The Westerne Christians in the Easterne world are since that Expedition of Godfrey of Bullen, called Frankes, because the principall of that armie were French in Nation or original.

From noone the thirtieth day, to one a clocke in the morning, the one and thirtieth day, thirteene houres, North-west eighteen leagues, the wind at North North-east; this day after-noone we descried the land of Arabia Fœlix.

The one and thirtieth in the morning, at one a clocke, being neare the land, we cast about to the Southwards, to

spend time till day; at five a clocke in the morning, wee cast about againe North-west to landwards: from sixe a clocke in the morning to sixe after-noone twelve houres, we stood alongst the Coast West by South, and West South-west thirteene leagues, alwayes keeping within five mile of the land, in depthes betweene eighteene and thirtie fathom, from sixe a clocke to midnight, sixe houres West South-west sixe leagues.

Aprill 1. The first of Aprill, from midnight till sixe a clocke, West by South, halfe South five leagues, at which time, by estimation, we were eighteene leagues short of Aden: This day the Generall sent for me, Master Lawse and Master Fowler, to conferre of our separation: at length it was concluded, that I in the Pepper-Corne should continue neare, or before the Towne of Aden, to keepe that no Indian ship should arrive or stay there, but to put them by towards the Red-sea, and to that end I received a direction or commission from my Generall, who was with all expedition with the Trades-Increase to repaire to the Bab, or doore of the Red-sea, both for safetie of the Companies ship, whereof we had intelligence from Masulipatan, to be following our tract, both to the Red-sea and India, even into the mouthes of the Wolves, which by Gods mercy we have escaped, as also there at once to take revenge, both of the Turkes, and subjects of the great Mogoll, for the wrongs done to our King and Countrie.

The second, from midnight to sixe a clocke, West South-west three leagues, little wind at East; about eight a clocke in the morning, what time we should have been separated, some eight leagues Eastward of Aden, we found at an anchor the Darling, who had got before us, by reason of our lingering for her foure dayes, who had done their businesse at Socatora, and were againe departed thence, before we past it, and gate a day before us, by the Saboyna, Abba del Curia, and Mount Fœlix, where we lingered for them: they brought from thence the copie of a letter left with the King, by Captaine John Saris,

Generall Saris.

Commander of the ships of our Indian Company, to wit, the Clove, the Hector, and the Thomas, signifying, that notwithstanding by Sir Henry Middletons letter, he understood of the villanies there done to us, he with his said ships was gone into the Red-sea. Immediatly the Generall with the Trades-Increase and Darling, departed towards the Bab, leaving me in the Pepper-Corne at an anchor, some eight leagues Eastwards of Aden, according to former determination.

The third at one a clocke in the morning, we set saile, and stood to the Southwards, the better to discover, and so all the day under saile, we kept up to windwards of Aden: in the morning we saw three saile bound for Aden, but stood away from us, that wee could not come neare them all night, for that it blew hard, we did not anchor, but lay a hull to trie our drift, which I found in ten houres to be three leagues, so running further in: and the fourth day morning, about seven a clocke, I anchored in twelve fathome, some league or foure mile from the Towne of Aden. [I. iii. 306.]

The twelfth in the morning, a little after midnight, we set saile to crosse her, and at day-light we descried her riding at an anchor some three mile Southward of us, with whom presently we trimmed our sailes to stand withall, and she presently was under saile, and stood in with Aden. Betweene nine and ten a clocke, by shooting off a Peece at them, they came roome, and strucke their top-sailes, and sent in their Boat to us: they told us they were of Callicut, and bound to Aden, and their ship belonged to the Samorin, or King of Callicut, from whence they had beene fortie dayes in comming, they came neare Socatora, and toucht at Mount Fœlix, where they saw the Generals letter left there for the Darling, where also they saw a ship of Dabull, which came from Achin. The Nohuda of this ship is called Abraham Abba Zeinda, their ships Cargazon, according to their information was as followeth: Tamerick three tunnes, Rice three and twentie hundred kintals, Jagara or bowne Sugar forty bahars, Cardaminus

A ship of Callicut.

seven bahars, Ginger drie foure kintals and an halfe, Pepper a tun and a halfe, Cotton one and thirtie packs, each pack containing five or six maunds; shee had in her threescore and fifteene persons, for the uses following: twentie to bale water, and other businesse below, eight for the Helme, foure for top and yard, and other businesse aloft; twentie Boyes for dressing severall mens victuals; the rest Merchants and Pilgrims: this ship was of burthen an hundred and fortie tunnes: thus having to the utmost examined them, and they being of a place, whose Inhabitants never wronged our Nation; therefore without diminishing any part of their goods, but only, with their good wills, two tunnes of water for our need, and so I dismist them; though to the great disturbance of their mindes, when by no meanes I would permit them to goe into Aden to make sale of their commodities; which if they did once attempt, I threatned them I would sinke their ship, and leave only their Boat to save their lives; yet their unwillingnesse to depart made mee adde many more threatnings, that if they hastened not away before I see any other saile to give chase unto, I must then be forced to sinke their ship, to be sure to keepe them from the Turkes our enemies: whereby they put themselves to saile, and stood somewhat off the land, but to lee-wards; so to our disturbance, wee all day and night kept off and on under saile, for feare lest in the night they should slippe into Aden.

Note that any ship wee heere saw, before wee could come to speake with them, there hath been advise sent from the Governor of the Towne to informe them of us; and when we had the Mallabar under command, the Governor sent a Boat aboord with divers Arabs, and two Turkes souldiers of the Towne, which had formerly been instruments to Abdraheman Aga, to bind and torture our men then in their hands, which now seeing the men they used ill, brought them in no small doubt what their usage now should be, as their guiltie conscience pricked them, whom I suppose came as spies to see what wee did, brought some

fruit to sell: at the first sight of our men, whom they knew, they would faine have put off their Boat and been gone, but I would not permit them; causing them to be put in mind of their behaviour formerly towards our *Aprill.* people in their hand, and when without any evill speech given them, I thought them sufficiently by their own minds terrified, I caused to be told them, that they should see how far our Nation differeth from the rigour of injurious Turkes, which most cruelly handled our men without offence, whom by all faire promises they betrayed; and that I yet knowing them to have exercised their forces in abusing my men, yet notwithstanding I would without discurtesie or harme, dismisse or send them away; who presently departed, with many promises the next day to bring us more refreshing: the next morning they sent us a boat with good fish, and promising to come anon with better provisions, which they were providing: but by reason of my setting saile, and standing off, to put the Malabar to lee-ward towards the Red-sea, I was too farre for them to row unto me, which ship, if shee had stayed, might have been occasion that the Aga might have permitted them to performe their promises to us.

The fourteenth in the morning, the wind at East, wee *A ship of Pormean.* discried another ship of like burthen, bound also for Aden, which about ten a clocke we forced to anchor: I sent aboord to search her, and to bring away some of her men, while I caused my Boat to bee hoysed out; understanding they were of Pormean, a Towne not farre from Cuttsnagone, being tributaries to the great Mogoll, who despised our King, and abused our Nation; the Nohuda being a Bannian, I with this ship being at an anchor some two miles from Aden, our enemies, and finding by the Mallabars working the day before, that if any other saile, of never so much importance, should approch this place, before I could finish my businesse with this, I must either leave the one or the other to their owne will; for which respect I was more carefull to send to search what shee had in her, by my owne people, then to examine them

Our men unlade this ship.

belonging to her, what was in her. So with great labour in romaging before the darknesse of the night over-tooke us, we had out of her fourteene packes of course Duttie, of sixe corges a packe; and sixe and thirtie Ballets, containing some six and thirtie corges of Dutties course; one small Ballet of Candekins mill (or small blew pieces of Callico) with some thirtie or more Bastas white, a little Butter and Lamp-oyle, which was all fit for us, yet discovered the rest of her loading, being packes of Cotton-
[I. iii. 307.] wooll, as we tearme it, which the next day we thought further to examine. This day Maharim Aga of Aden, sent me a present of Henne-egges, Limes and Plantans, which I would not looke at, as to receive as a Present, but by the messenger I sent the Aga word, that the varitie of injuries done unto my friends and Nation heere the last yeere, hath constrained my present approach, to do my Nation and my selfe what right I may, to the disturbance of the Turkes. And as my comming hither was not to deserve any favour from them; so my meaning was to forbeare to receive any of their dissembling curtesies: for since they cut our throats when we came to them in friendship, what may we expect from them now, when we come in hate and dispight of the Turkes of all these parts: but in regard it was sent, my people should give them for their owne use, so much as the things were worth; also there came aboord a fisher-boat, bringing good store of fresh-fish, which I caused to be bought for our suppers,

Feare of poysoning.

alwayes making the bringer to eate part of what hee brought.

The sixe and twentieth in the morning, we discried a saile to the Southwards of Aden, plying to the Eastwards, to whom in the after-noone I sent my Pinnasse, which brought her in neare unto us, shee being a Jelba of Shaher bound home, laden with Graine and other commodities, as Opium and others, also divers Pilgrims from Mecca were passengers in her bound home.

The seven and twentieth in the morning, we saw a Jelba plying to the Eastwards betweene us and the shoare,

wherefore I sent my Pinnasse to fetch her off, whom I found to bee the same Jelba of Shaher, that had passed by us the seventeenth and two and twentieth of this present, as aforesaid: of them for a triall we bought nine pound and a halfe of Opium, and so againe dismist them.

The eight and twentieth in the morning, we set saile, plying off and on to windwards of Aden, with the wind at East. The nine and twentieth, still under saile, as aforesaid in the after-noone, we discried two sailes standing towards Aden, unto whom in the evening I sent off my Pinnasse well mand, to bring them in neare unto the ship, which by foure a clocke the thirtieth day was effected; they both belonged to a place on the Abaxin Coast, called Bander Zeada, the one of them laden only with Mats; the other with some Mats, and threescore and eight sheepe with great rumpes, which we bought of them, and so dismist them, who presently set saile and went in unto Aden, the wind at East South-East, East and North-east.

Bander Zeada a place on the Abaxin Coast.

The eighth, with an easie gale of wind at North-east by East, we continued, plying towards the Bab. At tenne a clocke, we discried the land on the Abaxin Coast side, which at first shewed like an Iland, but approaching a little neerer, we plainly perceived it to be the maine land: from thence we steered away North-west towards the Bab, which by estimation was some tenne leagues distant, which at neere foure in the afternoone we discried, where wee lay lingering off and on to spend the night. Day light appearing, we stood in towards the Bab, where in the entrance of the Bab, we discried a small saile a sterne of us, comming into the straight; wherefore I strucke my top-sailes to stay for her, and sent off my Pinnasse to her, who comming up with us againe, brought the Nohuda and Malim aboord, whom I examined, and found them to bee subjects to the great Mogol; they belonged to a place called Larree, situate at the mouth of the River of Zinde: with them I luft up into a bay on the East side, and anchored in seven fathome; I sending my Merchants to search what she was laden with, who found divers packs

May.

A ship of Larree standing at the mouth of the river of Zinde.

and fardels of cloath, packs and fardels of seedes of divers sorts, leather, jarres of Butter, and oyle (whereof some they eate, and some they burne in lamps) a great quantitie: and since for want of water, she having many Passengers, I could not fitly keepe her with me, being uncertaine of wind I resolved to take out of her the likeliest packs of Indian Cloath to serve for our turnes, with some Butter and Oyle for our needfull uses, as by the Pursers and Factors notes appeare, and so dispeeded them to Moha. Into which businesse before we could well make an entrie, about three a clocke in the afternoone, I discried opening the East land of the straights, a ship of two hundred Tunnes; and immediately following her an huge saile, whose maine yard was fortie three yards long. At sight of which ship (they being very neere before the land permitted me to see them) by what time I had gotten my people aboord, five onely excepted, which I left armed to keepe the ship of Larree, had gotten up my anchor, and was come to saile; but the great shippe though short of me, yet beeing in a good streame, and a fresh gale, and I in a Bay had a eddy and faint gale, she got an end, & had somewhat over-reacht me before I could come to crosse them, so that I was brought to a sterne chase, and being come neere her, by her masts and tops wee knew her to be the Mahomedy of Dabull our friend, which we could expect no good by; yet knowing the pride of the Captaine, I would very gladly have commanded over him, for that he would never, neither formerly in the Road of Moha, nor yet at Dabull come to visit Sir Henry Middleton, but I found he reacht from me, wherefore I gave them one shot and stood with the other ship, who seeing us stand with the great shippe strucke a Hull thinking to lose us by the darknesse of the night now approaching: I tooke her to be a ship of Diu, but when we came to them, they told us they were of Cuts-nagone, a place not farre from the river of Zinde, her lading Cotton-wool, some few packs of Indian cloth, some Butter and Oyle: having gotten some of her principall men aboord me, I caused

A ship of 200. Tunnes.

The Mahamody of Dabul.

A ship of Cuts-nagone, a place not farre from Zinde.

them to edge up with me into shoale water on the Arab Coast, where by lights I endeavoured to find out my five men in the Larree ship; and at midnight we anchored in twelve fathome, foure leagues within the Bab; where the [I. iii. 308.] next two dayes we tooke out of the Larree ship, sixtie sixe fardels of Indian Cloath (which for that we were otherwise furnished for all our English Commodities, and needed it not, was redelivered to them againe, with part of the Butter and Oyle; onely eight Corges of Bastas, for which they had content.) These things beeing taken out, I put into them the Passengers and Pilgrims of the Cotton ship, they using their best diligence as the wind would permit them to hasten to Moha, I sending by them a letter to Sir Henry Middleton, if they should finde him in the Roade: but before they departed, we seeing a Jelba comming from the Bab, and for that the wind was not good, they sent away their Canoa, rowing before, and hastning to us, who informed me, his Jelba belonged to Bender Zeada, a Towne on the Abaxin Coast, halfe a dayes journey Westward from Bender Cassum, who was bound to Moha with his Boat full of Mats, who going a land as he passed the Bab, was told by one that had a letter for me, that my Countrey-men whom I looked for were gone to Assab, with eight or nine Indian ships, but he that had the letter would not send it by him, expecting a reward, if by the wind I should be put backe to the Bab. I now knowing where my Generall was, this afternoone set saile; but the wind not favouring me we anchored againe.

§. VI.

Their barter with the Indian ships, and departure to Sumatra.

THe next day in the morning, S. Henry Middleton sent Giles Thorneton his Master, to certifie me how glad he was of my comming; and to let me know that he had at command all the desired ships of India, as the Rehemy of burthen fifteene hundred tunnes, *The Rehemy a ship of 1500. Tunnes.*

the Hassany of sixe hundred, the Mahumady of one hundred and fiftie tunnes of Surat, the Sallamitæ of foure hundred and fiftie tunnes, the Cadree of two hundred tunnes, the Azum Cany, the Sabandar of Moha his ship of two hundred tunnes all of Diu, besides three Mallabar ships; the Cadree of Dabul of foure hundred tunnes, and a great ship of Cananor. He further informed me, that before I could get into the Road, the Generall with all the pride of his people, and Captaine Saris with his people, would be gone on shoare to receive the King of Rahita, who was come with his Nobilitie and Guard, to see and visit the Generall, and new come Generall. The day beeing neere spent, S. Henry Middleton and Captain Saris left the King in his Tent, and went aboord the Trades-increase to supper, where I understood of a contract made betweene them first at the Bab, wherein it was agreed, here to put off all our English goods, for such Indian wares, as by mutuall consent of certaine of the Merchants of both sides should be thought fit.

Captaine Saris.

Neere about that time, as I was also informed, there came from the Governour of Moha to Sir Henry Middleton, to capitulate of peace, Mammy Captaine of the Gallies, and others, who demanded what was the summe that in satisfaction he required: Sir Henry Middleton neere the proportion of the last yeares demand, required one hundred thousand Rialls of eight; which knowne, they desired respite to send to Zenan, to know the pleasure and resolution of Jessor Basha therein; and then he should heare from them againe, and so tooke their leave. By Sir Henry Middletons direction, the Darling was in preparing with a small Cargazon of Indian cloaths to be gone for Tecoa.

The nineteenth, the Darling departed towards Tecoa. Also Captaine Saris prepared the Thomas to follow the Darling to Tecoa; who also departed the three and twentieth day. This day also Sir Henry Middleton dismissed a ship of Diu (called the Azumcany) belonging to Shermall Sabander of Moha.

The thirtieth, a generall meeting was aboord the Trades-increase at dinner, where Captaine Saris and Captaine Towerson were invited, for the further conference of our present businesse. At noone there came over from Moha the Sabander of Moha, Mammy Captaine of the Gallies, and an Aga, they all appointed by the Basha, to conferre with Sir Henrie Middleton about an agreement, for satisfaction of our former abuses, the summe whereof they demaunded of Sir Henrie Middleton, who as formerly required one hundred thousand Ryals of eight, and seeing nothing to be abated thereof, they desired leave to have conference with the Nohudas, or Captaines of the Indian ships, and other principall Merchants (which was graunted) which as it seemed was to trie what customes they could augment upon the Indian goods, towards payment of the said summe: so they departed on shoare, where they had prepared for them a faire Tent: but divers of the Nohudas, in regard of former injuries, either forbore conference, or with-stood their augmentation, which seeing by no meanes to be accomplished, they tooke leave of Sir Henry Middleton, promising so soone as they had answer from the Basha, they would give him knowledge thereof, and what therein they may doe: and so againe the ninth of June they departed toward Moha. All this time our people were employed in romaging, opening, packing, and repacking of Indian cloaths fit for our turnes, giving them of our English commodities in liew thereof.

June.

The eleventh, Sir Henry Middleton with the Trades-increase, and Captain Saris with the Clove and Hector, departed the road of Assab, carrying with them in company towards Moha all the Indian ships. But I with the Pepper-corne remained in the roade, with a small shippe called the Jungo, into whom I re-delivered all the goods that I had formerly taken out of her, the ninth and tenth of May.

July.
They depart from Assab road.
[I. iii. 309.]
A small ship called the Jungo.

The twelfth, at three of the clocke in the morning, we both set saile, following our Admirall and the rest towards Moha; but the wind being adverse, together with a lee-

tide, we were forced to anchor neere three leagues to the Lee-ward of the Road. The thirteenth, at nine of the clocke in the morning, the wind and tide somewhat favourable, we all weighed, and stood up with the Roade, where about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we anchored.

The nineteenth, Sir Henry Middleton perceiving that the Turkes intended nothing but delaies, further to abuse us, who now in our owne view laboured in unlading of a ship of Cuts-nagone, laden with Cotton, which Sir Henry Middleton determined to hinder, till such time as the Turkes should have made agreement with him for his wrongs sustained, and therefore came aboord the Peppercorne, by whose direction I warped in neerer unto them, discharging at them divers peeces of Ordnance, till they ceased their labour. Also all this weeke following they kept us in hand with delayes, but made no agreement at all.

The sixe and twentieth, Sir Henry Middleton, and Captaine Saris appointed a meeting aboord the Mahumody of Dabul, where all the Nohudas of the Indian ships being sent for, S. Henry Middleton (as often times before) related unto them the wrongs and damages sustained from the Turkes, with whom (till he received satisfaction from them for the same) hee could in no wise permit them to trade. But notwithstanding he had already quited himselfe for the injuries sustained in India; yet must also now be forced to carrie out of this Sea with him, all the Indian ships, that this yeere by them the Turkes may receive no benefit. But the Indians seeing that by reason of the Turkes abuses and delayes, it was likely to proove unto them an unprofitable Monson, though their departure would be much prejudicial to the Turks without trading with them, by reason of the losse of their Customes; yet rather then to carry backe againe their Indian Commodities, they desired to make a composition with Sir Henry Middleton and Captaine Saris, every ship severally to pay a certaine summe of money, and we to forbeare to hinder their quiet trade. Upon this proffer made by the Indians,

Sir Henry Middleton after good consideration, having no meanes to force satisfaction from the Turkes, without further prejudicing of the Indians, and therefore at present determined to accept of their offer, still leaving the satisfaction due from the Turkes, till future time. And to begin withall, composition was this day made with Meere Mahumet Tackey, Nohuda of the Rehemy, for fifteene thousand Rials of eight, she being in value neere equall to the other foure ships.

August. Captain Towerson departeth from the Red Sea. Generall Saris departeth from the Red Sea. They leave the Red Sea, and coasting the East India, passe by Cape Comorin, Zelan, and so to Sumatra.

The sixth of August, composition being made with all the Indian ships, and their severall summes in part received, Captaine Saris dispeeded away his Vice-Admirall, Captaine Towerson in the Hector, who this day departed the Red Sea. The thirteenth, Captaine Saris having received all moneyes due to him by composition from the Indians, departed the Red Sea.

The sixteenth, at eight of the clocke in the morning, we set saile with the Trades-increase, and Pepper-corne, and about nine a clocke at night, we anchored eight leagues short of the Bab, in seven fathome water. The seventeenth, at five of the clocke in the morning, wee set saile with little wind; and at two of the clocke afternoone, we againe passed the streight of Bab-mandel; and from thence at sixe of the clocke, we were East South-east seven leagues: from sixe a clocke to tenne a clocke the eighteenth day, we lay becalmed, so that her way was not to be regarded: from tenne a clocke to Sun-set, East-wards some three leagues, and before seven a clocke, we anchored in one and twentie fathome, two miles from the Coast of Arabia, thwart of the East end of the great Mountaine, and seventeene leagues from the Bab.

The nineteenth, at sun-setting, the said Mountaine bore North-West by West, some eight leagues distant. All this night, and the twentieth after noone, the winds so variable, that wee were alwaies trimming of our sailes from tacke to tacke: so that betweene the disadvantage of the winds, and the Current together, we were set so farre backe west-wards, as brought the said Mountaine North

North-west of us againe. At eleven a clocke, the wind came at West a fresh gale, and at Sunne-set the high land of Aden bore North-east by East eight leagues off. All this night following, we had very little wind and variable, so that the one and twentieth at Sun-rising, we perceived our selves lost, at least two leagues west-ward. From Sun-rising till noone, we had a small gale of wind, increasing stronger and stronger at South-west, and South-west by South: so that I esteemed to have gone East South-east some nine leagues. At Sun-set, Aden bore North North-east seven leagues off, by a meridian Compasse. All this night was in a manner calme, from foure a clocke in the morning to Sun-set, being foure and twentie houres I estimate to have gone some fifteene leagues, at which time Aden bore North-west halfe North distant five leagues, being cleare weather.

The three and twentieth we descried the Abaxin Coast beeing fifteene leagues distant, and cleare weather. The *Force of a Current.* sixe and twentieth, we found such a Current, that though we lie up North-east by East, North-east or North North-east, we made our way all Easterly, being carried to the South-ward by force of the Current. The nine and [I. iii. 310.] twentieth, we againe descried land, which for the highnesse we at first esteemed to be the land of Cape Guardafui, but the clouds clearing up from the tops of the hils, we plainely perceived it to be the same land seene yesterday, whereby we the better understood how the Current had abused us, which by my estimate setteth neerest South-west.

From the thirtieth in the morning, to the one and thirtieth at noone, wee found that the Current had set us to the North-ward of our course from the last day at noone, what time our latitude was twelve degrees and thirtie five minutes, to the first of September at noone, the wind at South East-wards, and not to have runne above twelve leagues, and by our latitude being thirteene degrees thirty minutes, we find our selves almost a degree differing to the North-wards, and also to have lost to the West-wards, as by the variation appeareth, beeing lesse by fiftie

five minutes, by reason whereof I estimate the Current there to set neerest North-East.

The second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth dayes, wee had all for the most part close weather. The tenth and eleventh cloudy weather, with often showers of raine. The twelfth, we saw divers snakes swimming on the toppe of the water, which in boysterous weather sildome appeare, yet an apparent signe of beeing neere the coast of India. The thirteenth we also saw more snakes. This day we had sounding from fiftie five to fortie fathome. *September.* *Snakes swimming on the top of the water, a signe of being neere the Coast of India.*

The foureteenth in the morning, at Sun-rising we discryed high land, bearing East by North some sixteene leagues, we stood in East by South till foure a clocke afternoone, till the neerest sea-coast land betweene us and the high land, bore East eight leagues off, what time we directed our course South alongst the Coast of India, wee found the water for the most part muddy and thicke, and some sudden spots of cleere: our depth while we stood in East and by South were from thirtie to twentie fathome; and in our South course edging into sixteene fathome, and so to five and twentie fathome.

The fifteenth, we still kept at the like depths, having a gentle gale at North North-west, and cleere water, but no snakes appeared. The sixeteenth, running alongst the Coast of India or Mallabar, betweene twentie and sixteene fathome; about one a clocke we were West from an high hill of especiall note, which stretcheth out like a point into the Sea, having all low land to Sea-wards; on the North-side, the land fell away to the East-wards, and on the South-side maketh a Bay; the highest of this Sea-coast Mountaine, standeth neerest in twelve degrees ten minutes, which should be the land of Magicilan.

The seventeenth, the wind came opposite to us at South-west, at two a clocke in the morning, with thicke weather, and much raine, continuing till day-light, wee on a Lee-shoare, and an unknowne Coast, what time the wind veered up to the North-wards, and we edged off into deeper

water. In this gustie time, we lost company of our Admirall, but at day-light the weather clearing up, we came together, directing our course againe to the Southward, being edged off from the land.

The eighteenth, the land beeing all foggie, was hardly to be discerned, the most part of our way this day, beeing by the helpe of the Current, our depths all this day were betweene five and twentie, and nine and twentie fathom, all Ozie ground. The nineteenth, we were some foureteene leagues distant from the Coast, the wind at South-west, faire weather, with some little drisling raine, till nine a clocke at night, no ground at fortie fathome. From nine to eleven a clocke at night, we had a very vehement showre of raine, and the wind very little Northerly, and after the raine East North-east, our depth at midnight was fortie foure fathome, beeing by estimation some tenne leagues off the land of Mallabar. The twentieth, we had faire weather, the wind very variable, our depths fortie foure and fortie five fathome all day, beeing Ozie ground. The one and twentieth, we had very little wind, variable till three a clocke afternoone, when fell abundance of raine, with the wind at North North-west, thicke weather, and fortie five fathome water. The two and twentieth in the morning at nine a clocke, we discried the Cape Commerin: and by my neerest estimation the Coast here lieth away South-east alongst unto the Cape.

Cape Commerin.

The three and twentieth, we had faire weather, and the wind at South-west by West, discrying the high land to the East-wards of the Cape Commerin, at neere five a clocke afternoone, bearing North North-west, distant eighteene leagues. The foure and twentieth, we had a very stiffe gale of wind betweene the South South-west and West, and much raine, clouds and fogge, and our course East South-east, by a reformed Compasse, at five a clocke after noon we had sight of Zeilan through the fogge, rising all full of Humocks, and bearing from the North-east by East, to the South-east by South, some sixe leagues distant. The five and twentieth, from breake of

day till noone, we were pestered with varietie of gusts and showers of raine, the wind being large, but the weather clearing up about noone, we discried the Souther-most point of Zeiland, called the Cape de Galle, bearing North North-east distant five leagues, finding the latitude thereof to bee five degrees fortie minutes. *Zeilan.*

The sixe and twentieth, seven and twentieth, and eight and twentieth, wee had faire weather, with some fewe droppings of raine, and the wind between the South-west and West South-west. The nine and twentieth and thirtieth, we continued our course East South-east, the wind constant betweene the South-west and West South-west, with very much raine, and vehement sudden gusts of short continuance, and followed with an easie steering gale. The thirtieth, in our bread roome we found much harme done to our wheat by wet; also al our course Dutties or browne Callicoes of Pormean (for sailes) put there for most securitie, wee found twentie pieces rotten. [I. iii. 311.]

The nineteenth, at three a clocke after noone, we anchored in the road of Tecoa, where wee found the Darling, who had continued there from July (unto our comming in) in a great part of the raines, which are not yet ended, they having before our comming buried three Merchants, and three Sailors, to wit, John Fowler, Francis Glanfield, and William Speed. Also they had most of their men sicke, and had gotten but little Pepper, which remaineth on the Iland, and little more is here to be had, untill the next season, which will be Aprill and May; but the civill warres is a hinderance to our trade. Here also we found the Thomas, a ship of the eighth Voyage, beeing newly come from Priaman, where they had as slender successe as our Darling here. Here wee heard of the safe returne and prosperous successe of Captaine David Middleton his Voyage; also of the foure ships of the ninth Voyage, whereof two were alreadie arrived at Bantam; also of Captaine Castleton his man of warre, who having been here lately informed of fifteene saile of Hollanders alreadie come, or neere hand, all laden with *October. Tecoa in Sumatra.* *Civill warres an hindrance to our Trade.* *Captaine Castleton.*

munition, and of two ships of New-haven in France come also to trade, all which quell the life of the present hopes of our out-tired, crost, and decayed Voyage.

Sir Henry Middleton in the Pepper-corne hasteth to Bantam.

The two and twentieth, Sir Henry Middleton finding so cold comfort at this place, departed the night following in the Pepper-corne towards Bantam, leaving me in the Trades-increase to remaine till the sixteenth of the next Moneth.

November.

Raja Boonesoo goeth to the warres.

The second of November, all the men of all sorts in Tecoa, went with Raja Boonesoo to the warres, till whose returne we can expect no businesse to be done on the maine. This day in taking up the wine, by the rottennesse of the Caske, there prooved great leakeage.

Great deceit of the Naturals.

The twentieth, we fetcht the remaine of the Pepper weighed the day before, in which by the people we found much deceit; in some bags were small bags of Paddy, in some Rice, and in some great stones: also rotten & wet Pepper put into new drie sacks, to our further abusing; yet knowing it, we have no remedie. Having gotten all things in, and our men aboord, we fitted our things to hasten away, and neere midnight in the Moone-shine, the wind at North-east of the shoare, we set saile; we wrought not onely to avoid the two knowne Rockes, three leagues from the Iland of Tecoa, the one South by West, the other South by East, having sixe and twentie fathome between them, Ozie ground: But for the better securitie, we directed our course so neere as wee could, the same way we came in; yet as we stood off, the wind something shrunke on us; yet we lay first West, then West by South, and West South-west, and last of all South-west and by West, and the Current set us somewhat South-ward, our depths proportional from foureteene to seven and twentie fathome, all Ozie ground; the next cast foure fathome,

The ship fast on a rocke.

and the ship fast on a rocke, a sterne foure fathome, and on the Star-boord mid-ship a quarter lesse then three fathomes, and under the head three fathomes, a ships length five fathome, a ships length on the Lar-boord bow sixe foot, in the Lar-boord mid-ship sixteene foote, under

the Lar-boord gallery twenty foote, and round about within a Cables length deepe water: she remained on the rocke from a little after three untill five a clocke: the mercifull God so provided, that the wind grew calme, and the sea smooth, and in our feeling, the set or motion of the ship, the place considered, was very easie; yet the water did so increase, that both our chaine Pumps with painefull labour, could not in long time free the same. But our generall endeavour, with most expedition possible, was to get out a sterne anchor, which was let fall in sixe and twentie fathome right asterne, and two thirds of a Cable out, to heave her off right asterne: wherein the gracious Lord so blessed our endeavours, that before we could with the Capstaine heave the Cable taught, the ship was of her own accord set into deepe water, which no sooner done, but we had a Westerly gust, which put us off some mile from the rocke, where we anchored for our Boat, which brought our Cadger after us, and it being cleare day, we could not discerne where the rocke stood: also a principall reason we anchored was, our exceeding desires and haste for Bantam, that without necessitie enforced, I wished not to put backe againe, and wast more time, hoping our leake would easily be over-come at an anchor. I past the day till two a clocke, consulting and advising with such as with their best counsell are appointed to assist me, what was best to be done, our present estate considered, which we find divers wayes to rest dangerous: First, in regard of the leakenesse of our ship, which continually imployes many people at once to keepe downe the water. Secondly, in a manner no provision of Iron-work for the chaines, but that the Pumps presently employed, which often break, or for weakenes slip to our great discomfort: for if they should be any long while in mending, and the water so increase, that we cannot reach under the Pumpe to ceve the chaines, our worke will soone draw neere an end. Thirdly, the desperate carelesnesse of many of our people, in the greatest neede considered, their faint weakenesse and inabilitie to hold out labour (by course diet as they

They get off the rocke.

pretend.) Fourthly, to remember what is certaine in the ship, which requires care to preserve it. Fiftly, Captaine Sharpeighs mis-fortunes, and the lewd demeanours of his [I. iii. 312.] people, in like case of greatest need, too late to bee forgotten. The dangers in proceeding diversly cast up (notwithstanding, at the first, divers of our men did urge the same) by counsell reasonable for the safegard of all, I *They returne to Tecoa.* made choice to returne within the Iland of Tecoa, there by Gods helpe to endeavour the stopping of such a part of our leake, as we found to be in the fashioning pieces in the sterne. At Sun-set we anchored in the place, which for our turnes we desired. This day long time we kept both our chaine pumps going to free the water, which ever increased when the chaines happened to breake, which happened often; the two pumpes employes at once twelve men, which labour indeed is so extreame, that it can but little while, without shifting of spells be continued; but the water once brought low, and the chaine holding one pumpe at once, hath ever discharged it, and yet it tires all our people by often shifting: in which businesse, I found it required more then ordinary meanes to appease their discontented clamours and murmurings, if the place might have affoorded.

The two and twentieth, three and twentieth, and foure and twentieth, we laboured to land Indico, Cinamom and other things, still making way to lighten the sterne of the ship, where we know the leake is, but we cannot come to it.

December. Untill the eight of December, we were thus employed in the amending of our leakes: which done, we set saile from Tecoa, and with our Boats a head, we gate over the Barre, having foure fathome at a low water, and being without the Iland, by the helpe of a fine breach at North North-east, North North-west and North-west, as the Sunne grew high, both dullerd and shrunk upon us; so that wee lay but South South-west, and South by West, and by estimation came neare the rocke we had formerly sate upon, we used great diligence with Boats a head, but

could discerne no shew of it, the sea being smooth; we stood away to the Southwards, South by West and South, from Sun-set, to Sun-rising the ninth day, with a small gale, at North-west by West, we stood away South-west by South ten leagues, and the wind at West North-west and West, at which instant we discried some part of a great Iland bearing South Westerly, at which time we steered away South; this night we had much raine in gusts, with thunder and lightning, the wind very fickle, shrinking to the South-west, and South South-west, which stayed not long; then to the South-east, East South-east and East, and againe to the South-east; in which time to Sun-rising we had sailed about some eight leagues. Also that part of the Iland, the last night seene, now beareth South-east distant eight leagues, also Eastward wee see the high land of the maine of Sumatra, neare twentie leagues, at noone in two degrees and eleven minutes South latitude; and the Northermost part of these Ilands are from the sound we came through, between the Wester Iles South-east distant nine leagues: it was the twentieth day before they arrived at Pulupanian.

The high land of the Maine of Sumatra.

The Pepper-corne being fitted there, Sir Henry Middleton called a Councell to advise touching the late harmes which the Trades-Increase, had received upon the rocke: by which Councell it was resolved, that shee must of necessitie bee new strengthened and careend, before shee could well returne home; which requiring long time, whereby shee could not goe home this yeere, it was concluded that the Pepper-Corne should immediatly be dispatched for England, to give some satisfaction unto the Adventurers, untill the Trades-Increase might follow. The Pepper-Corne being laden on the fourth of February, set saile from thence for England, leaving Sir Henry Middleton with the Trades-Increase behind. We arrived on the tenth of May in the Road of Saldanie, where I hoped to have found all the shippes formerly departed homewards: but comming into the Road, I only found the Hector and Thomas, two ships of the eight Voyage,

The Road of Saldania.

Hector and Thomas.

and Captaine Newport in the Expedition of the twelfth Voyage. Heere we continued but foure dayes; where, with the helpe of Captaine Newport his men and Coopers, wee had taken in all our water, and the fourteenth day at night ended our labour therein.

Captaine Newport.

The fifteenth having watered (but no whit refreshed our weak people yet, to keepe company with the Hector and Thomas homewards) at nine a clocke in the morning we set saile with the wind all Southerly: but being out, we were much pestered with opposite wind, wherby we were driven to the Southwards. This night we kept company with the Hector and Thomas (the Expedition being gotten about the Cape Bona Speranza, determining their course towards the confines of Persia, to some place where they might in safetie land Sir Robert Sherly and his Persian Lady, and Sir Thomas Powell with his English Ladie, who were bound into Persia,) Also the next day we were all in company together; but toward evening the Thomas became farre a sterne, but the Hector with loftie saile bore away. This night, by what meanes I know not, they lost our company, which by all meanes we againe endeavoured to get: and for that by standing to the Southwards, we knew they could not run us out of sight; yet we thought against all reason to stand in upon a lee-shoare, stood into the land-wards to seek to discover them, but not seeing them, we lingred in for them untill the nineteenth day Sun-rising, in which time we were employed in repairing our weake and decayed sailes. This day at Sun-rising, Saldania bore South-east halfe a degree East distant seventeene leagues, the weather being cloudie and darke. The twentieth, one and twentieth and two and twentieth daies, cloudie, dark and overcast weather.

June.

[I. iii. 313.]

Two Carricks.

The sixt of June, as we came about the North-east point, opening the Road, and being luffed in, having our anchors readie to let fall, we discried two Carrickes in the Roade, whose neighbourhood was not to my content, neither durst I trust to anchor by them, in regard of their accustomed treachery: I stood off againe by a wind, a while to deliber-

ate what to doe, and thinking to stand in againe, to trie whether they would be gone, which if they were readie, I supposed they would thinke we had more company neare-hand: but we found the Current set us so fast to the lee-ward, that we could hardly recover the Road at two a clocke in the after-noone: seeing no other remedie, wee bore up the helme, and stood on our course for England, our hopes being frustrated both of refreshing our weake sicke people, and also of further staying to regaine the company of the Hector and Thomas. The fifteenth and sixteenth, we had divers showers of raine. The eighteenth, we crost the Equinoctiall line.

They Crosse the Equinoctiall.

The tenth of September, we had a very strong gale of wind and an hollow sea, and not able to get any part of the South-coast of England, wee stood on our course North-east, in hope to fetch Milford-Haven in Wales, the sooner to send letters to the Company.

Septemb.

The eleventh, at five a clocke in the after-noone, we discried the Coast of Wales to windward, and the Coast of Ireland lee-wards, being an high hill betweene Waxford and Waterford. This night we spent with our head to the Southwards; and in the morning we stood in towards the Irish Coast: resolving now, the winds being constantly adverse, and impossible to fetch Milford-Haven, and our meanes allowing no longer deliberation, I determined to goe into Waterford rather then into any other harbour.

The thirteenth in the morning, we discried the Tower of Whooke, the only marke for the river of Waterford, being some three leagues distant from it: at eight a clocke we discried a small Boat comming forth of the river of Waterford, unto whom we made a waft, which they perceiving, presently came unto us, being a Frenchman bound to Waxford, whom I hired to goe againe into the river, before to give knowledge of our comming unto the Lieutenant of the Fort of Don Canon, to prevent our stopping there, for that by reason of the narrownesse of Channell, it might endanger the ship in winding up at an anchor there; and at noone wee gate up into the river

They arrive at Waterford in Ireland.

so high as the passage. Heere we found Master Stephen Bonner of Lime, with his Barque, come hither a fishing, who putting apart his owne businesse, with great diligence endeavoured the best for the ease and reliefe of our weake and sicke people.

The eighteenth, I dispeeded away Master Bonner towards London with letters to the Company, to give knowledge of our arrivall, and of our wants, wherein I desired to be supplyed.

The one and twentieth, Doctor Lancaster, Bishop of Waterford, very kindly visited me, bringing downe with him his good cheere, and made a Sermon aboord the shippe, and offered mee the Communion; but thereto being unprepared I refused; yet heartily thanking him for his good will.

The tenth, Captaine John Burrell came unto me to visite me, promising me money to supply my wants, if I would send some man with him to Corcke for it. The eleventh day, I dispeeded away Master Mullineux with Captaine Burrell to Corcke for the money, which he promised to supply me withall.

The twelfth, Anthony Stratford Lieutenant of the Fort of Don Canon, having hired a villanous fellow (whom for his misdemeanour I had caused to be kept in the prison of Waterford) to say what might befit his present practise, to bring us within the compasse of Piracie, having obtained a warrant from the Earle of Ormond, came to the passage, where hee sent to desire mee to send my Boat well manned, to fetch himselfe and divers other Gentlemen aboord to see my ship: but my Boat, according to his desire, being come to land, hee apprehended my men, and presently came aboord, where he arrested me and my ship for Piracie, and so committed mee to the Fort of Don Canon to prison, giving extraordinary straite charge over me, that none should come at me, but whom he list, without warrant from him; and such as by his permission came to me, he would have put to their oathes to declare what conference they had with me; my man sworne to bring

no letters from me to any one, neither from any to me: also divers of my people they this night examined upon their oathes, omitting no meanes to draw them to accuse me, so I continued in prison till the sixteenth day morning, what time the said Stratford brought me a letter from Sir Laurence Esmond his Captaine, inviting me to meet him at the passage, with whom when I came up to the passage, I there met with Sir Laurence Esmond, accompanied with the Bishop of Waterford, came from the Earle of Ormond, to replace mee in my charge againe, which by their great intreatie and perswasion I againe undertooke.

The three and twentieth, Master Mulleneux having sent my letters to the Company, to give knowledge of the afore mentioned troublesome businesse, returned from Corke with money to supply my wants.

The five and twentieth, Master Benjamin Joseph, in a small ship of Bristoll, came unto me, bringing with him both men, money, and provisions for my supply, which with all speed wee tooke in, hastening to be gone.

The sixt of October, wee departed the River of Waterford towards our long desired home. *October.*

The twelfth in the morning, we were thwart of Beachy, and at eight a clocke at night, wee anchored in Dover Road. [I. iii. 314.]

The thirteenth in the morning, we set saile out of Dover Road, and at ten a clocke wee anchore in the Downes, neare unto the Assurance (the Kings ship) saluting her with five peeces of Ordnance; immediatly came aboord of me, Master Cocket, the Master of her, who againe made stay of my ship, till further order from the Lord Admirall: upon this I presently sent away Master Mullineux to London, with letters to certifie the Company hereof.

The seventeenth, came downe from the Company, Master Adersly, bringing me a letter from the Company, a release for the ship; and Master Punniat a Pilot, to bring her about. The eighteenth in the morning, wee set saile, and at sixe a clocke at night, wee anchored in the

Road of Gorend. The nineteenth in the morhing, at sixe a clocke we set saile, and at night we anchored at Tilbury. The twentieth in the morning, we set saile, and at ten a clocke wee anchored at Blackwall: where in the afternoone came downe Master Deputy, and divers of the Committies, unto whom I delivered up my charge. And so concluded this our tedious and out-tyring journey.

Chap. XIII.

The seventh Voyage; made in the Globe into East-India, set out under the Command of Captaine Anthony Hippon, observed and written by Nathaniel Marten, Masters Mate in the said Shippe.

WEe weighed from the Black-wall, in the good shippe called the Globe, being bound for the East-Indies, the third of January 1610. and about five of the clocke we anchored at Graves-end.

They arrived at Soldania, the one and twentieth of May 1611, and thence set saile the sixt of June following. They sailed not farre from Mosambique, and Comoro, and Pemba: and on the last of July passed before Punta de Galle, upon Ceilon (all which as being a meere maine relation, and the like course oft runne by others, is omitted.)

August 4. The fourth of August in the morning, I observed the variation, and made it to bee thirteene degrees, seven minutes, and at noone we were in the latitude of nine degrees fifteene minutes, and the land was about sixe leagues off, and as much as wee could see it on the poope, the wind veered North by West, and the North North-west, and we stood in three houres, and then sounded, being about three leagues off the shoare, and had nine fathome, and the land then bore West North-west to the Northwards, and South the other way, and we judged the

land to lye Northwest, or North-west by North. At three of the clocke wee cast about, and stood to the Northward, and the wind veered to the West, and West South-west, and we lay as neare as we could till five of the clocke. The sixt, we kept our selves in eight and twentie and thirtie fathome, and then the wind scanted and veered to the West North-west, so the water deepened presently.

The sixt in the morning, we perceived our selves to be in a great Current by the rippling, and we sent off our Pinnasse to come to an anchor, and we found the Current to set North by West, and we made our way from foure of the clocke in the after-noone, the fift till noone, the sixt North North-west, and ran seventeene leagues, and then we were in the latitude of ten degrees, and one and thirtie minutes, and from noone till two of the clocke wee steered away North-west; and then we saw divers Fishermen hard by, so we looked out at top-mast head, and saw land West North-west and North-west, and so we ran in, and then we were in twenty fathom about eight leagues off; and as we ranne in, the water shoalded easily, and at three of the clocke wee saw a Tower or Pagod, and a ship that bore North-west of us, and then the great Pagod of Negapatan and the ship, were one in another, and then wee ran in, till we came into eight fathom North-west, and then we were about two leagues off the ship, and three leagues off the shoare. *Negapatan.*

From sixe of the clocke at night the sixt, till seven at noone, we steered away North by East, and so kept alwayes betweene twelve and fourteene fathom, and ran sixteene leagues, and were in the latitude of eleven degrees, seven and fiftie minutes.

From the seventh till the eight at noone, wee steered away North by East, and ranne about twentie leagues by judgement, and then we were thwart of the high land, up in the Countrey, that rose in hammocks. This day we tooke the Boat of S. Thome. The ninth at noone, the Towne of Majiapor bore North North-west two leagues off, and the marke to know the Towne, is the high hill up

in the countrey. There is a shoale about two leagues to
Paleacate. the Southward of Paleacate, which lyeth about a mile or more from the shoare, and the North-east end of it lyeth off about a league: we ran over the very end in three
[I. iii. 315.] fathom, but if you keepe in ten or twelve fathome, you shall not need to feare any part of it. The ninth at foure a clocke, we anchored against the Towne, and it bore West by North off us; there is a crosse to the Northward of the Town, which if you be betweene two or three miles of the shoare you see it, but you cannot see the Towne.

The tenth in the morning, we weighed and stood further to the Northward, and anchored in eight fathom (we not liking our former Road) and then the Crosse bore West by South of us, when the Westermost point bore West by North, and the Northermost point bore Northwest. The tenth at noone, Master Browne and Master Floris went ashoare (there comming a Boat from the Governour for them) but they went in our Skiffe, and as they were going over the Barre, the Skiffe was sunke, but
Paleacate standeth in thirteene degrees, thirty minutes. never a man drowned, God be blessed: Paleacate standeth in thirteene degrees and thirtie minutes.

The thirteenth, I observed the variation, and made it to bee one degree and fifteene minutes, upon the semicircle. The fifteenth, Master Anthony Hippon, our Captaine, went ashoare to speake with the Governesse. The sixteenth, the Captaine and all the Merchants came aboord, because they could get no trade.

The sixteenth at ten of the clocke, we set saile for
Petepoly. Petepoly, and from ten till the seventeenth at noone, we ran about thirteene leagues, and were in the latitude of fourteene degrees and fifteene minutes, and made our way North by East. From the seventeenth to the eighteenth, we ran, by my judgement, about three and twentie leagues, and made the way North, but it was sad weather, and we could not observe. About seven of the clocke in the morning the eighteenth, we spied a Galliot, riding in seven fathom, some foure miles off the shoare, and shee road till wee were almost within Sacker shot of her, and

then shee weighed and ran into shoale water into the shoare, but we stood not after her, because the water shoalded, and at that time we saw a breach, some two leagues off the shoare to my judgement, and whereas we steered away North North-east, wee steered away East North-east, and East by North, but had no deepe water till wee brought the breach, North North-west of us, & when we saw it first, it bore North by East of us.

From the eighteenth at noone, till five of the clocke in the after-noone, wee steered away North-east by East, partly because wee would runne into deeper water, and partly because the land grew out more Easterly, and at five of the clocke we made a tuft of trees that is neare Petepoly, and it bore North-east by East of us sixe leagues off, and then is the high land to the North-westward of the Towne, which did then beare North by West off us, and at seven of the clocke we anchored in nine fathom, the trees bearing North-east and by East of us five leagues off, and the wind Westerly.

The nineteenth in the morning, by five of the clocke, we weighed and stood with the trees, and about nine of the clocke we anchored about two leagues short of them in five fathom, and the trees bore East North-east of us, and then presently there came aboord two Gingathas or Boats: our Merchants sent them ashoare with a letter; and about two of the clocke there came another, and a messenger from the Sabandar, who the twentieth day did send aboord two Boats for our Merchants, and brought a Present, and then went ashoare Master Floris, Master Lucas, Master Essington, and Adam Dounton, and the Pursers Mate, and Lemon. *They land at Petepoly.*

The one and twentieth about eight of the clocke, there came a Gingatha from the shoare, and brought a letter from our Merchants, who did let us understand that they were kindly entertained, and presently we weighed with the wind at North North-west, and ran off and anchored almost thwart of the Rivers mouth, and about three of the clocke in the after-noone, wee weighed and anchored in

the Road, where the tuske of trees bore North-east by East Easterly; and we did anchor in nine fathom and a halfe: the marke to goe in over the barre, is a Palmito tree, on the bancke, upon the Northermost end of the high cliffe, it is but a little tree. I observed the variation, and made it to be twelve degrees, seven and twentie minutes.

The eight and twentieth, Master Floris came aboord, and Simon Evans, about twelve of the clocke: and about foure of the clocke, we weighed for Masulipatan, with the wind at South-west, and wee steered off into eight and nine fathom South South-east, and then wee bore up South-east, and South-east by East, and kept our selves in nine and ten fathom till eleven of the clocke at night, and then the wind veered to the East, and East South-east; so wee anchored in nine fathom, till five of the clocke in the morning.

The nine and twentieth in the morning, about five of the clocke, we weighed with the wind at South South-west, and steered away East South-east, and East North-east, and North-east; and at noone the uttermost part of the land bore North of us: so by my judgement, the land Eastward from Petepoly lyeth East and by South, and West by North: and at noone wee came into white water off the point, and it shoalded a little before wee came into it halfe a fathom, but when we were in it, we had the same depth sixe fathom three leagues off: about two of the clocke in the after-noone, the wind veered Northerly, so wee came to an anchor in seven fathom: about five of the clocke, we weighed, and stood in North North-west, and North-west by North, till seven of the clocke, and being calme, wee anchored in five fathom, the Westermost land bore West North-west Westerly, and we saw two ships which bore North Westerly and North-west, and the Norther-most land bore North.

[I. iii. 316.] *Masulipatan.* The thirtieth, about one of the clocke wee weighed, and stood in for the Road Masulipatan, which bore North of us, and we never had above five, and foure and a halfe

all the way: so about five of the clocke, we anchored in three fathom and a foote; and the great tree which is the marke for the Road, bore West by North Westerly of us, and the Southermost land bore South and by West Southerly of us, and the Northermost bore North-east Easterly of us.

The one and thirtieth, Master Floris, Master Hessington, Simon Evans, Cuthbert Whitfield, and Arthur Smith, went ashoare to stay there in our Skiffe.

The eight and twentieth of December, I observed the variation, and made it to be twelve degrees, two and twentie minutes. *Decemb.* 28.

The thirtieth, we weighed from Masulipatan about seven of the clocke in the morning, with the wind at North-east by East, and we halde it off South-east and South-east by South, till we came into eighteene fathom. At noone the point that bore South by West Southerly off us, was West and by North, by the Compasse, and then I observed, and made it to be in fifteene degrees seven and fiftie minutes, and at eight of the clocke at night wee anchored in sixe fathome and an halfe. *The point of Masulipatan is in* 15. *degrees,* 57. *minutes North.*

The fourth of January, I observed at noone, and made the Roade to be in fifteene degrees, sixe and thirtie minutes. *January* 4.

The five and twentieth and the sixe and twentieth, wee observed the Sunne and certaine Starres, by the Sunne we made the Towne of Petepoli to be in fifteene degrees, nine and fortie minutes: the Starre called the Ships-sterne, we had in one and twenty degrees, nine and twenty minutes; the foot of the Crosiers twelve degrees, foure and fiftie minutes, and the flanke of the Centaur, in fifteene degrees, two and thirty minutes, the foot in fourteene degrees, one and fortie minutes, the wind at South-east, and South South-east.

The seventh of February, the Merchants came aboord and carryed all the luggage quite away, the wind at South South-east night and day. *February* 7.

The eleventh of February, we weighed out of Petepoly Roade, having the wind at North North-west about sixe *They depart out of the road of Petepoli.*

of the clocke in the morning, and stood off South South-east, but verie little wind, and the current set to the North-east, and we anchored in five fathom and an halfe, it being calme, we having runne off about a mile and an halfe, and the wind came off the Sea all Southerly.

The twelfth, about nine of the clocke in the morning, we weighed with the wind at South-east, and South-east and by East, and we haled off South South-west, and South by West, and South-west as the wind would give us leave, till three of the clocke in the after-noone, and then we anchord in nine fathome water, with the wind at South and South and by East, and made our way South-west and by South, sixe leagues out of the Road by my judgement, and the high land bore West halfe a point Southerly: in the Road it bore West halfe a point Northerly.

They strike over from Petepoli to Bantam in Java.

The fourteenth, about foure of the clock in the morning, we weighed with the wind at South South-west, and stood away South-east, and South-east and by South, as the wind would give us leave: At noone the Palmito Trees bore North halfe a point Easterly, about sixe leagues off, or seven, and we ranne in ten fathome.

March 12. From the twentieth of March, at noone till the one and twentieth, we had very little wind Easterly and calme: we made our way South South-west by my judgement, and ranne seven leagues, and at noone were in the latitude of two degrees, sixe and twentie minutes, at night we observed the variation, and had it in thirteene degrees, fiftie seven minutes on the Semicircle, and the amplitude was foure degrees, twentie seven minutes, which being subtracted to thirteen degrees, fiftie seven minutes, makes the variation to be nine degrees, twentie five minutes.

From the one and twentieth at noone, till the two and twentieth at noone we had the wind all Northerly, we steered away South and ran fifteene leagues by the logge, and then wee were in the latitude of one degree, thirtie foure minutes: at night, I observed the variation and

made it to be ten degrees ten minutes, which did prove a great current to the West-ward. *A great current to the West-ward.*

From the two and twentieth, to the three and twentieth at noone, wee had the wind variable betweene the North and the West, we had little wind and gustie weather, we steered South by East, and ran eight leagues: and at noone we observed the latitude of fiftie seven minutes, at night I observed the variation, and made it to bee ten degrees. The Magneticall Azimuth is fifteene degrees fifteene minutes; the Amplitude is five degrees, thirteene minutes. From the three and twentieth at noone till the foure and twentieth at noone, we had the wind betweene the West and South-west, we steered away South by East, and ranne three and twentie leagues by the logge, and then we were under the Line by our observation. *The Equinoctiall.*

From the foure and twentieth at noone, till the five and twentieth at noone we had the wind betweene the North North-west, and the South South-west, and we steered away South South-east, we ran by the logge one and twentie leagues, and then we were in the latitude of fiftie seven minutes to the Southward of the Line. At night I observed the variation, and made the Magneticall Azimuth to be fifteene degrees, fortie minutes. The Amplitude sixe degrees, no minutes, which made the variation to be nine degrees fortie minutes.

From the five and twentieth at noone, till the sixe and twentieth at noone wee had the wind variable betweene the North North-west, and the West South-west; wee steered South South-east, we ranne fifteene leagues by the logge, and then wee were in the latitude of one degree, thirtie minutes at night. I observed the variation, and the Magneticall Azimuth, was fifteene degrees five minutes. The Amplitude was sixe degrees, one and twentie minutes, which made the variation eight degrees, fiftie foure minutes. [I. iii. 317.] 1612.

From the one and thirtieth at noone, till the first of Aprill at noone we had the wind Southerly and very little, *Aprill* 1612.

and made our way East South-east twelve leagues, and at noone we were in the latitude of foure degrees, one minute. From the first at noone to the second at noone, wee had the wind betweene the West North-west, and South South-west, variable and gustie, wee steered away South-east by East, halfe a point Easterly: wee ranne by the logge one and twentie leagues and two thirds and then we were in the latitude of foure degrees, twentie foure minutes, we made our way twelve leagues East South-east, and ten leagues South and by East by judgement: which did agree with my Observation. In the morning they observed the variation, and had the Almicanter and Magneticall Azimuth, one degree thirtie minutes, the Amplitude eight degrees, fortie seven minutes, which made the variation to be seven degrees, twentie seven minutes. About two of the clocke in the morning, Adam Duglas departed this life. From the second at noone till the third, we had the wind betweene the North-west, and the West South-west, we steered away betweene the East South-east, and the South-east by East, but because of our latches to the South-ward, I judge that she made her way East South-east, we ranne thirtie two leagues by the logge, and then was I just with the Wester most part of the Ile of Eugano, by my reckoning.

The Ile of Eugano.

The sixe and twentieth of Aprill, about foure of the clocke in the after-noone, through the Almighties good assistance, we came to an Anchor in Bantam Road, in three and a halfe, where Puloponian bore North the bodie, and Pulotundo bore North-west by North, and Puloduo East South-east, and the Wester-most point thwart of Pulorange, bore North-west by North Northerly: the uttermost point bore East by North Northerly, and the Eastermost Iland Pulo Lima, was even joyning to the Westermost point of Java, and presently after we were at an Anchor, came aboord Master Spalding which two others, and two of them lay aboord.

They arrive in the Road of Bantam.

August. Spalding.

The one and thirtieth of May, in the after-noone about foure of the clocke, our Merchants came aboord, and

about nine of the clocke we set saile: wee steered away North North-east, with the wind at South. *They depart from Bantam for Patane and Siam.*

The first of June in the morning, the wind veered to the East-ward and so to the North-ward, very foule and gustie weather. Wee bore up and anchored under Pulotando in nineteene fathomes, halfe a league from the shoare. *June.*

About five and sixe of the clocke in the morning, we weighed with the wind at South-east, and within a heave or two we had but five fathome, and so shoalded till wee had but foure fathome, steering away North North-west, the neerest land being South-west sixe leagues off, which was a long woodie Iland, some foure miles long, of which we looked for a ledge of rockes or sand. From sixe till noone, we made our way North by West seven leagues. About eight of the clocke in the morning, I espyed Lucapara at top-mast head, about eight leagues off. *A long woodie Iland.* *Lucapara.*

The seventh in the morning, about sixe of the clocke, we weighed the wind South-west, and betweene sixe and noone we made our way North-west seven leagues, and about tenne of the clocke, we raised Mompyne North-east eight leagues off at least; and after we raised this hill, we had never lesse then ten fathome, keeping the shoalding of Sumatra. *Mompyne.*

The ninth in the morning, about five of the clocke, we weighed with the wind at South-east by South, and steered away North-west by North, & so Northerly as the Coast did lye: but we never came neerer the point of Mompyne, then three leagues and an halfe, or foure leagues, because of a ledge of rockes that lyeth two leagues of the Easter-most point of Sumatra, beeing the seventh point of the Straights: and these ledge of rockes beare East and West one of another. We had no sooner weighed, but the water deepened to eight, nine, tenne, and so to foureteene fathomes. When you have Mompyne South-east of you, then are you cleere of the rockes. At noone I observed with my quadrant, and made her to

be in one degree, thirtie nine minutes, and then Mompyne bore South-east Easterly of us.

The tenth, about three of the clocke in the morning, we espyed an Iland that bore North Northwest three leagues.

They passe the Equinoctiall Line to the North.

From noone till sixe of the clocke at night, we made our way North halfe a point Easterly sixe leagues: and from sixe till noone the eleventh, wee made our way North eighteene leagues, and wee were in the latitude of one degree to the Northward, having two Ilands, the Southermost bore South-west by West of us seven leagues off, and the Northermost bore West-ward South-west seven leagues off, and then wee had five and twentie fathomes: all the night long, we had from twentie to five and twentie fathomes. I espyed land at top-mast head, West by North twelve leagues off, which was the high land of Bintam.

This Ile of Bintam.

From noone till sixe of the clocke at night, we made our way West by North seven leagues, we had five and twentie fathome water, and then the high land of Bintam bore West South-west sixe leagues off, and there are three little Ilands at the South-east end of Bintam.

[I. iii. 318.]

The twelfth, we made our way North by East Easterly five leagues, and then we were in the latitude of one degree thirtie five minutes, having twentie sixe fathome, and the Northermost part of Bintam, West North-west tenne leagues: when foure glasses were running after noone, I espied at top-mast head an Iland that bore North-west Northerly nine leagues off.

From sixe of the clocke at night the thirteenth, till the foureteenth at noone, we to my judgment, made our way North-west by North, in regard of the Current nine leagues: tenne glasses in the night we had it calme, and drove North North-west, and we should have it deeper, and shoald a fathome at a cast, till we had but eleven fathome, and then deeper till it came to fifteene or sixteene fathome. From sixe at night, till the fifteenth at noone, we made our way by judgement North North-east,

Northerly tenne leagues; but at noone we made her to bee in foure degrees fortie eight minutes, and then we had thirtie fathome: at eight of the clocke we had an Iland bore North by West of us, five leagues off the maine, being foure miles off, and then wee had twentie sixe fathome.

This great Iland, and the Rocks, beare North by West, and South by East one of another, and are foure miles in length we perceived in the night, being calme, to have a great Current setting to the North-wards, and I judged this Iland to stand in foure degrees thirtie five minutes. *Latitude 4. degrees 35. min.* From noone til the sixth at night, we made our way North North-west halfe Northerly eight leagues, our sounding was thirtie and twentie five fathome, and then we had an other Iland bore West by North of us, not unlike the former: we had five and twentie fathome at sixe of the clocke, five or sixe leagues off the maine: the Iland lieth about one league from the maine.

From the sixteenth at noone, till the seventeenth at noone, we made our way North North-west twelve leagues, but as we were almost in the narrowest, we spied a sunken rocke in the faire way; so we fearing the worst, *A sunken rock.* having eleven fathome & one league of the maine, we haled it off North-east, and North-east by East, to get cleere of two little Ilands that are to the East-ward, and so we went to the East-ward of all. At noone we observed, and made the ship to bee in five degrees fiftie foure minutes.

From the seventeenth at noone, till the eighteenth at noone, we made our way North-west, Westerly eight leagues. From the nineteenth at noone till the twentieth, wee made our way North-west Northerly eight leagues: in the morning about seven of the clocke, I saw a little *A little rocke.* Rocke, about three leagues off at the top-mast head, and as we came up with it about noone, I went with the Skiffe to sound about it, and we had twelve fathome a stones throw off it: and when our Skiffs head was a shoare we had sixe fathomes and an halfe, up and downe by the

rock: it lieth betweene three or foure leagues of the Westermost point of the land, and beareth South-East Southerly a little; and about two leagues and a halfe from the Souther-most land, or three, we had little wind Westerly, and variable, but for the most part Northerly.

From noone the twentieth, till the one and twentieth at noone, wee made our way North-west Northerly sixe leagues, with the wind Westerly and Northerly; we were fain to anchor twice in the night, because it was calme, and the Current setting to the South-ward, wee had very faire shoaldings off, into foureteene and into seven or eight. From the one and twentieth at noone, till the two and twentieth at noone, we turned it alongst the shoare, with the wind Westerly, and then we had the low sandie point South of us two leagues off.

August. 4. They depart from Patane for Syam.

The fourth of August at night, we weighed out of Patane road, about nine of the clocke, with the wind at South South-west, and we steered away North-west, and North-west by West, North-west by North: but by my judgement, from nine till noone wee made our way North-west, halfe a point Northerly tenne leagues, and then the high land bore South-west of us in the Roade. Our depths from three, to seven, eight, and tenne fathome. From noone till sixe a clocke at night, we had tenne leagues, little wind at North-west and North and North-east, but we made our way North North-east one league: and from sixe till sixe in the morning, we made our way North North-west halfe a point Northerly eight leagues, with the wind variable and Westerly; and then we espied land that bore West North-west of us tenne leagues off.

Latitude 8. degrees 7. min.

From sixe of the clocke in the morning, till noone the sixt day, wee made our way North North-west five leagues to our judgement, and we observed, and made the ship to be in eight degrees seven minutes, and then the high land bore West and North tenne leagues off, and then we had seventeene fathome. From the sixt at noone till the seventh at noone, wee had little wind and calme, we made our way North North-west, to my judge-

ment wee could not runne above sixe leagues, but we made it to be in eight degrees three minutes. From the seventh at noone, till the eight, we had little wind, and variable round about, wee made our way North North-west eight leagues or tenne, our depths eighteene and nineteene fathome. From the eighth, to the ninth at noone, wee had little wind, and variable round about, and then we made the shippe to be in nine degrees fortie minutes; and then the Northermost great Iland bore West South-west, and the Souther-most bore South-west. In the morning we saw two Ilands.

Latitude 9. *degrees* 40. *min.*

From the ninth to the tenth at noone, we had it calme, and went little or nothing the wind Northerly, our depth one and twentie and two and twentie fathome. From the tenth to the eleventh at noone, we had little or no wind, and went two leagues North North-west, we had it Northerly and Westerly, and our depths twenty and twentie one fathomes. From the eleventh at noone to the twelfth, we had the wind variable and gusty round about, and we ran about eight leagues North by West, and the depth twenty sixe and twenty five fathome. From the twelfth at noone till the thirteenth, we made our way North by East twentie foure leagues, with the wind at South, and South South-west, and South-west, our depth twentie sixe and twentie eight fathom, seven or eight leagues off the shoare.

[I. iii. 319.]

From the thirteenth to the foureteenth, we made our way North by West sixteene leagues, the wind South-west, our depths two and twentie, and five and twentie fathomes, five or sixe leagues from the shoare. From the foureteenth to the fifteenth, wee made our way sixteene leagues North by West, with the wind Westerly, our depth nineteene, & twentie fathomes, sixe leagues off. From the fifteenth to the sixteenth at noone, we made our way North and by West tenne leagues, we had eight, nine, and tenne fathome, alongst the low land foure leagues off, then we bore up to the East, and East South-east till midnight, and for an houre wee steered away East North-

east, till we came into foure fathome, and then tooke in our sailes as fast as wee could, but presently we had but three fathome and a foote, before we could get in our sailes, so we anchored in three and a foot till the next day, and the water fell thirteene foot, and more, so that we had but sixe fathome and an halfe at low water, and then we laid out a warpe, and when she fleeted we warped into deepe water. The eighteenth we set saile, and haled it off into five fathome, where we anchored, having the Souther-most Iland South by East of us, and the Easter-most East and by South, and the Rivers mouth North of us Westerly.

They arrive at Syam.

Novemb. 1612. They depart from Syam.

The third of November, about one of the clocke in the afternoone we weighed out of the bay, where we left our men, and graved our ship, and haled it off from the West to the South South-East, to goe cleare of the Iland, and so steered away.

The fourth at noone I made the ship to be in twelve degrees thirtie three minutes, having run in these three and twentie houres, but five and twenty leagues, and to my judgement had made her way, one thing with an other counted, South by West, the wind Northerly.

On the eleventh, we arrived at Patane. He was after this at Syam againe, and againe at Patane: and made a second Voyage from Masulipatan to Bantam, 1614. and thence to England, 1615. But his Journall is so large, that I dare not expresse it. Note that he saith, that the Ile of S. Helena is an hundred leagues more to the Westward, then is laid downe in Plats.

The twentieth of August 1615. they came before the Lizard. They spent in this whole Voyage foure yeares and about eight Moneths. Their actions and exploits in this Voyage are delivered more fully by M. Floris, out of whose Journall I have taken the most remarkeable. For I thinke, these meere marine relations, are (though to some profitable) to the most tedious. For which cause I have abridged this to make way to the next, written by a Merchant of long Indian experience, and full of pleasant varietie.

Chap. XIIII.

Extracts of Peter Williamson Floris, his Journall, for the seventh Voyage, (in which he went Cape Merchant) translated out of Dutch. He arrived in England 1615. and died two Moneths after in London.

§. I.

The Voyage to Paleacatte, Petapoli, Masulipatan, Bantam, Patania, and Siam.

HAving covenanted and agreed with the Right Worshipfull the Governour and Deputy of the East-Indian Societie, we embarqued our selves in the Globe, the fift of January 1610. Stylo Angliæ, and set saile for Gravesend: the fift of February we set saile from the Downes. The one and twentieth of May 1611. wee came into Saldania Bay, where wee found three ships, and two boates came aboord us, one from Isaac le Maire, and the other from Henrike Brouwer. Much refreshing was not here to be had at this time of the yeare, by reason of great store of raine, being now their winter, the mountaines also covered with snow. Wee used great diligence in seeking of the roote Ningim, for which purpose the said two Holland ships had come thither, one being of Japan that first discovered the secret. But at this time the newe leafe began only to peepe forth, that had we not received instructions, wee could not have knowne it; the right and ripe time thereof beeing December, January and February. It is called of these Inhabitants Canna.

Saldania Bay.

Root Ningim.

[I. iii. 320.]

We having filled our water, and refreshed our selves with eight Sheepe and twentie Neat, set saile out of the Bay, leaving behind us the boat of Isaac le Maire with his sonne Jacob, who lay there to barter for hides and

Barter at the bay for hides.

skinnes, and to make traine oyle; which was to continue there till December. To him we gave letters for England. Neere Tena de Natat, June the tenth, wee were in great danger: a storme of thunder, lightning, wind and raine, almost violently thrust us on shoare; but God mercifully and powerfully gave us unexpected deliverance.

August 1. *Zelon.* The first of August, we saw the land of Ceylon falling with Punta de Galle, and running along the coast. On

Negapatan. Note falshood of Maps. the sixt we fell before Negapatan, beeing twentie eight miles (leagues) from our guessing, the Map in that place beeing very false. The like hath also happened to the Hollanders, which in the night might be very dangerous. Neither found we the Iland so broad as it is there laid. M. Mullineux layeth Punto de Galle in foure degrees, which lyeth in sixe. Towards evening we passed before the Road, and might see the Towne and houses very plainely.

Lanagapatan. The seventh, wee passed Lanagapatan, where the Hollanders having a Factorie, are wearie because of little

S. Thome. doings. On the eight, we came before Saint Thome, and

Paleacatte. on the ninth before Paleacatte, passing over the shallow being in length above a Musket shot, having but three fathome water. Here came two Boates aboord us, one from the Sabander, another from the Hollanders. The tenth, the Sabanders men brought us a Caul or conduct to come safely ashoare. Whereupon I and Master Browne went ashoare, but by the roughnesse of the Sea were turned over, yet (God be thanked) no man was drowned. The Sabander met us, compassionating our mischance and appointed us a house, promising us to procure a Letter from the King to the Governesse of Conda Maa.

Hollanders triumphing in our way. On the eleventh, John Van Wersicke the Dutch President on the Coast of Choromandell, shewed us a Caul from the King of Narsinga, Wencapati, Raja, wherein was granted, that it should not be lawfull for any that came out of Europe to trade there, but such as brought Prince Maurice his Patent, and therefore desired our departure. We answered we had Commission from his Majestie of

England, and would therefore doe what we could. Hence arose high words, which the Sabander calmed, telling of the Governesse her comming thither within three dayes.

On the seventeenth, came Conda Maa, and Captaine Hippon, comming on shoare, wee were readie to goe to her, when we received word to the contrarie, and that the next day shee would send for us. We suspected the Hollanders close dealing, and the next day sent to the Sabander (no man comming for us) who answered the King, had made grant to the Hollanders, and wee must goe to him (the dispatching of which businesse would have cost us two monethes space, and hazarded the Monson for Patane) if we would procure libertie. The Hollanders also had made readie two Elephants to send to the King. Wherefore we resolved to prosecute our Voyage for Petapoli and Masulipatan.

The twentieth, we arrived before Petapoli, and the Governour sent us a Caul. Wee agreed with him for three thirds per Centum Custome, and sent goods on shoare, resolving that Master Lucas and Master Browne should stay there: and that I should goe to Masulipatan, where was a better Road for the ship. Thither we came on the last of August, and Zaldchar Chan brought us a Caul. We agreed to send a present to Mir Sumela (a great Officer under the King, which farmeth out his Revenues) to Condapoli, in regard of the shifts of the under Officers. On the twentieth of January, deceased Cotobara King of Badaya, or Lollongana, and of Masulipatan, and great tumults were feared. But the wisdome of Mir Masunim prevented the same, presently electing Mahumad Unim Cotobara, sonne to the Brother of the deceased (who had left no children behind him) a yongman of great hope. His Uncle had put all in the hands of the Persians, but this sheweth himselfe contrarie, and an Enemie to Mir Sumela the fountaine of Tyrannie.

Petapoli.

Masulipatan.

New King.

The Governour dealt treacherously with mee, in a bargaine of Cloth and Lead for Launces; saying, he had agreed with me for foure thousand Pagodes, (intending

Governours perfidie.

by that coozenage to raise the Custome agreed at foure per Centum to twelve) alleaging for reason, that hee was a Mir, and that he was borne of Mahomets Posteritie, whose words must bee beleeved before a Christians. I not knowing how to deale with this Knave, the time not

Golconda. suffering to send to the new King at Golconda, seeing no meanes to end with friendship, resolved to practise enmitie: but at last by intercession of other Moores, we ended in a kind of agreement. Having also cleered at

Bantam. Petapoli, we having a good Monson departed for Bantam, and arrived there the sixe and twentieth of Aprill 1612. We found the Dutch readie to depart thence for Jacatra, by reason of the Governours new exactions. But we having no house there, after some contesting, agreed with him for three per Centum Custome.

Factory at Succadania in Borneo. By order of David Middleton, a Factorie was setled at Succadania, and continued by Master Spalding, but it seemeth (as things are carryed) rather to private then publike benefit.

The first of June, we set saile from Bantam, and on the

Patane. two and twentieth came into the Road of Patane, where we found the Bantam a ship of Enkhusen, of whom wee learned the manners of the Countrey. On the sixe and twentieth, we went on shoare in great state, taking with

[I. iii. 321.] us a present of about sixe hundred Rials of eight, to accompanie the Kings Letter. Wee were well received

The Kings Letter. according to the manner of the Countrey, the Letter being laid in a Bason of Gold, and carryed upon an Elephant with Minstrels, many Lances and little Flagges.

Queene of Patane. The Queenes Court was sumptuously prepared, the Letter read, and free Trade granted us, paying such duties as the Hollanders did. Wee departed from the Court without sight of the Queene, and were brought to Dato Laxmanna the Sabander and Officer appointed for Strangers, where a Banquet of Fruits was set before us: and thence to the Oran-caya Sirnona, and there also did eate something. The next day the Queene sent us meate and fruits aboord.

The third of July, departed hence a Dutch Pinnasse called the Grey-hound for Japon, the Masters Mate thereof was the same man which had brought the Letter from William Adams to the English at Bantam: by whom we sent the Companies Letters to Master Adams, which he promised to deliver with his owne hands. This otherwise wee could not have done; for those of Japon are at enmitie with this place, and have burned Patane twice within these five or sixe yeares. *July 3.* *W. Adams in Japan.* *Japanites burne Patanie.*

Much adoe we had to get leave to build a Ware-house here, fire-free, which we did hard by the Dutch-house in a place assigned us thirtie fathome in length, twentie in breadth: the House eight fathome long, and foure broad. But their demands seemed very unreasonable, amounting, besides former charges, to foure thousand Rials of eight, whereunto yet in hope of future benefit we yeelded. Sicknesse also much afflicted us, as if the plague had beene in our ship: and Captaine Hippon dyed the ninth of July. Whose Successor was nominated in the Boxe N. 1. Master Browne; but he being dead before, the Boxe N. 2. was opened, wherein Thomas Essington was named, and did succeed. Hereunto was added losse by Theeves, which like resolute Dissolutes came into the house, a Lampe burning, and stole money out of my Chest, two hundred eightie three Rials of eight, and other goods; fifteene persons sleeping in the house, and a great blacke Dogge, and Watch kept in the yard, which made suspition of some of our owne, but we could never learne any certaintie. *Death of Captaine Hippen.* *Capt. Essington.*

I and John Persons, and sixe more were left here in Factorie; and the ship departed the first of August for Syam. I would have written to Syam, of my ill Market of Lawnes, but could not send by water, and by land no lesse then foure together would travell for feare of Tygres, and many Rivers they must passe, which made their demands to passe so farre, that I was forced to waite better opportunitie. In September the King of Jor overranne the Suburbes of Pahan, burning all before him, and *The Globe at Syam.* *Tigres.* *Pan or Pahan and Campon Sina.*

likewise Campon Sina, which caused great dearth in Pahan. The cause of our want of vent here (where foure yeares before I had seene such quicknesse, as if the World would not have provided sufficient) is the Portugalls bringing to Malacca the wonted quantitie, and the Hollanders filling Bantam and the Moluccas, as also the Trade of Moores at Tanasserin and Syam, besides Tarangh a Haven new found out by Keda; the Guzerates, and another from Negapatan and we, helping to cloy the Market; so that the rumour is sufficient to keepe downe the price for ten yeares. I cannot at this present make five per Cento, which have made foure of one. Thus is mans wisdome disappointed. I resolved to send a Cargason for Maccasar, sending John Persons as Chiefe, in a Juncke of Empan, October the eight.

Maccasar in Celebes.

On the ninth, arrived two Junckes from Siam, in one of which was sent mee a Letter from Master Essington and Master Lucas of their trouble and small likelihood of sale, besides the former causes, the Countrey being filled with warres; those of Cambois, Laniam, and Jagoman, preparing against Syam.

Cambois, Laniam, & Jagoman.

The five and twentieth, departed hence the Junckes for Borneo, Jambi, Java, Maccasar, Jortan and other places, among whom was the Juncke of Orancaya Raya Indramouda for Bantam, and thence to Jortan, Amboyna, and Banda, and backe to Maccassar. I cannot imagine what the Hollanders meane to suffer these Maleysians, Chinesians, and Moores of those Countries, and to assist them in their free Trade thorow all the Indies, and forbid it their owne Servants, Countrymen and Brethren, upon paine of death and losse of goods. Surely a token of great ignorance or envie, suffering Turkes and Heathens to grow rich, rather then their owne Countreymen should get their living. Surely a great ingratitude, and a token that Gods punishment is comming upon them.

A Dutch-mans testimony of Dutch iniquitie in his owne words, as they are in the translated Copie.

November 11. The eleventh of November, the Globe arrived from Syam, having beene eight dayes in the way. They had arrived in the Road of Syam the fifteenth of August, and

cast Anchor at three fathome high water: but the next day the water ebbing thirteene houres together they had but seven foot muddie ground, and therefore not very hurtfull. They removed further off, where they had three fathome at a low water, being foure miles (leagues) from the Barre. The Towne lyeth some thirtie leagues up along the River, whether they sent newes of their arrivall. The Sabander and the Governour of Mancock (a place scituated by the River) came backe with the Messengers to receive his Majesties Letters, but chiefly for the presents expected. Captaine Essington and Master Lucas went with them to the Towne, where the seventeenth of September they came before the King, who promised free Trade, and gave every one a little golden Cup, and a little piece of clothing. The Mandorins (Officious Officers) would have interverted the Kings command for their owne covetousnesse, taking at their owne prices what they please, and paying when they are pleased with Bribes, with worse demeanure then in any other parts of the Indies (though the rest bad enough) till complaint being made to the King, they were charged not to molest them; and the goods were carried to the house which the King had assigned, being of bricke, the best in Siam, neare to that of the Hollanders. Now was the time of raines, and the countrey covered with water.

Customers Custome.

[I. iii. 322.]

The sixe and twentieth of October, arose such stormes, that old folkes had not there seene the like, renting up trees by the roots, and blowing downe the Kings monument, which hee had erected to his Father. The ship hardly escaped by the diligence of Master Skinner and Samuel Huyts, casting out a third anchor, being driven, notwithstanding her two anchors, from sixe fathome to foure, and not passing an English mile from the land. Master Skinner was beaten from the anchor-stocke, but very strangely recovered. Five men were drowned; one after the rest, whom they supposed devoured of a Whale, which they saw soone after they had seene him. This storme lasted foure or five houres, and then followed a smooth

Tempest.

Road of Siam, a safe harbour, but in a South South-west wind.

sea, as if there had beene no tempest. A tempest yet continued aboord the ship, by reason, as was reported, of the reasonlesse masterly Master, who was therefore apprehended, and Skinner placed in his roome, whereby that weather also calmed. As for their Trade, they were too much becalmed, this being the third place of Trade in all the Indies, and so farre distant from Bantam and Patane. The cause whereof is this.

Bantam Patane and Siam, three principall places of Trade.

§. II.

Relations of strange Occurrents in Pegu, Siam, Joor, Patane, and the Kingdomes adjacent.

SIam hath been a mightie Kingdome and ancient, since subdued and tributary to Pegu, which yet continued not long. For the King of Siam dying, left two sonnes, which were brought up in the Kings Court of Pegu. But flying from thence to Siam, the eldest called in the Maleyan language, Raja api, or the Fiery King, and by the Portugals the Blacke King, set up himselfe as King: against whom the King of Pegu sent his son the Prince, who was slaine in these warres, and hath beene occasion of the destruction of the whole Kingdome, and many millions of Peguan lives. For the King sore grieved for the death of his sonne, caused his chiefe Peguan Lords and Souldiers (himselfe being of the kindred of the Brama's) to bee slaine. This caused great perturbation, divers tributary Kings (whereof hee had twentie) falling daily from him: which at the last encouraged this Blacke King to make warre against him, going to the Citie of Unxa or Pegu, before which he lay some two moneths, without doing any thing; he brake up his siege and returned to Siam. But the King of Pegu not long after, because of the great dearth and death, gave over himselfe, and all his treasure, into the hands of the King of Tangu; to prevent also falling into the hands of the King of Arracan, comming against him with a mightie power. This King of Arracan easily made himselfe

See this Pegu story in my Pilgrim. lib. 5.

Kings of Tangu and Arracan sharers of Pegu.

Master of the Towne and Countrey, almost emptie and famished. Thinking to goe into Tangu: That King sent Embassadors, offering to deliver unto him certaine portions of the treasures of Pegu, the White Elephant, and the Kings daughter (both which I have seene in Arracan, Anno 1608.) as also the King of Pegu, or else to kill him (as afterwards it happened that the King of Tangu slew him with a Pilon, wherewith they stampe their Rice, as being free against any stabbing.) In this manner came this mightie Empire to ruine, so that at this day there is no remembrance of it. The King of Arracan gave the Towne or Fort of Siriangh, lying upon the same River of Pegu, in keeping to the Portugals, especially to Philip de Britto de Nicote, to whom hee gave the name of Xenga, that is, Honest, which honor Xenga did after requite, taking his sonne prisoner some three or foure yeeres after, and ransomed him at eleven hundred thousand Tangans, and ten Galeas of Rice; who yet also domineereth and careth for no bodie. *Siriangh.*

Thus by Pegu's destruction was Siam received, and hath since brought in subjection the Kingdomes of Cambaya, Lanjanh, Jagomai, Lugor, Patane, Teneserin and divers others. Anno 1605. the Blacke King deceased without issue, and left his Kingdome to his brother, called the White King, a covetous man, but enjoying his kingdomes in peace: he dyed Anno 1610. leaving divers children behind him. Hence much alteration: For lying in his death-bed, hee caused his eldest sonne to be slaine, being a yong man of great hope, at the instigation of one Jockrommeway, one of the principall Lords of Siam, who having many slaves, thought to make himselfe King. *Jeckrommeway a Traytor.*

This present King was the second sonne of the White King, who not long after dispatched that Traytor, which had amongst other slaves, two hundred and eightie Japanders. These thinking to revenge their Masters death, and to atchieve some memorable exploit, ran together to the Court of this new King, possessed themselves of King and Court (being without suspition) and *Japanders insolence.*

[I. iii. 323.] compelled him to deliver foure of the principall Nobles to be slaine, as causes of their Masters death. And having sometime used him at their pleasure, they compelled him to subscribe with his owne blood, and to give some of the chiefe Palapos or Priest for hostages, to such agreement as they propounded, and so departed with great treasure after much violence, the Siamites not being able to right themselves. Upon this occasion, the kingdomes of Cambaya and Lanjangh rebelled, as also one Banga de Laa a Peguan. And the King of Lanjangh came the last yeere into Siam, within three dayes journey of the Towne of Odija, hoping to find the Countrey still entangled with these slavish Japonian broyles. But they being departed, the King of Siam came forth to meete him, which the other durst not abide. The two other Kings are said to have joyned league to come together in Aprill, to dispossesse this yong King, being about two and twentie yeeres of age, which yet without treason of his owne, they are not likely to effect. Once, it was our hard happe to hit upon these bad times so unfitting for Trade.

Rebellion.

Oudija.

We resolved that the ship should winter here in Patanie, forced thereto by divers causes. The one and thirtieth of December, the Queene accompanied with above sixe hundred Prawes, went to sport her selfe: shee lay first at Sabrangh, where we went to salute her, having both sight and speech with her, in company of the Hollanders: Shee was a comely old woman, threescore yeeres of age, tall and full of Majestie; in all the Indies we had seene few like her. Shee had in company her Sister (which was next heire) and her yonger sisters little daughter, which hath been married to Raja Siack, brother to the King of Joor. This her sister, commonly called the yong Queene, was yet an unmaried Virgin, about sixe and fortie yeeres of age. After we had had some conference with her, shee let fall the curten, intimating thereby, that wee should depart, signifying that next day we should come againe; which wee did, and were well entertained. There were twelve women and children to dance, which I have not seene

Queene of Patanie goeth a hunting.

They had speech with her.

better performed in the Indies. Then were all the Gentilitie commanded to dance, or at least make shew thereof: which caused no small laughter. We and the Hollanders must doe likewise, and the Queene thereat rejoyced. She had not been out of her house in seven yeeres before, till this going to hunt wilde Buffes and Bulles, whereof there is great abundance. As shee passed along with her traine betwixt our house and the ship we saluted her with some Peeces from one ship, and Musket shot on shoare.

In this winter of November and December, the water, by continuall raine, was higher then had been in the memery of man, so that many beasts died, many houses were driven away, and much harme done. The five and twentieth of January, we had newes by a Dutch ship from Siam, that Master Lucas had sold more then halfe his goods, and that the King had bought a great parcell thereof: neither would he suffer the Officers to carry away the goods, with a pretext of the Kings name, without a testimoniall from the King. We had also newes from Keda, that the Portugals had come with fifteene hundred men from Saint Thome, and taken the Hollanders house in Paleacate, slaine their men, and carried away the goods. In March I sent the ship for Siam with more goods.

Great waters.

January.

Hollanders house in Paleacate taken.

The King of Pahan married the yonger sister of the Queene of Patane, whom shee having not seene in twentie eight yeeres, having requested the same by often solemne Embassies, and not obtaining; hath made stay of all the Junkes that came from Siam, Cambaya, Bordelongh, Lugor, or any other places laden with Rice for Pahan, and sent forth all her power by water, consisting of about seventie sailes, with some foure thousand men, under the command of Maha Raja, Datoe Bessar, and Orancayo Sirnora, with order to bring her sister hither, either in friendship or by force, so that Pahan shall have much to doe by reason of the great dearth, the burning of his house, Rice and barnes; as also the warres of Joor, who as is said, maketh great prepartion to goe in his owne person for

Pahan; and the King of Borneo prepareth on the other side to their succour.

In Aprill 1613. here arrived divers Juncks from Cambaya and China. In May I received letters from Siam, and good newes of sale, and of the Globes arrivall. He was busie to send a Cargason of goods for Japan. Seeing good to be done with China Commodities, I tooke up three thousand Rials of eight of the Queene at interest, for three or foure Moneths, allowing sixe per Centum to the Queene, and one per Centum to the Treasurer. We

Fires at Bantam. received ill newes from Bantam, that Campochina had twice been burnt, the great English house also full of cloath, and that of the Hollanders with great losse: of a

The Trades-Increase. great English ship at Pulo Panian much distressed, and great mortalitie. There came newes also, that the Acheners had besieged Joor.

July. July the twelfth, here arrived the King of Pahan, with his Wife the Queenes sister, and two Sonnes, much against his will, leaving his countrey in great povertie, famine, fire, and warre, having joyned conspiracie. He brought newes

Joor or Johor taken. that the Acheners had taken Joor, and carried all the Ordnance, Slaves, and other things away with them; Raja Boungson with his children were taken prisoners, and the King of Joor fled to Bintam. It was besieged nine and twentie dayes. Some Hollanders also, whose ship was then at Joor, were there taken and slaine. None of the Grandes went to entertaine this King of Pahan, onely all

Dogges killed. the dogs were killed for his sake, because he can endure none. He tooke our shooting as he passed by us in his honour very kindly, desiring us to visit him, and to trade in his Countrey.

July the sixteenth, we had newes of Captaine Saris his

[I. iii. 324.] being at Mackian, in the way to Japan: also of the death

Death of Sir Hen. Middleton. of Sir Henry Middleton on the foure and twentieth of May, as was thought by griefe for the most part, the Trades-increase lying there on ground without Mast, with three and thirtie men the greatest part sicke: the ship being sheathed on the one side, and not on the other. In

her had deceased an hundred English, and more Chineses which wrought for wages, and eight Dutch, by some strange sickenesse. Captaine Schot had taken the Castle and Iland of Solor, with great quantitie of Sandalwood. In the Moluccos also they had done much on the Spanyard, and a hot warre was likely to ensue. July the one and thirtieth, came the King of Pahan to our house with great state, making great promises of kind entertainment in his Countrey.

Solor taken by the Dutch.

August the first, the Queene sent for us to the Court, where was made a great feast in honour of the King of Pahan. There was also plaid a Comedie by women after the Javan manner, apparelled antikelike, very pleasant to behold. On the ninth, the King of Pahan departed, having been here a mocking stocke to the Patanees: but the Queenes Sister would not leave him, but returned backe with him; in liew of getting great presents, having spent almost all shee had. On the sixteenth, I received a letter from Thomas Bret at Maccasar of a bad Market, and that John Persons was fallen frantike: and that they had bought a Junke with purpose to have come away, but that in the meane time the Darling came thither, beeing full of cloathing to settle a Factorie there.

King of Pahan departed.

Wively constancie.

Maccasar in Celebes.

September the eighteenth, arrived here Raja Indra Monda, which had gone from hence, October the twentie fift: he had been at Maccasar, and thence to Banda, where hee made a good Market. He brought about two hundred sockles Mace, and a great parcell of Nutmegs. Hee brought me a letter from Richard Welden. By him I learned the State of Banda; the Generall Peter de Bot, had ministred severe justice, hanging some for sleeping in the watch, on a Gallowes hard by the Castle: which caused divers to runne to the Bandesians, and ten were turned Moores; neither could they of the Castle by any meanes recover them. Nor have they of the Castle any command at all over the Bandesians: onely they make the Junkes to ride under the Castle, as also the ships, so commanding the Sea, but not daring to give a bad word on land to

Hollanders in Banda.

R. Welden Englishman.

Banda not commanded by the Dutch.

the Bandesians. The three and twentieth, the Globe arrived from Siam, and I received a letter from M. Lucas, that he had no newes from the Cargason sent to Jagomai, because the passages were stopped by reason of the warres betweene the people of Awa and of Lanjangh. The King of Awa is said to have taken Sirjangh, and to have caused the Xenga to be slaine. The King of Siam expects him with great forces, keeping good watches on his borders. I payd the Queene her debt in gold.

Jagomai, Ava or Awa, and Lanjangh.

October the fourth, beeing the Moores first day of Lent, about eight of the clocke in the morning, arose a mightie fire in the Towne, or rather the Fort and Court of Patania; the cause was this: Datoe Besar and Datoe Laxmanna dwelling neere to each other, and beeing (except Raja Shey) the richest in Slaves of Javonians: it chanced, this Datoe Besar had been threatned by his Javonian slaves, that they would kill him, Laxmannah, Raja Sitterbangh, and others, which at last came to their eares. Whereupon Datoe Besar calling in his slaves, examined the busines, which by them was denied. Notwithstanding he caused two which were most suspected to bee bound, which the Pongonla of the slaves would not suffer, who was thereupon by the said Besar thrust through with his Cryse or Dagger. The Javonian slaves enraged hereat, had laid hold on their Lord, but that his other slaves freed him. Their furie neverthelesse slew all which came in their way, and set fire on their houses. The Javan slaves of Laxmannah, seeing their Countrey men in trouble, in sight of their Master, and in spight of his threats, came to them, set all on fire; and being in all about an hundred persons, ranne to the great gate called Punta Gorbangh, setting all on fire on both sides as they went, so that the whole Towne, except some fewe, as the Queenes Court, Orancaio Sirnora, Datoe Bandara, and the Meskita, was burned. And the Javans going alongst the streete, tooke the best bond-women that they found, along with them, and stayed till one of the clocke after dinner, domineering, none daring to come at them. Wee meane while were not without feare in our

Uproare by Javan slaves in Patania.

quarter, they threatning to fall on our house: wherefore (with the Hollanders together) we kept strong watch, sending aboord for as many armed as might bee, which came in very fit time. For they beeing landed, and things set in order, we resolved to go to visit them, and to stoppe their way; which happened even just as they were comming downwards. But understanding by their spies of our strength and comming towards them, they retired thwart to the fields, and fled to Quale bouca, and so forwards to Bordolongh, Sangora, and into the Countrey. Thus we, without harme received, got the name of Defenders of strangers. The Javans were followed afterwards to little purpose, three or foure sicke men beeing taken prisoners: what became of the rest was not knowne at our departure. This is the third time that Patania hath been burned, twice by the Japanders, and once by the Javans; a thing strange and almost incredible.

Factories left at Patania and Siam.

On the one and twentieth, we tooke our leave of the Queene, which gave to mee, and to Master Essington a golden Cryse. We left William Ebert in the house with Robert Litleword and Ralph Cooper, with letters also for M. Lucas at Siam. The same day arrived the unhoped for Hope from Johor, where arriving and going on shoare, before they could returne aboord, the Armada of Achen was before the Towne to besiege it. Wherefore they sent a letter aboord for thirtie armed men to be sent by land, and to come as high as they could in the River with the shippe to fight against the Acheners, which by reason of the shoalds they could not do high enough to hinder them, but that after twentie nine dayes the Towne was rendred by composition. Thus remained twenty three Hollanders prisoners, and twelve came aboord, where none of command were left, but the Masters mate, and one Assistant. These resolved for Patania, but encountred with a storme, were driven on the Corall ground of Borneo, and were by a larger wind put thence upon Pulo Condor. It being now impossible to recover Patania, they sought refreshing in the Warellas, where they had a good Bay, but an ill

[I. iii. 325.] *Hard haps of the Hope a Dutch ship, before mentioned.*

Kitchin, the people being their enemies. They came to Patania with eighteene men, the most lying in pitifull plight in their Cabbins. Shee brought seventie thousand Rials of eight, and twentie nine packs with Indie cloth.

§. III.

Their Voyage to Masulipatan; accidents during their long stay there, and their returne.

Iles Ridangh, Capas, Pulo Tingi.

THe next morning we set saile. The five and twentieth we were with the Southerliest Ilands of Ridangh (which are about eighteene or twentie, lying in sixe degrees) and in the Evening by the Iles of Capas, which are three little Iles, lying some thirteene leagues from the former, and two from the Continent. The sixe and twentieth, we saw Pulo Tyaman, South and South by East from Capas twentie eight league. The nine and twentieth, being calme, we came to Pulo Tingi. If you keepe at eighteene fathome, you neede feare nothing but what you may see.

Bintam.

The first of November, we saw the point of Jantana or Johor, and the Mount upon the Iland of Bintam, and the next Morning came in sight of Pedra Branca: and about ten of the clocke came to the dangerous riffe which fals off from the point of Johor foure leagues into the Sea.

Linschoten.

John Hugens describes this shoald very well, which we passed not without danger, having the point with the three little Ilands West South-west from us. It is good to keepe towards the Sea, till you bring the little Iles shut in with the point of Johor, and Pedra Branca open with the Ile of Bintam. Pedra Branca is a rocke full of fowle, and be-dunged, which causeth the toppe thereof to be white, and gives it that name. Till the seventh, we were every day busie, turning up with the floud till we were past the River of Johor, and came about two leagues from Sinca pura. On the eighth, divers Prawes came aboord us hard by the straight, being of the Salettes under the King of Johor, which for the most part keep in their Prawes, with

their Wives and Children, and live on fishing. By these we understood, that the King of Achen had sent Raja Bouny Soe, younger brother of the King of Johor, backe againe with great honour, attended with thirtie Prawes and two thousand Acheners, to rebuild the Fort and Citie of Johor, with good store of Ordnance, and other necessaries, having married him to his Sister, and that he should bee set up in the old Kings place. Here we tooke a Pilot to carry us through the Straights.

Masulipatan. The nineteenth of December, we arrived at Masulipatan, where we found an English shippe, and two Hollanders. We understood that Mirsadardi was out of place, and that Atmachan and Busebulleran did governe. The *The James.* English ship was the James, and was sent expressely to second us in our Voyage. M. Marlow, M. Davis, M. Gumey, and M. Cob came aboord us, and delivered us Letters. The one and twentieth, I went on shoare, where we were met by Wentacadra, sonne to Busebulleran, with the Sabandar and other Moores, and were well received. They gave us divers tesseriffes, and to the Director Warner and me, to each a faire horse, which I refused, suspecting their treachery, but was compelled to accept it. I took a Caul at foure per Centum, & landed goods.

The twentie fift of January, the James departed for Petapoli: and on the seventh of February, from thence for Bantam. On the eighteenth of February, I went to Narsapur Peca, and the nineteenth, the ship was brought into the River drawing nine foot three quarters, and having ten and an halfe, contrary to the reports of some, which wished no good to us. The three and twentieth, I arrived againe at Masulipatan, and dispatched the Peon for Surat, writing to M. Aldworth. That day arrived a Navette from Pegu, wherein came Cornelius Franke, by whom we *Newes from Pegu.* understood, that it was certaine that the King of Awa had taken the Fort of Sirjangh, and slaine all the Portugals, and that Xenga or Philip de Britto, was either spitted or soulath'd. This was done in March last. The King had given order for rebuilding the old Towne, calling all the

Peguers together, and making many faire promises. Himselfe went forward toward Tenesserin, where Banga de la came to him with fiftie thousand Peguers, who before had been under the King of Siam. The Moores in Masulipatan rejoice greatly at this conquest, hoping to get the trade of Pegu into their hands againe, and prepare two ships to send thither in September. In March came newes of eleven ships arrived at Goa, eight from China, and three from Malacca, which brought downe the price of the Market, in a good houre for me, which had almost dispatched before.

[I. iii. 326.] In Aprill 1614. Atmachan departed for Golanda to give up his accounts, the yeare comming to an end. It was well for him, the King having deposed the great Treasurer, and given his Office to Malick Tusar, Atmachans friend: and well for us, these Governours Debts beeing good whiles they continue their place; otherwise doubtfull.

Tho. Essingtons sudden death. The eighteenth of May, at five in the evening dyed Captaine Essington of a sudden heat, having eaten his Dinner at the Table. He had some Biles about him, which at that time of the yeare are very common: one great one on his shoulder, which would not breake, supposed the cause of that heate. I went and set the ship in the best order I could, they all refusing other Governour but me, which thought it an abasement to tread in the steps of my under Merchant. I committed it for that time to Master Skinner, holding all in hope that they might doe their best endeavours, and returned to Masulipatan, where I found three persons which said that they were sent with Letters from Objama Queene of Paleacatte, Jaga Raja Governour thereabout, and of Saint Thomee, Apa Condaja Secretarie of the Great King Wencatadraia, wherein they sent me word that if I would come thither, they would grant me a place right over against the Fort of Paleacatte, with all such Priviledges as we should desire, and other great promises besides. But I considering how I and the James had beene entertayned there, could beleeve but little: yet at last we agreed that one of them

Objama Queen of Paleacatte.

should stay with me, and the rest should depart with one of my folkes, who should carrie the Letters to the aforesaid persons; as also to the King; wherein I repeated the bad entertainment which we had at Paleacatte. And if now it pleased him that we should come into his Countrey, then to send us his Caul or safe Conduct, to which we might trust.

Wentcatadria K. of Narsinga his Caul and Abestiam to the English.

The nine and twentieth of July, arrived foure persons as Embassadors, with my man Wengali; from the Great King of Narsinga or Velur, bringing me a Caul with his Abestiam, (which is a white Cloth where his owne hand is printed in Sandall or Saffron) as also one from the Queene of Paleacatte, and divers Letters from Jaga Raja, Tima Raja, Apocondaia and others. The Kings Letter was written upon a leafe of Gold, wherein he excused the former fault done to us in Paleacatte, desiring that now we would come into his Countrey, and chuse a place to our best liking, and that there we should build a house or Castle according to our owne liking, with other priviledges. He gave me a Towne of about foure hundred pound of yearely revenue, with promise to doe more at my comming thither. The Hollanders had wrought much against it, but their words were not now in such force; the Inhabitants grieving to see every yeare English ships passe by without any profit to them, and therefore filling the King with complaints, and procuring these friendly offers. I kept them with mee, allowing their daily charges till the ship be come into the Road, then to consider further. My man Wengali had beene in person before the King and spoken with him, the King laying his hand on his head, and presenting him with a Tesseriffe.

His offers.

Over-flowings.

In August, was in Narsapur Peta and thereabouts, a greater over-flowing then had beene seene in nine and twentie yeares; that whole Salt hils, Townes, and Rice drave away, and many thousands of men and cattell were drowned, the water being three yards above the common high-way. In Golconda (which hath a branch running into this great River, dry in the Summer) were about foure

thousand houses washed away. Two stone Bridges, one of nineteene; the other of fifteene arches (as artificially made as the like may scarsly bee seene in Europe, in my judgement, at least three fathome high above water) were three foot under water, and sixe arches of that of nineteene washed away, beeing a Bridge which might well bee compared with that of Rochester.

The fourth of October, the ship being sheathed came over the Barre without hurt, hindered before by the foule weather. And now I called freshly for my Debts, and writ thereof the third time to the Court, telling them that I would be payd the interest also; whereupon they writ to Mir Mahumad Rasa and the Sabander, to looke that I be contented. The three and twentieth, the ship came into the Roade of Masulipatan, and I tooke order for shipping the goods. On the five and twentieth came newes of the death of Wencatadrapa King of Velur, after his fiftie yeares raigne, and that his three Wives (of whom Obyama Queene of Paleacatte was one) had burned themselves quicke with the Corps. Great troubles are feared; the Hollanders are afraid of their Castle new built in Paleacatte. Soone after came sixtie sixe Souldiers to strengthen it, in the Lion.

King of Narsingas death: & his wives burning with him.

The first of November, arrived the Lion from Bantam, which brought newes of the casting away of the Bantam in the Tessell, and of the White Lion at Saint Helena; of the James arrivall at Bantam and going thence for Patania. I seeing the Governours trifling delayes for his Debt, and being in danger thereby not to returne this yeare, resolved to carrie him or his sonne from the Custome house aboord the ship, how dangerous soever the attempt seemed, the whole Company promising therein to live and dye with me. Whereupon I gave order for the Boat to goe aboord, and to bring sixe Muskets wrapped up in the Sailes, and so to lye in the Custome House, till we should see our oportunitie. Moreover, seeing we may not bring any weapons on shore, I gave order that all our folkes should stay within the House, and come to mee in the Custome

James for Patania.

House as soone as I should send for them five, to take hold of the Souldiers Pikes, that were of the Governours or his sonnes Guard, and so presently to enter the Custome [I. iii. 327.] House, which standeth hard by the Rivers side, and then to shut the doore. So might we be able to carry them into the Boat, before the alarme be knowne in the Towne: wee having them in the Boate, wee needed not to feare. We kept it secretly, yet had the Hollanders intelligence, who esteemed it a bragge, and so revealed it not.

The one and twentieth of November, the Gentiles had a Feast, which Solemnitie happens thrice a yeare, when the New Moone commeth on a Monday: in which both Men and Women come to wash themselves in the Sea, esteeming thereby to have great indulgence. The Bramenes also and Cometis doe the same. *Gentile Feast.*

On the foure and twentieth, I demanded my money of the Governour very angerly, having stayed seven monethes longer then bargaine, asking also Mir Mahumad Rasa, why he did not helpe me according to the Letters of the Court: who laughingly answered, they would talke with me at the Custome House when my anger was over. I replyed, I would no longer bee made a Foole, I would shew my selfe a Captaine of the King of England, who are not accustomed to such Knavish dealing. Thus went I to the Custome House, where I found the Governours Sonne with a small Guard, his Souldiers having set their Launces over against the Custome House, it now being also high-water, as if God had offered Occasions fore-locke. Wherefore I sent home (as was before agreed) for Master Skinner and the rest, (leaving only three to looke to the house) who presently came & laid hold on the Pikes, and entring the Custome house, shut the doore. In the mean time I held Wencatadra arrested by the armes, til two or three came to me, who taking him in their armes carryed him into the Boat, into which I presently leaped, and beeing followed of the rest, put off from shoare, rowing away: so that before his Father and Mir Mahumad Rasa could come to

Valorous and strange attempt of the English. The Governors sonne carryed Prisoner aboord.

the Custome House, wee were in full rowing. But in regard that it blew hard, and that we were forced to row under land, within the length of two Cables to keep the depth of the Channell; they came with might and mayne to pursue us: some comming hard by the Boate, but were out-rowed. Some met us in front which had indangered us, but discharging three Muskets we frighted them, and carryed away our prey in sight of three thousand people, being much past the Barre before they could come to it, and came safe aboord. I had given order to George Chancey, to stay ashoare with three men more to give a reason of this Hostilitie, & to get in the Debts: but he, contrary hereto, going forth of the house to see this Enterprize, was by some unruly fellowes set upon and thorowly beaten: which comming to the Governours eare, hee tooke him into his protection, fearing his sonne might pay for it.

In the after-noone came from shoare Werner Van Berchem the Hollander, with the Kings Interpreter, to demand the cause of this action, whom I answered that they knew it well enough, and I had also left my under Merchant on shore to tell them: of whose hard usage understanding, I made as though I would be revenged on Wencatadra, but by Van Berchems intercession remitted it, conditionally to execute the same, hanging him at the yard (which he writ to his Father) if any of my men should be wronged. I prohibited also any Boat to come aboord without a Letter from George Chancey, else would I set them all before the Mast. The Hollanders Van Berchem with the Secretarie came aboord againe on the seven and twentieth, offering the Governours owne Debt: I demanded no more but his and Callopas whose Suretie hee was, and for the rest, that he as Governour should send such as refused to pay aboord; & I would hold my selfe satisfied. Berchem also protested against me of all dammages, which they had bound, or might beare, because of my hostilitie; to which protest I answered by writing, shewing the nullitie thereof, and their ship the same night departed for Patane. In the

meane-while, Wencatadra remayned aboord without eating or drinking. For he being a Bramene, may neither eate nor drinke in any mans house but what he hath dressed himselfe; which made mee so to pittie him, that I offered if any two Moores of qualitie would come aboord in his place, I would let him goe on shoare. But none would undertake it, and he must continue his fast. The Governour therefore payd his and Callopas Debt, and made all the rest to pay except Miriapeik and Datapa which were in Golconda, and I sent backe my Prisoner, the thirtieth of November. *Superstition of Bramenes.*

After this agreement divers Moores and others came aboord to visit mee, promising to write to the King the truth of these proceedings, desiring me not to hurt any Moores ships. I answered I was for this time satisfied: but let them hereafter take heed of giving like cause, and have better eares for Englishmens complaints. I also sent Letters to the King at Golconda to the same purpose for quicker Justice. I dispatched likewise the Embassadors of Velur, in respect of the troubles there, and my short stay denying fit oportunitie: yet I left Letters with them for the first English ships, with my best advice.

The seventh of December, Master Chancey came aboord with the rest, and next night I put to Sea, having offered to come and take a friendly fare-well on shoare: but the Governour fearing I would write of his dealing by those Moores, refused, pretending hee was ashamed to see my face, whom of a good friend he had made his Enemie. The third of Januarie, we arrived at Bantam, where we found the James come from Patane, the Hosiander, and Concord. I went on shoare and received of Master John [I. iii. 328.] Jordaine, (principall Factour at Bantam) Letters, from Sir Thomas Smith, testifying that the Companie was joyned in one, &c. From Master Cockin at Maccasar, that he had received the Cargason sent by William Ebert, with other circumstances: from Adam Denton and Master Gourney, complayning of the dead Market because of the Warres: from Master Lucas also, of his feares in the same regard; *The severall stockes united.*

but the Darling being gone thither, I hope, will comfort him.

Here we agreed that the Hosianders goods should be discharged into the Globe, and Edward Christian (made Captaine thereof in that Countrey by Generall Beast) should bee Captaine of the Globe, and Nathaniel Salmon Master; and Master Skinner should goe Master in the Hosiander: and that in the Globe should goe fiftie men, in the James five and fiftie, twentie in the Hosiander which was to stay here; and three or foure to keepe the Concord. On the thirtieth, the James departed to goe on a moneth before and to stay at the Cape, or at Saint Helena, that we might go together. Seeing the Hosiander could not so quickly bee made readie, it was thought fit to send the Concord for Amboyna, George Bale going in her; and George Chancey was to stay in Macasar. The ship Zelandia arrived from Japan, and brought Letters from Master Cockes, that Master Peacocke with the Hollanders was slaine in Cochin China, and that Master Adams and foure other English were gone thence for Syam.

Letters from Japan.

The fourteenth of Februarie, arrived Captaine David Middleton with the Samaritan, Thomas, and Thomasin, the men being well and in good disposition. Captaine Middleton understanding of his Brothers death, and the losse of his ship the Trades Increase, was perplexed and resolved to goe home, wherefore he called a Court to see the disposing of the ships, and the manning againe of the Hosiander. It was then thought fit to send home the Samaritan with the very first, the Thomas to Sumatra, and the Thomasin for Amboyna, to succour the Concord and the Hosiander for Petania and Japan, to visit those Factories, which was put in execution. They set sayle out of Bantam Road, the two and twentieth of February. Aprill the thirtieth, they entred the Road of Soldania, where they found the James which arrived the day before, the Advise & Attendant outward bound. The seventeenth of May, they weighed, and the first of June came to Saint Helena.

This is supplyed out of M. Martins Journall.

Chap. XV.

A Journall of a Voyage made by the Pearle * to the East-India, wherein went as Captaine Master Samuel Castelton of London, and Captaine George Bathurst as Lieutenant: written by John Tatton, Master.

*For the furthering of Marine knowledge, I have thought good to adde this Voyage, how ever holding Societie with the East-Indian Societie.

THe two and twentieth of August 1612. we departed from Black-wall for Gravesend, and being much hindered by contrary windes, it was the fift of November, before we could attayne to the Lands end of England.

The seven and twentieth of November, we fell with Lancerota, one of the Canarie Iles. *Lancerota.*

The third of December, we towed into Lauratavi Road. *Decemb.* 1612.
The fifth wee were put out of the Roade by foule weather, and spent the whole moneth about this Ile, and Teneriffa, and tooke in sixteene Pipes of Wine. *Teneriffa.*

The last of this moneth, we met with a small ship of London, a little in the Offing, which had formerly beene in the Road with us, which an Holland ship of Warre had taken, whose men being all drunke in the night, she stole away having but three men in her: into whom we put two men, and a Merchant, whom we should have set on shoare at the Grand Canarie, but the weather not permitting us, he agreed to goe for the Ile of Palme, we thinking there to better our provision. The small ship this day did beare us companie. *A small ship of London taken by an Holland man of Warre.*

The fifteenth day, we anchored in the Roade of Cape Verde where we watered, and got some Oxen.

The one and twentieth, we weighed and went over to Rosisco for Beeves, and at five of the clocke anchored in Rosisco Roade in five fathomes. Note that there is but eleven fathomes over the Bay in an East and by North course: for so lyeth Rosisco from the Ile which maketh *Rosisco Road.*

the Roade at Cape Verde. The two and twentieth, we got seven Beeves.

The three and twentieth, in the morning wee departed from Rosisco. The eight and twentieth, being in latitude sixe degrees, thirtie two minutes, we met with the first Ternado, lasting some two houres.

The first Ternado.

February 20. They crosse the Line.

The twentieth of Februarie, wee crossed the Equinoctiall Line, and made our way South South-east.

[I. iii. 329.]

Aprill 15. Weeds called Trombas, signes of being neare the Cape of Buona Esperanza. Punta de Sancta Luzia.

The fifteenth of Aprill 1612. the latitude thirtie two degrees, thirtie nine minutes, the wind South-west we steered in East South-east, and met with many great weeds, called Trombas by the Portugals, and the water was much changed: we steered away East South-east till five of the clocke; then wee saw the land betweene the East South-east, and East North-east: wee steered away East till seven in the morning: then we were thwart Punta de Sancta Lucia, some foure leagues off; we sounded, and had forty three fathomes, Rockes: then it fell aland.

The sixteenth at noone, latitude thirtie three degrees, no minutes. At five of the clock at night, we were shot so farre into the Bay, that we brought a ledge of rockes South South-west off us: then we steered off.

The Bay.

The seventeenth in the morning, we were some seven leagues off the shoare, having got some three leagues to the Southward. This day our latitude was thirtie three degrees, no minutes, we stood in for the shoare, and at three of the clocke came in faire by the point in fifteene, fourteene, and thirteene fathoms, and had sometimes hard ground, sometimes soft Ozie: and when wee were shot within the point two miles off the shoare, we had nine fathoms for the most part soft Ozie: Then we anchored in the South-east side of the Bay in seven fathoms soft ground, the one point North North-east some seven leagues off; the other which we came in by, North-west.

They goe on shoare, and finde people.

The eighteenth in the morning, we sent our Boat and Skiffe on shoare; the Skiffe presently returning, brought newes of people, whereof some twentie came to them. Wee sent the Skiffe on shoare againe with an iron hoope

cut in pieces, and some hatchets: and for a small piece of this iron hoope we had a Calfe, and for an hatchet an excellent good sheepe. Then we sent our Boat to seeke for water, but ranging the Bay could find none: a little puddle we saw, of which the people dranke, making signes that there was none other. This Countrey seemed to bee a very barren place. Our Boat went into a River in the bottome of the Bay, having sixe foote water upon the Barre at an high water, and went a mile up a very fine River, but all salt water, and a barren Countrey.

A Calfe for a piece of an iron hoope, and a good sheepe for an hatchet.

The nineteenth in the morning, at two of the clocke, the wind came up at North North-west, and blowing right in, we weighed, and made a boord over the bottome of the Bay in ten, nine, eight and seven fathoms. Then the wind came to the West South-west, and West by South, and so we plyed it out, all night becalmed some three leagues without the point of the road. The two and twentieth at noone, latitude thirtie three degrees, fiftie three minutes, we were some eight leagues off the shoare. The three and twentieth in the morning, the Table bare South-east some five leagues off. All night was calme. The foure and twentieth, we came into the Road of Saldanha: The people desire nothing so much as Copper: Brasse they regarded not.

The Table.

The Road of Saldanha. Copper in chiefe request.

The foure and twentieth of August, we departed from Priaman for Tecon: Priaman standeth in thirtie eight minutes of South latitude, and the variation there is foure degrees, fiftie minutes North-west. Tecon standeth in five and twentie minutes of South latitude, having three or foure shoalds betweene them: but keepe some foure leagues off the shoare, and there is no feare.

August. Priaman in thirtie eight minutes of South latitude. Variation foure degrees fiftie minutes. Tecon.

The one and thirtieth, we ran into a Bay, and there (being a wildernesse) wee brought on a false keele on our Pinnasse. This Bay is called by the name of a Towne, a little to the Southward of it, called Airebangye. The latitude of this Bay is some eight minutes North latitude. Round about the shoald going in, is nine fathome and a quarter lesse: but betweene the maine and it, is the best

Airebangye, a Towne eight minutes North latitude.

channell with a Northerly wind, because the point of the Isle lyeth shoald a good cables length off to the Northward: some two miles off the shore thwart the wester point, which is to the Northward of Airebangye, lyeth a shoald, whereon is but eight or nine fathomes water, being rockes: but all over betweene that land and the long Isle in the offing, which lyeth some seven leagues off, is but eight and twentie and thirtie fathoms. The tenth of September, we got up with the wind off the shoare, within two miles of Pattahan.

A shoald.

The eleventh in the morning, we anchored at the South-west end of the Isle of Pattahan in fourteene fathoms Ozie: and at two in the after-noone we anchored thwart the River of Pattahan, in five fathoms Ozie. All this Coast is Ozie neare the shoare, without it be the shoalds. This River is very good water, and you may goe into it six or seven foot upon the Barre, it standeth in no degree, twentie eight minutes of North latitude.

The River of Pattahan.

Latitude no degrees, twentie eight minutes.

The fourteenth, we went from Pattahan with two Governours for our Pilots, for Barons and Achen, with three Boyes.

The sixteenth, we were a little short of a bigge Island, which lyeth some two miles off the maine, with two other small Isles on the South-side of it: and betweene the maine and it lyeth an high round homocke being an Isle: This is some twentie five or twentie sixe leagues to the Northward of Pattahan. This bigge Isle standeth in one degree, fortie minutes. And on the North-west side is a fresh running downe a steepe cliffe, like a little River, all in a breach, and sheweth white a great way off, seven or eight leagues you may very well see it. On the North-side of this Isle is a fine Bay: going faire by it, we had thirty fathoms Ozie. South-west or West South-west some foure leagues from this Island lyeth a shoald: within this Isle your depth is two and twentie fathoms, and so close into the maine twentie fathoms, all Ozie, your anchor over both floockes.

A bigge Island in one degree fortie minutes.

A shoald.

[I. iii. 330.] The last of October, we departed from Nicubar, where

we had good refreshing, for the Isle of Ceylon; the Canoes still trading, so long as we were any thing neare.

The twelfth of November at noone, the Sunne shining, we made our ship in five degrees, thirtie five minutes. By which observation I found our ship fortie leagues farther Southerly, then I could judge by our sailing, in lesse time then two dayes. At eight of the clocke in the morning, we saw the land of Ceylon, North-east by north off us some twelve leagues off, being the high land within Punta de Galle. Then it proved calme, and we got out our Skiffe to sound, but found no ground. *November.* *Punta de Galle in Ceylon.*

The thirteenth at noone, latitude five degrees, thirtie two minutes, variation thirteene degrees, twentie foure minutes at night: all night the wind variable, little wind, but very much raine; we slented it in to the Northward: the next morning the land was East North-east. The fourteenth at noone, our latitude was sixe degrees, or six or five. The Souther point of Ceylon, called Diundra, East of us. *Variation thirteene degrees, twentie foure minutes.*

The sixteenth in the after-noone, the wind Southerly out of the sea, we weighed and went into the Bay, where the Boats were, called Velagam, thinking there to water, and anchored in seven fathoms fine blacke sand, the one point West North-westerly, the other point which wee came in by South South-west Westerly, and rode within a quarter of a mile from the shoare. This night wee sent our Skiffe on shoare with a flagge of truce, but went not on shoare, the people making shew they could not understand Portuguise. *The Bay of Velagam.*

The seventeenth, we sent our Boat to the other side of the Bay, where there were houses built by Christian Portugals: where the people came downe to our Boat, and one of them came into the water neare the Boat, speaking very good Portuguise, in habite like one of the Countrey people: but we judged him to be a Portugall. He answered our men, that wee could have nothing till they had acquainted their King; and so bid us returne the next morning, and we should have answere from their

King, with very pleasing words: but soone after we perceived an ambush of the Portugals, and weighed.

The two and twentieth, we sent our Boat and Skiffe on shoare, thinking that for their two Boats and men, they would have given us water. But we commanded our long Boat not to goe neare the shoare, but to lye off to succour the Skiffe, if need were. The people on shoare keeping themselves close, sent one man downe to speake to our Skiffe, that if they would give them money wee should water: who made answere, that our Captaine was very well content to give them what it pleased them to require, and told them that we were bound for Maticalo, a Citie upon the Isle, to Trade. Then he drawing nearer to the Skiffe, seemed to be afraid, and told them in the Skiffe that they had Gunnes and would shoote him: but they making answere they had none, as indeed they had not, (for the Boat was fitted for their defence) comming neare, hee talked very friendly, seeming to yeeld to any thing. But on the sudden he retiring from the Skiffe, there came off such a volly of small shot, as the like hath been seldome seene, I thinke not lesse then two hundred, which hurt all our men in the Skiffe, being sixe, but none deadly, thanked be God. In the long Boat none were hurt; but the Skiffe was even in the wash of the shoare. At their discharging of their shot they sallied out of the bushes, some of them running up to the necke, to have gotten hold of the Skiffe: But two of our men having better hearts then the rest, although hurt, rowed her off. The long Boate discharging her fowler and her small shot, made them retire into the bushes againe; and so both our Boats came aboord againe.

The treason of the Portugals.

The foure and twentieth, we stood to the Eastward about Diundra, the Souther point of the Isle, and anchored all night some seven leagues to the East.

The sixe and twentieth, wee stood to the Eastward along the shoare, and at noone anchored thwart a River, which the people called Wallaway, in eight fathoms, black Ozie sand, yet shewed a great River within, but the mouth was

The River Wallaway.

dord up. Our Boat being at the mouth of it, thought it to be a Rocke that lay thwart of the Rivers mouth: and the Sea going high they could doe no good, but came aboord.

The seven and twentieth, at five of the clocke at night, we were thwart a shoald in the offing of us, and being shot to the Eastward of it, we tooke in all our sailes but our fore-course, and stood it off a try to spend the night, and not liking the weather, I called to get up our new fore-course; and while it was getting up, the other split. Being some foure miles off the shoare, we laid it a hull till nine of the clocke, having foure and thirtie fathoms. Then we laid it about to the shoare, and at eleven of the clocke anchored in thirteene fathom fine sand, some three miles and an halfe from the shoare, being lesse wind. *A shoald.*

The eight and twentieth, in running some five leagues, wee met with another shoald without us some three leagues from the land, the shoare being sandie hills. The depth some five or sixe miles off, sixe or eight fathoms: at one cast we had but five fathoms, which was another shoald, but it shewed not, being a smooth Sea. Then we came into ten and fifteene fathoms: and standing still to the Eastward, we came to a point of rockes, and there seeing a fine River, we anchored on the East-side of the point in nine fathoms blacke Ozie sand; the point bearing South-west and by South off us. Heere we watered, keeping a guard upon the Rocke of thirty small shot. Here some people came to us with feare, making shewes of great friendship. They have for the most part of them very great holes in their eares: and some of them have their haire upon their heads, like the Chineses, long, and made up with a knot upon their Crownes. They are all naked, they weare onely a piece of cloth about their middles, hanging downe to their knees. Here two came aboord us at severall times, which spake good Portuguise. They promised all things, but performed nothing. But finding the first to play the villaine with us, yet as farre as we perceived, not by his owne meanes, we tooke occasion to *Another shoald. Sandie Hilles. A third shoald. A point of Rockes. A fine River. They water.* [I. iii. 331.] *The description of the people.*

detaine the one aboord, sending the other with threatnings and promises on shoare to procure us victualls: who staying somewhat long, put his fellow which we had detained in great feare; who fained himselfe sicke, and would faine have gone on shore. But the next day his consort came with two Calves.

December. The fourth of December in the morning, we stood to the East-ward till the brise came, which was about two of the clock, & fetcht not the place by sixe leagues: we anchored in ten fathomes two miles from the shoare, fine blacke sand: latitude sixe degrees fortie minutes. Variation twelve degrees fortie sixe minutes North-westing. Here we rode till the eighth: then we stood to the West-ward, and anchored all night thwart a great Hamocke. The ninth, we anchored all night a little to the West-ward of the Westermost Shoald. The eleventh in the morning, we stood faire in by the river Wallaway; but the sea going high, we went along to the West-ward, and at night were thwart the point some five leagues to the East-ward of Diundra. Here wee rode till the sixteenth, at which time the Current setting strongly to the East-ward, which was very seldome, we weighed and plyed to the Eastward.

Latitude 6. degrees 40. min.

Variation 12. degr. 46. min.

The seventeenth, we stood it in, and fetcht in a little to the West-ward of Diundra, thwart the two red Cliffes, and anchored in twentie five fathomes, the point East a little Northerly. The eighteenth, we broke up our Pinnasse, being so worme-eaten, that she wearied our men with freeing her of water. Here we rode the wind Easterly all this Moneth out.

Two redde Cliffes.

January. Januarie the seventh, Easterly winds began to blow, then we bare up for the river of Wallaway, where we staid, and laid up new shrowds upon our maine Mast, having very much wind Easterly. We rode here tenne dayes together in tenne fathoms, three quarters of a mile from the shoare, the point lying East Southerly off us. The nineteenth at midnight we espied a sayle. The twentieth in the morning in lesse then three leagues chase we tooke her. And the same day we stood it away to the North-

They take a shippe.

west out of sight of land; then we stood in againe. The foure and twentieth, wee anchored some seven leagues to the North-ward of Punta de Galle. The five and twentieth, we began to discharge her, riding in thirtie fathomes some three miles from the shoare.

February. The second of February, we had done with the ship, leaving in her neere an hundred tunnes of Pepper and Sanders. The third day, we set saile home-wards. At *They returne homewards.* sixe of the clocke at night we were in fourteene fathomes, some five or sixe miles from the shoare, thwart an Iland, which is some sixe leagues to the South-ward of the Portugals fort upon Ceylon called Colombo. *Colombo.*

The greatest variation 24. degr. 26. min. The twentieth of March, Latitude thirteene degrees seven minutes: Variation twentie foure degrees twentie sixe minutes, being the greatest that we found. We steered away South-west, and felt no current. Note, that we met with Currents, and many ripplings from South latitude foure degrees thirtie minutes, till we came into thirteene degrees no minutes. Sometimes the Ripplings making a noyse like over-fals, especially being in the parallels of Pedras Brancas to the West-ward of it.

Variation 23. degr. 10. min. The foure and twentieth, latitude sixteene degrees fiftie minutes, variation twenty three degrees tenne minutes: we steered South-west. The twentie seventh, latitude twentie one degrees, then we saw an Iland West South-west, and South-west and by West some five leagues from us, being very high land. At sixe of the clocke at night, we anchored on the Easter side of it in tenne fathomes fine blacke sand a mile from the shoare. From fortie fathomes to foure fathomes close into the shoare, you have fine black sand. Here we sent our Boat on shoare, and found infinite numbers of great land Tortoises, as big as a man might well carrie, which were very good meate. The North-east point of this Ile is very high and steepe; and a little to the South-east of the point is low land, where is a fine running water like a river: and though a Boat cannot goe in, yet it is a very good place to water in, somewhat distant from the shoare. The Ile is like a

A new Iland discovered in 21. degrees.

Infinite numbers of great Tortoises.

A good watering place.

Forrest, and therefore I called it Englands Forrest; but *Pearle Ile.* others call it Pearle Iland, by the name of our ship. There is store of land fowle both small and great, plentie of Doves, great Parrats, and such like: And a great fowle of the bignesse of a Turkie, very fat, and so short winged, that they cannot flie, beeing white, and in a manner tame: and so are all other fowles, as having not been troubled nor feared with shot. Our men did beate them downe with sticks and stones. Ten men may take fowle enough to serve fortie men a day. Our men travelling into the land, found another river and a Pond with great store of Mallards in it, and wild geese. Moreover, they found infinite store of great Eeles, as good, I thinke, as any in the world. Strike them with a Pike, and they will flie from you not past two or three yards, and there will lie still againe: you may wade after them at your pleasure. I weighed one of them, because they were bigger then ever I saw, and it weighed five and twentie pounds, and *An excellent place for refreshing.* they are the sweetest fish that can be eaten. I thinke it is so good a place as the world can affoord for refreshing, beeing also without people.

[I. iii. 332.] *Aprill* 1613. The first of Aprill 1613. we went away, and bearing about the North-east point, all the North side of the Ile was fine low land, and full of trees, more pleasant in sight then the South-side. The second, latitude twentie degrees *Variati.* 22. *deg.* 48. *minutes.* fiftie eight minutes. The Ile bare South-east by East some five leagues off: Note that we saw no dangers about the Ile, but the shore it selfe. At sixe of the clocke at night, the South-west point was off us South-east by East, variation twenty two degrees fortie eight minutes.

38. *degres,* 47. *minutes, the greatest latitude Southward.* The first of May, latitude thirtie eight degrees fortie seven minutes, which was the greatest latitude that wee ever raised to the South-ward, wee steered away West North-west. The eleventh at noone, latitude thirty three degrees fiftie eight minutes, by which observation I found *They are to the West of Cape de Buona Esperanza.* a Northerly Current, and found my selfe to the West-ward of Cape de Buona Esperanza.

June 1613. The first of June, all these ships, the Salomon and foure

great Hollanders departed from the Road of Saint Helena. But within foure houres after they were gone, there came about the point two great Carackes, the other ships being still in sight; we having most part of our Companie ashoare sicke, I sent the Boat on shoare, having not above ten men aboord: so there came as many as were able, some of our soundest men being up in the Mountaines. When the Boat was come aboord, we cut our Cables in the hause and drove away, setting sayle as fast as we were able, being in all but sixe and twentie men; having left behind us sicke and sound five and twentie men of our owne Companie, and one Indian, with all our water Caske, and divers other things for the use of our sicke men were left on shoare. So hastening toward the Hollanders, and making signes for their stay, and within night comming up with the Admirall of the Hollanders, and telling him of this newes, hee was very glad, and desired to make saile for the Road againe, and made signes to his Fleet to follow, and so stood for the Road as wind would serve. But in the morning his biggest ship both of force and burthen was missing, with the Salomon of London. Yet his three ships and we plyed it up for the Roade, and gat in the third day at noone. The Admirall of the Hollanders went first in, and anchored on the Broad side of the Admirall Caracke. He veered so much Cable before hee brought up his ship, that his sterne hung by the galleries of the Caracke: but with his two sterne peeces lying very low, and his quarter Peeces hee so galled the Caracke, that he put her from two peeces of Ordnance, and might have sunke her, if they had not been too covetous, having desire to carrie both. The next came the Bantam, and anchored in such sort, that she had her Broad-side upon the Bow of the same Caracke, and so racked her afore and baft, that it much cooled the Portugals courage. Then came the white Lion, whereof one Simons was Captaine, and laid her thwart the hause, and so tare her that a man might see all the Sea wash into her betweene wind and water, and withall cut her Cables, and so she drove off

The third of June. The fight betweene the three Hollanders and two Carackes.

from the white Lion, and had driven on shoare, but that the Vice-Admirall Caracke had a Cable fast on shoare: and so the Caracke lying in the byte of this Cable, in time got another Cable and Anchor readie, and so brought her up againe, though long first. Then the white Lion making way to veere aboord againe, with a generall consent that all three ships should lay her aboord: the white Lion falling with her Broad-side along the Vice-Admirall Carack, let flye her whole Broad-side, and likewise the Carack at her. But stil vering to get aboord the Admirall Caracke, his men still plying his lower Ordnance upon the Vice-Admirall, one of his Peeces brake over his Powder Roome, as some thought, and the shippe blew up all to pieces, the after part of her, and so sunke presently. In the time of this fight eleven of our men came out of the Mountaines: whom wee espying fetched from the shoare, out of the Bay to the East-ward of the chappell, leaving on shore fifteene of our Companie, one being an Indian. In the white Lion were Henrie Bacon, and Henrie Teddiman blowne up, & nine and fortie of the Hollanders. Then the Admirall, whereof John Derickson Lambe was Captaine, seeing his forces so much weakened, himselfe having two of his Peeces dismounted, with many of his men killed and hurt, and we being of small force, thought it best to leave them, for want of helpe, promising to furnish us with water.

The Lion of Holland blowne up and sunke.

Forty nine Hollanders blowne up and drowned.

The third of June, loosing one after another, and changing a few shot with the Carackes, we stood away for England.

July 18. 1613. The eighteenth of July in the morning, we met with many weeds, and a small long leafe with white Berries of the bignesse of a corne of Pepper. The Master of the Caravell aboord the Hollanders reported, that farther Westerly the Sea is so thicke with these kind of weeds, that they hinder a ships way. They call it The Sea of Grasse. Hee affirmed that in former Voyages he had beene in it. The nineteenth, we crossed the Tropicke of Cancer.

The Sea of Grasse, or Saragasso.

They crosse the Tropicke of Cancer.

beyond the East-Indies, to the Ilands of Japan, China, Cauchin-China, the Philipinæ with others, and the Indian Navigations further prosecuted.

Their just Commerce, nobly vindicated against Turkish Treachery, victoriously defended against Portugall Hostility, gloriously advanced against Moorish and Ethnike Perfidie; hopefully recovering from Dutch Malignitie; justly maintayned against ignorant and malicious Calumnie.

THE FOURTH BOOKE.

HAving brought to light (rather as a Midwife, the fruit of Others Travels then mine owne as a Parent) the imperfect untimely Births of Other Englishmen, and that more mature, well complexioned, strong limmed, and (if Genethliacall conjectures faile not) hopefully promising Riches, Honour, Happie Successe and Long-life, of the East-Indian Societie, which we have also in a Scenicall Historie, or an Historicall Scene, (the Actors being the

Authors, and the Authours themselves the Actors of their owne Parts, Artes, Acts, Designes) brought from the Cradle to the Saddle, from weaker Infancie of first beginnings to the happie Progresse and growth of youthfull vigour and courage: I made a stand, and, in the mids of our Indian Course, finished the former Booke; that as after a long ascent of some steeper Hill, Men take breath, and review with delight, that which with irkesome labour and wearie steps they have passed; or like the Land-traveller resting in his Inne, or the Weather-beaten Mariner refreshing himselfe in some mid-way Harbour (which heere you see our Indian Navigators doe in Soldania, or at Saint Helena.) You might also after that stay beginne a fresh Career, with revived spirits, and renewed alacritie, resume this Booke-Voyage, and Reading Navigation. So may your Mindes in few houres and a safe course, without feare of Rockes, Sands, Winds, Stormes of unseasonable Monsons, unreasonable Men (Fugitives, Traytors, Pyrates, false Friends, open Foes) of an ill Market, hard Customes, or harsh accounts to be given at last; communicate in that, which These with so long labours, and so perillous dangers, have done and suffered.

And here first we present unto you, the East-Indies made Westerly by the Illustrious Voyage of Captaine John Saris, who having spent some yeares before in the Indies, by Observations to rectifie Experience, and by Experience to prepare for higher Attempts, hath heere left the knowne Coasts of Europe, compassed those more unknowne of Afrike from the Atlantike to the Erythræan Sea, and after Commerce there (tam Marte, quàm Mercurio) compasseth the Shoares, and pierceth the Seas, to
[I. iv. 334.] and beyond all justnames of Indian and Asia, penetrating by a long journey the Ilands, Cities, Court of the Japonian Empire; there setleth an English Factorie, and after safe returne, is readie to render thee the pleasure of his paine, and (why stay I thee any longer?) by a more pleasant Discoursive way, to discover to thee the Rarities of that

Discoverie; and by hand, by the Eyes to lead thee alongst with him all the way: and then leave thee to those that shall tell thee after Accidents and later Occurents in the Japonian, Indian and Asian Affaires.

Chap. I.

The eighth Voyage set forth by the East-Indian Societie, wherein were imployed three Ships, the Clove, the Hector, and the Thomas, under the command of Captaine John Saris: His Course and Acts to and in the Red Sea, Java, Molucca's, and Japan (by the Inhabitants called Nessoon, where also he first began and setled an English Trade and Factorie) with other remarkable Rarities, collected out of his owne Journall.

§. I.

Their sayling about Africa, visiting divers Ilands thereof, and comming to Socatora.

THe eighteenth of Aprill 1611. wee set saile out of the Downes. *Aprill* 18. 1611.

The sixth of June following, we passed the Equinoctiall Line.

The first of August 1611. we arrived in the Bay of Soldania, where having well refreshed our selves the space of eight dayes, the ninth of August in the morning we weighed Anchor, and about foure in the after-noone were five leagues off the Cape Buona Esperanza.

The second of September, of latitude twentie foure degrees, twentie one minutes, way East by North Northerly sixe leagues. Nota, That since our comming from Cape Buona Esperanza, We found no Monsons of West-winds, (as hath beene reported) but to the contrarie, did find North Easterly, South Easterly and Easterly winds with

extreame Stormes, Raine, Thunder and Lightening: yet at that present very faire and so hot that calmes were to bee doubted.

The third, latitude twentie three degrees, fiftie minutes, way South by West twentie three leagues wind at South.

The Bay of S. Augustine in the Ile of Saint Laurence.

About five at night we made land being the Iland of Madagascar, otherwise called Saint Laurence, the Bay of Saint Augustine bearing East by North about sixe leagues off. And then steered away North North-east, variation at Sun-setting fifteene degrees, eleven minutes Westerly. We sounded, but had no ground at one hundred fathome. The land not very high, but Sandie. And then we passed the Tropicke of Capricorne, to the North-ward.

The tenth of September, latitude seventeene degrees, three minutes, way North-west twelve leagues, wind at North-east: we steered North North-west, variation at Sun-rising thirteene degrees, fiftie foure minutes Westerly.

A strong current.

Heere wee found a strong Current setting South South-west; for these last foure and twentie houres, shee could not have runne lesse then foure and twentie leagues, having a stiffe gale: but for the reason aforesaid, in the evening we made the Island Primeiras bearing West by North about foure leagues off.

The eleventh, latitude seventeene degrees, thirty three minutes way South by East halfe a point Easterly fourteene leagues, the wind at North-east, and North-east by East, a storme.

Note.

Note that having stood but one watch and an halfe to the East-wards, the Current did carry us thirtie minutes to the Southwards of the latitude we were in, by the last observation: then we stood in for the land North North-west, hoping of a better wind neare the shoare with lesse current, and suddenly the water changed, but we could find no ground at an hundred fathom. In the evening we made the land bearing North, and North by West about sixe leagues off, finding it to be the Islands Primeiras, but being to the Northward of it, it shewed somewhat longer then before, for it did beare from the

[I. iv. 335.] *Ilhas Primeiras.*

North-west to the North of us; wee sounded and had twentie fathom small glittering sand; and sounding againe, had twentie fathom blacke Ozie, with black shels. Then we stood off to the Eastward, the storme continuing with more wind in the night, then in the day; and having stood off one glasse, we sounded and had two and twenty fathome, gray sand and shels.

The twelfth, latitude eighteene degrees seventeene minutes, way South-east by East eight and twentie leagues, wind at North-east, a storme: so that these last twenty foure houres we were carryed by the force of the Current forty foure minutes to the Southward of the former observation, variation fourteene degrees, one and forty minutes Westerly. About night the wind veered to East North-east, so that we lay North with the sterne.

The thirteenth, latitude nineteene degrees, sixteene minutes, way South-east by South, two and twentie leagues, wind North-east by East little wind, the Current very strong against us.

The fifteenth, latitude sixteene degrees, six and forty minutes, way North North-east, halfe a point Easterly thirty leagues, wind South-west wee steered North-east by North. Note heere we found not the Current so forcible, for we have deprest the Pole one degree, seven and twenty minutes these foure and twentie houres. The reason wee supposed to bee that the Island Juan de Nova, was betweene us and the Current, for we made account it did beare East by North eighteene leagues off, variation at Sun-setting twelve degrees, eight minutes Westerly.

The sixteenth, latitude sixteene degrees not nine minutes, way North North-east eighteene leagues, we steered North-east by North, wind South-west by South, little wind, but a strong Current, variation at Sun-rising thirteene degrees, not three minutes Westerly.

The seventeenth, the ships way North by West eight leagues, variation twelve degrees one minute Westerly: in the morning we made the land to the Southward of Mosambique, making it to be the Islands de Angoxa, bear- *The Islands de Angoxa.*

ing West South-west seven leagues. The Westermost part of the said Islands seeming whitish. The maine to the Northward bearing North by East, smooth champion ground: we steered North-east by East, and towards evening we saw the land trending to the Northward, seeming to the Seaward to be full of trees; here we found the Current to set North North-west, for we could perceive by the land that we ran very fast to the North-ward, and having little wind, wee sounded often, but could not find ground at an hundred fathome.

An extreame Current to the Southward.

The nineteenth, latitude fifteene degrees, twentie nine minutes, way South by East foure leagues, wind at East South-east, we steered North-east, but by extremitie of the Current, wee were carryed to the Southward. So that wee were heere ten dayes, and could not get to the Northward; notwithstanding we had a faire and reasonable stiffe gale.

A very dangerous shoald.

The one and twentieth, latitude sixteene degrees, twentie minutes, way South by West foure leagues, wind North-east, and North-east by East, little wind: in the morning wee were neare the Northermost of the Islands de Angoxas, bearing West by North about three leagues off. And to windward of us, we espied a very dangerous shoale, lying East off the North part of the main, at the least three points into the sea, having a drie splat of white sand betweene it and the maine: We sounded and had ground at thirtie fathom, red stones like Corall, with gray sand and shells; we stood off, it being a lee-shoare and Westerly Current. And finding by our skiffe, which was sent off, that the Current did set exceeding strongly to the South-west by West, and such uncertaine shoaling, we stood off for Saint Laurence. Note that these Islands de Angoxas (which are many) doe stand in the plat in fifteene degrees, fortie minutes, and we find them in sixteene degrees, twentie minutes to the Southward of the Equinoctiall, variation thirteene degrees, no minutes Westerly.

The Isles de Angoxa in sixteene degrees, twentie minutes.

The two and twentieth, latitude seventeene degrees five minutes, way South South-east eighteene leagues, wind North-east, and in foure and twentie houres that we parted

from the land, we lost no degrees, fortie five minutes. But towards evening the wind came to the South-east, and South-east by South; we steered North-east, and North-east by east, and East North-east for the Island Saint Laurence, looking out for Juan de nova, which Hugen van Linschoten, willeth to beware of, and not to come neare it in a small Moone; notwithstanding wee were inforced to put our selves in hazard to get out of this Current and dangerous place, variation at Sun-setting twelve degrees, fortie foure minutes Westerly.

The three and twentieth, latitude sixteene degrees, foure and twentie minutes, way North-east, two and twentie leagues, wind at South South-west, we steered East North-east, to rid us of the Current, having deprest the Pole these last foure and twentie houres, no degrees, one and fortie minutes, variation at Sun-setting thirteene degrees, sixteene minutes Westerly.

The foure and twentieth, latitude sixteene degrees, sixteene minutes, way East North-east ten leagues, wind at South-west, and South South-east, till eight in the morning, it came then to the North, and North by East, little wind. In the morning at breake of day (to our great admiration) wee saw land to the Westward, bearing North by West five leagues off, not once looking for any that way, but to the Eastward for Juan de nova, which we made account could not be above sixe leagues South from us, and being be-calmed, did doubt least the Current would set us upon it in the night: but the day clearing, we found it to be the Northermost Iland of the Angoxas, whence we departed the one and twentieth, ditto in the afternoone, which so amazed our Marriners, as that they were discouraged of getting our Voyage this way. The reason of this difference was (as we supposed) by a Counter current, which certainely in the small of the Moone doth set East North-east, and West South-west, from the Plashella or point of the shoare, which lieth North-east by East off the Northermost part of Juan de nova, which meeting with our auncient enemie the North North-east Current, hath

Land unexpected neare Juan de Nova. [I. iv. 336.]

The Ile Angoxas.

thus violently put us over to the Westwards, notwithstanding we have had a fresh gale and faire wind, untill this morning that it fell calme. Note, that if there be any such Iland as Juan de nova, it lies not so farre to the West-ward as Daniels plots make mention, but stands neerer the maine Iland, otherwise we must of necessitie have seene it. They of the fourth Voyage in the Ascension, made accompt that they passed to the East-wards of it, and S. Laurence, which thing the Portugals hold impossible, saying, that it stands so neere the maine Iland, as that there is no passage but a little channell, which once one of their ships was inforced to put through, and since nor afore they have not heard of any to have done the like. Wherefore it was held amongst us to be but a cunning of the Portugals, to place such an Iland so farre to the West-ward, to the end that such as shall saile this way, being not so well experienced as themselves, might (giving it a birth) fall into this extreame Current which we certainely found to set more Westerly then North-East, and South-west. Wherefore it is necessary for all such as shall be bound this way, to be upon the Coast of S. Laurence by the first of June, and from the Cape S. Augustine, untill they come into twelve degrees no minutes, to keepe up to the East-ward, and not to make their way to the West of the North, or North by West, for feare of the South-west Current, which with calmes, and foureteene degrees two minutes variation Westerly, will perforce set them over upon the Coast of Soffala. And most certaine it is, that in August and September, you shall find very violent North-west winds, so that if yee would stand it over for S. Laurence, you shall not fetch it without great danger of the shoalds of India, (the Current taking you on the broad side:) I meane, if you bee to the North of the said shoalds, neither can you stop upon the maine to keepe your Latitude, for it is broken ground, and very deepe water.

Note of J. de Nova.

A falsehood of the Portugals.

October. The third of October we came to an anchor (after much trouble by Currents) betweene Soffala and Mosambique,

in thirteene and foureteene fathome: Latitude sixteene degrees thirty two minutes: Longitude seventie sixe degrees tenne minutes: Variation eleven degrees fiftie minutes Westerly. We anchored under an Iland neere unto the maine, upon which wee neither found people nor fresh water, though we digged very deepe in the sand. The tenth, wee weighed, the wind at South South-west, and stood over East by North for S. Laurence, hoping thereby to get out of these Currents. Thus were we tossed to and fro with variable winds, and still troubled with the Current comming out of the North-east, untill the twentie sixth, wee came to an anchor under Moyella, which is one of the Ilands of Comora, Latitude twelve degrees thirteene minutes, to the Southward of the Æquinoctiall, where we refreshed our selves eight dayes, procuring Bullocks, Goates, Hennes, Limons, Cocos, Pines, Papanes, Plantans, Pomgranates, Sugar canes, Tammarin hennes, Rice, Milke, Rootes, Egges and Fish, in exchange of small Haberdashery wares, and some money, and had here kind usage and great store of fresh water, the rather for that we stood still upon our guard. I invited the King of Moyella beeing a Mahometan aboord the Clove, and intertained him with a noyse of Trumpets, and a consort of Musique, with a Banket, which he refused to eate of, because it was then his Lent, which amongst them is called Rammadam, but hee tooke away with him the best of the Banket to carrie to the Queene his Mother, saying, they would eate it when the Sunne was downe. The Queenes name was Sultanna Mannangalla. The Kings name was Sariffoo Booboocarree. He requested the Generall to leave him a letter in his commendations to those that should happen hereafter to come thither, wherby they might understand of his honest dealing with us. The like letter he had procured from Stephen Verhaghen, Admirall of twelve Holland ships, who arrived there in the yeare 1604. which he delivered unto our Generall, who gave him the like, with this caution in the end thereof, that they should not give

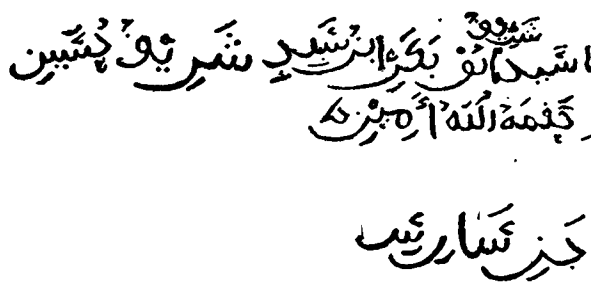
The Ile Moyella where they had refreshing.

Mahumetan manner of Fasting till Sunset.

too great credit to them, but stand upon their guard, for that oftentimes weapons continue peace.

The Inhabitants here are Negroes, with short curled haire, and Pintados about their middles, some wearing white caps, others turbants, by which we knew they were Mahometans. The King himselfe was apparrelled in a white Cotten coate, a Turbant upon his head, and a Guzerate Pintado about his middle: he was little whiter then the ordinary people, who are blacke: hee was leane, he had a round thinne blacke beard, great eyes, of a low stature, and of very few words; he could speake a little Arabique, which he had learned in his Pilgrimage to Mecca, from whence he had the name of Sheriffe. Here they desire money (whereby we understand Spanish Rialls of eight) rather then commoditie. But for Crimson broad [I. iv. 337.] Cloath, Red sculd Caps, Cambaya cloaths, and Sword blades, you may have any thing the Iland affoords, which serveth onely for refreshing, and no way for merchandizing. He gave the Generall a note under his hand of friendship, which beeing not long, I have here inserted.

Sharefoo Boobackar King of the Iland called Moyela, his note under his hand for further friendship. 1611. *written in Arabique.*



November. The fourth of November, we set saile from this Iland Moyella. The seventeenth in the morning, we made the

The maine land of Melinde. land being the maine of Melinde, the Bay or Gulfe called Formosa, bearing North-west about foure leagues off. The land trending North-east South-west, wee had thirtie fathome, small gray sand and shels, wind at East North-east, we stood off South-East a stiffe gale, and a very great sea, which sheweth to be shoale water, and a Current

which we found to set alongst the shoare, North-east. Latitude two degrees tenne minutes, variation at Sunne-setting twelve degrees thirtie one minuts Westerly. Note, this land lieth more Easterly then in our plats, otherwise we should not have fallen therewith so soone: for by our reckonings we were at least fortie eight leagues off. *Note.*

The nine and twentieth, latitude foure degrees fortie foure minutes, variation seventeene degrees thirtie foure minutes Westerly, beeing as we supposed twelve leagues off the shoales, called Baxos de Malhina East by South, we had a great Rippling, and over-fall of water, as if it had beene shoal-water; but sounding found no ground at an hundred fathome, the wind came about here to South Southeast, our course North-east.

The first of December, Latitude three degrees fortie minutes, our way North North-east eight leagues, wind at North North-east, East, East South-east, and North East by North, little wind for the most part calme, and had a very fearefull rippling of the water, much like unto the fall at London Bridge, beeing out of sight of land, and finding no ground at an hundred fathome: when we stood into the land it left us, but bearing off, (beeing fiftie leagues from land) we found very terrible. Variation sixteene degrees fifteene minutes Westerly. The second, Latitude two degrees fiftie five minutes, way North-east by North eighteene leagues, wind variable, the Rippling continuing, variation fifteene degrees fiftie seven minutes Westerly, which mooved us to thinke that wee had a Current setting to the West, the variation decreasing so suddenly. The third, Latitude foure degrees foure minutes, way South twentie three leagues, wind variable, most part calme, with great Rippling of the water, and a very strong Current Southerly, so that these last twentie foure houres, we are carried backe to the South-wards of our former latitude, one degree nine minutes. The fourth, latitude foure degrees thirtie three minutes, way South tenne leagues, little wind and variable betwixt the North-east, and East by South, very strange Rippling of the *December.* *Fearefull Ripling of the water.*

water, and strong Current Southerly, variation eighteene degrees fortie foure minutes Westerly. The fifth, latitude foure degrees fiftie foure minutes, way South by East seaven leagues, wind variable, betwixt North-east by North, & East by South, the Rippling continuing and Current Southerly, variation eighteene degrees eleven minutes Westerly at Sun-setting. The sixth, latitude five degrees five minutes, way South-east by East eighteene leagues, wind variable betwixt North-east by North, & North-east by East a gale, and at sometimes more fearefull Ripplings of the water then before, yet could have no ground at an hundred fathome. These Ripplings shew like shelfes, and are not at all times alike, but sometimes more, sometimes lesse; but met with many times in a day, and make a noise by the ships side, as if she did runne five leagues a Watch, when she doth scarce goe a head. We were much terrified there-with, the rather because wee could not imagine from whence it should proceed, seeing no land; but supposed our selves to bee amongst the Easter-most Islands, which lie off the Northermost point of S. Laurence. Here wee had raine, thunder, lightning, and sudden gusts which continued not long. The seventh, way East by South eighteene leagues, wind betwixt the North and North-east, the Rippling still continued. The eighth, way North-east twenty two leagues, wind at South-west, and Southwest by West, with Rippling, but no ground at an hundred fathome: variation twenty degrees seven minutes Westerly. The ninth, latitude foure degrees eighteen minutes, way North-east eighteen leagues, wind variable, little Current and no Rippling: variation twentie
[I. iv. 338.] degrees fortie seaven minutes Westerly; heere we found it extreame hot. The tenth, latitude foure degrees, twelve minutes, way East North-east seven leagues, wind from North-west by North, to North-east by East, many times calme, with no ripling, nor Current Southerly. Note wee have found continuall calmes, ever since we came off the Maine, and the further off, the lesse wind. Variation twentie degrees, fiftie seven minutes Westerly.

The five and twentieth: Note, it is a moneth and five dayes since we were in latitude no degrees, one minute to the Northward, close by the shoare: since which time wee have been put backe into five degrees, five and twentie minutes to the Southward: wherefore those bound to Socatora at this time of the yeere, must hold to the Eastward of Pemba two hundred leagues, East by North, the variation there encreasing Westerly, which will bring you the more Northerly: and so keeping the Island Socatora open of you, betweene the North by East, and the North North-east, you shall be in the greatest possibility to make the best use of these winds, which neare to the maine we found to keepe betweene the East by North, and East by South a continuall gale: but off at Sea, about the Islands Mascharenas at North-east North, and sometimes at North-west West, and West by South, with calmes, riplings of the water very fearefull, thunder and lightning. And albeit the North-east and Northerly winds are but bare helpes, plying to the Northwards: yet this benefit you shall have, that by how much easterly you are, by so much the more you shall recover to the Northward of the Line, before you meete with the Maine, which if you can avoid, see not in this time of the Easterly Monson, untill you be full in the latitude of ten degrees, to the Northwards of the Equinoctiall. But in the time of the Westerly Monson, keepe the shoare aboord, for it is very bold, but lyeth much more Easterly, then in our Plats.

They had passed the Line a moneth and five dayes before.

Note.

The first of January, latitude three degrees, fiftie eight minutes to the North-ward of the Equinoctiall, heere we made land, being the Maine of Magadoxa, Cape Das Baxas bearing North North-east eight leagues off; the land low, sandie and barren, all alongst; the wind at North-east and East by North, a stiffe gale, we stood off to the Eastward, way North by West twelve leagues.

January 1.

Magadoxa. Cape Das Baxas.

The second day, latitude two degrees, one and thirtie minutes, way South-east by South five and thirtie leagues, much wind and Current Southerly, having deprest the Pole in these last foure and twentie houres, one degree,

seven and twentie minutes, whereof sixe and twentie leagues shee had runne by dead reckoning, and nine leagues shee was carried by the Current contrary to expectation. The eighteenth, latitude sixe degrees, seven and twenty minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, way North-west by North foure and twentie leagues, wind at North-east, and North-east by East. About two of the clocke we made the land, being the maine, called Doara, the South-part bearing West, and the North-part, North-west by North about eight leagues off, seeming not very high, but sandie and barren, we stood off with much wind, and a Current setting North-west, as we supposed; otherwise wee should have gotten further to the North-ward.

The Maine land called Doara.

Note, that although the variation holdeth little proportion, yet did we find by experience, that in running to the Eastward wee have variation Westerly increasing: and standing into the shoare North-west our variation was Westerly decreasing: so that by reckoning according to our plats, we found our selves much further off the land, then by just proofe by variation: which truely is a most certaine thing to bee credited; observation being taken by one of experience, with an exact instrument, our so often falling with this maine, hath gained us this knowledge, variation at Sun-rising seventeene degrees, thirty sixe minutes Westerly, and at setting seventeene degrees, twentie minutes Westerly.

A notable thing concerning the Variation.

February 1. The first of February, we made the land bearing North-east by North, about seven leagues off: we sounded, and had ground at twenty seven and twenty eight fathom, soft sand: this Land is called Cape Dorfuy, being very high and barren by the Sea-side; many gusts.

Cape Dorfui.

The ninth, latitude ten degrees, thirtie seven minutes, way West by North sixteene leagues wind North-east by East: we had now sight againe of Cape Dorfuy, from whence we departed the first day, contrary to our expectation, bearing North-west, about nine leagues off, having found a strong Current in the offing, setting West North-west; which untill meeting with this land againe, we

dreamed not of, but rather thought we had been fortie five or fiftie leagues off, not once looking for the land, we sounded and had fifty fathom fine small sand, about five leagues off: this land is high and full of mountaines.

The tenth, latitude eleven degrees, twentie minutes, way North-east by East, Easterly sixteene leagues, wind from East by North, to North-east, we sounded and had ground at five and fortie fathom, small blacke sand, about eight leagues off the high land of Cape Guardafui, wee made triall of the Current with our Pinnasse, and found it to set North by East. Towards evening we had sight of the Island Abba del Curia, bearing East North-east about ten leagues off, being very high land, rising in two parts like two Islands. *Cape de Guardafui.* *Abba del Curia.*

The fourteenth, latitude eleven degrees, two and thirty minutes, wind North-east, and East North-east calme: heere we had sight of the Eastermost Irmana, seeming to the Eastward low land, about sixe leagues off.

The fifteenth, latitude eleven degrees, seven and twenty minutes, way East South-east sixe leagues, wind East, East North-east, East South-east, and North-east calme for the most part, making account to be eight leagues off the Eastermost Irmana: But wee were mistaken; for it was Abba del Curia, and the Duas Irmanas did beare North-east of us twelve leagues off, variation at Sun-setting seventeene degrees, three and twenty minutes Westerly, and in the night the wind came faire to the South South-east, we lay East with the stemme, with helpe of a Current Easterly; contrary to the report of former Navigants, and by breake of day, wee were sixe leagues off the Westmost Irmana, bearing East South-east, and had sight of Socatora ten leagues off. [I. iv. 339.] *Socatora.*

The sixteenth, latitude twelve degrees, nineteene minutes, variation at Sun-rising seventeene degrees, two and twentie minutes Westerly, wee bare up and went about the Wester point of Socatora: towards evening we had sight of the white Rock, which lyeth about foure leagues off the Westermost point of Socatora, the point

and the Rocke, bearing one off the other North-west by North, and South-east by South, the said Rock looming like a saile, standing to the Eastward, larboord tacke aboord; and was so made for, by them of former Voyages. The Current still helping us to the East-ward.

The seventeenth, latitude twelve degrees, seven and fortie minutes, variation at Sun-setting seventeene degrees, two and twentie minutes Westerly, wind variable, at South-east, and South-east by South calme, but a strong Current setting alongst the land, after we were about the Wester point. This night wee came to an anchor, one league and an halfe to the Westward of the Kings Towne, called Tammarin, in twentie fathom water, distant from the shoare two miles; our shoalding in, after we had ground, was two and twentie, twenty, nineteene, twenty, twentie, twentie, small white sand, the wind East South-east, and South-east calme.

The Road of Tammarin.

The eighteenth, we came to an anchor in the Road of Tammarin, right before the Kings house, in nine fathom water, a league from the shoare, fine sandie ground.

§. II.

Occurrents at Socatora and in the Red-Sea.

Socatora. This Letter was a briefe summe of Sir Henry Middleton his disadventures in the Red-Sea by Turkish perfidie, as in his owne Journall you have read, with caveat to all English, and notice of the Road Assab.

THe Generall sent Master Richard Cockes, Cape Merchant, with the Skiffe well appointed unto the King, to acquaint him what wee were, and the cause of our comming, and to provide cattell and fresh victuall. Master Cockes returned, having beene friendly entertained and feasted by the King, and the rest that went with him. They brought a Present of fresh victuall from the King to the Generall, together with a Letter left there by Sir Henry Middleton, dated the first of September 1611. aboord the Trades-Increase in Delisha Road, in the Island of Socatora: the originall our Generall kept, and returned the copie verbatim, for the future ships.

The nineteenth, They went in solemnest manner on shoare, where the King bid us welcome, and feasted all

the Company in his Royal maner, himself being richly vested in crimson Velvet, laid rich with gold-lace. His house was built of free-stone, Castle-like: he had above an hundred attendants, wherof about fifty were wel apparelled, according to the Moors fashion, the rest were naturalls of the Island. After many complements and curtesies, at night we took our leave of him. His name was Sultan Amur Bensaid, sonne to the King of Cushin upon the Arab side. We paid heere for kine twelve Ryalls of eight the piece, sheepe three shillings the piece, and for Goats one Ryall of eight a piece, which though it be deare, yet are the most of them not mans meate, being so vildely, and more then beastly buggered and abused by the people, as that it was most lothsome to see, when they were opened. We paid for Rice three pence a pound, Dates three pence a pound, Hens twelve pence a piece, Tobacco seven hundred leaves a Ryall of eight, Egges pence a piece. The King will take no English money, but all Ryalls of eight.

Or Caixem.

The twenty seventh, our General caused a meeting of his merchandizing Councel, unto whom he read the Companies Remembrance, and the Letter received by the hands of the King of Socatora, from Sir Henry Middleton: and shewed them, That whereas he had been put in good hope by the Companies Remembrance, to have obtained good store of Aloes heere at Socatora, which now he found frustrate, the King being wholly unprovided, and not able to furnish us therewith untill August: And whereas we were appointed to goe from hence to Aden and Moha in the Red-sea, (the Monson not serving for Surat) we were now utterly disswaded from the view of those parts, by the treachery and wrong done to Sir Henry and his Fleet. And lastly, whereas if we did not goe for the Red-sea, if we should remaine heere in Delisha Road sixe monethes attending the Monson, wee should find it very chargeable, and be able to effect nothing, (for untill the end of September, there is no comming upon the Coast of Cambaya) his opinion was, that notwithstanding these bad

tydings received from Sir Henry, yet that we should go
[I. iv. 340.] for Moha, we having with us the Grand Segniors Passe, which the former ships never had. For hereby wee should be able to certifie the Company what stead the Passe might stand them in, determining to stand upon our guard, and not to adventure any one man without good pledge, so that wee might ride securely, and obtaine trade aboord, though none on shoare, our force being able to defend and offend upon occasion, the greatest power that Port could raise. And finding no hope of Commerce, then he intended to make use of his Majesties Commission, in respect of the violence offered unto Sir Henry and his Company, and so enforce the putting off of our English commodities, or to make spoile of their Skale and Custome, by not permitting the Indian ships, which were expected in the fift of March to enter there, which would be a matter of no small hinderance unto them: but untill then hee would be very unwilling to deale with them by force. And this course he did the rather approove of, because heere needed no parting of company, but the Fleet might keepe together, and assoone as the Monson should permit, goe joyntly together for Surat, according to the Companies order, their force united the better to resist whatsoever the enemie should attempt. The Councell generall assented to what he propounded; and so concluded to keepe company together, and goe for the Red-sea.

March 1. The first of March, we weighed anchor, & set saile for the Red sea, the wind at S. E. and South, sometimes little
Note. wind. The winds since we came to an anchor heere, were in the mornings and so till night for the most part at North-east by East, and East North-east, and at night off the land between the South and South-east, faire and temperat weather: until you come to foure fathom, where we might have rid a musket shot off the shore, & further in, is three & three fathom and an halfe, it is bold all the Bay alongst, keeping two Cables length off the land, faire sand, and some stones amongst: a demie-culvering will

reach the Castle, which is of no force. Latitude in Tammarin Bay twelve degrees, five and thirtie minutes to the North, variation eighteene degrees, two and fortie minutes Westerly. The King of Socatora gave counsaile, that if we went to the Red sea, we should ply to the Southward of Abba del Curia, for that keeping on the north-side wee should bee put over to the Arabian shoare, and should not without great trouble fetch Cape Guardafui, so that by proofe we found it best to keepe the Abash shoare aboord. *Tammarin Bay.*

The fourth in the morning, wee saw Cape Guardafui bearing West eight or nine leagues off, we steered in West North-west latitude twelve degrees one minute, the Cape South by West foure leagues off, no ground at an hundred fathom, the land high and smooth, variation at Sun-rising, seventeene degrees, foure and thirtie minutes Westerly. In the evening wee had ground, standing in alongst the land, to find the Bay of Feluke, our depth was twentie sixe, seventeene and eighteene fathome. Heere we resolved to go for Moha, and not for Aden, because Aden is a Towne of Garrison, and of little Trade, with other inconveniences, as exaction of custome, &c. as appeared by the sixt Voyage. Here we took good store of Mullets with our Sayne, other large excellent fish with lines and hookes. Heere are Gummes of severall sorts very sweet in burning, also fine Mats well requested at Aden and Moha, and the Indies: For ordinarily the Indian ships touch heere, both inward and outward, to buy thereof, and of the Gummes: also victuall, sheepe and Butter; which is farre better cheape then at Moha, for daily Boats goe over laden with victuall, to sell at Aden and Moha; but they will not barter for any thing but linnen cloath. *Mount Feluke.* *Severall sorts of sweet gums.*

Note that at Feluke Towne, there is wood and water to be had plentie, but not in the bottom of the Bay, the passage up to the Towne is so large, as that three ships may passe a brest without danger. The going in is betweene the high Homock and the low sandie point. *The benefit of the Towne of Feluke.*

The Masters were willed to steere from hence West by North, alongst the South-shoare to Demity, and then to shape their course over to Aden.

The ninth, latitude eleven degrees, fiftie eight minutes, way West five and twentie leagues, wind at East and East by South, a stiffe Breese all day, but at night little wind, keeping alongst the shoare about eight leagues off, we steered West by North, variation at Sun-rising fifteene degrees, ten minutes Westerly.

Two small Islands.

The tenth in the morning, steering West by North, the wind Easterly, wee had sight of two small Islands, lying off the high land of Demety about a league off the maine, distant one from the other foure leagues, the Eastermost bearing South by West seven leagues off, and the Westermost South-west, the same distance; we stood over for the high land of Aden North-west by North, and North-west, the wind at East, and East by North, a stiffe breese; Easterly Current: variation fifteene degrees, no minutes, Westerly, latitude eleven degrees, fiftie eight minutes.

The eleventh we had sight of the high land of Arabia making it to be the high-land of Darsina, bearing North by East, by the compasse eight leagues of latitude at noone thirteene degrees eleven minutes, of variation at Sunne-rising, fifteene degrees two minutes Westerly, having had a strong Easterly current comming over, for wee steered betweene the North North-west and North-west, and were so carryed to the East-ward that shee made but a North by West way, contrarie to expectation, for had wee had no current, wee should by course have given her a North-west way Westerly. But after we were shot in about some twelve leagues off the shoare, we found no current, the point or head-land of Aden breaking it off, as we supposed.

I sent certaine instructions in writing to Captaine [I. iv. 341.] Towerson and Master Davis, to be observed at our arrivall in the Roade of Moha for the better grace and countenancing of our action and safe guarding of our ships; having to doe with so treacherous a Nation.

The twelfth, variation at Sunne-rising foureteene degrees five minutes Westerly in sight of the high-land of Aden, bearing West by South ten leagues off, We steered in West South-west, and at noone had latitude twelve degrees, fortie nine minutes about five leagues off. The South-most point bearing South-west by West, we sounded and had ground eighteen fathome soft sand.

The thirteenth, in the evening fourteene leagues to the East-ward of the entrance into the straights, and to the West-ward of Aden sixteene leagues, we came to an anchor, in respect we were not acquainted with the Coast, and finding the inconveniences afore-said, keeping all day within three or foure leagues off the shoare to the time wee anchored, our sounding was fortie, thirtie eight, nine and twentie, eighteene, seventeene, sixteene, fifteene, sixteene, seventeene, nineteene, eighteene, nineteene fathome. Here wee let fall our anchor, sandie ground, the Wester-most land we could see, bearing West by South Southerly, and the high-land to the Eastward. North North-east about foure or five leagues off.

The foureteenth, in the morning we weighed, the wind at West by North, a small gale with raine, having had none till this present, these foure monethes. We steered South-west by South as neere as we could lye for the straights. *No raine in foure moneths.*

In the evening, esteeming our selves to be off the straights, we shortned sayle and stood it off and in with a short sayle, keeping our Leade all night, beeing eight or nine leagues off the Mayne of Arabia, we stood off West by South, and had no ground at an hundred fathome.

The fifteenth, our course West by South Southerly sixe leagues, wind East South-east, the land which on the foureteenth about sixe at night did beare West by South ten leagues off, did now beare South-west by South foure leagues off. To the East-ward heere we had sight of three small Ilands or Hummockes bearing North North-west one league & an halfe, the greatest showing as if it

had a Castle upon it, beeing the Eastermost, heere is a current setting from the South-east.

And about noone opened the straights, we steered North North-east, the wind at East by South, then we steered North and North by East, having thirtie, eight and twentie, seven and twentie, eight and twentie, three and twentie, one and twentie, nineteene, eighteene, seventeene, fifteene, sixteene, ten, ten, twelve, ten, nine, seven and nine, and when wee had opened the White-house which standeth on a sandy Bay on the star-boord side of the entrance North-east, and the rocke or low point on the same side East North-east, we had sixe and seven fathome fine blacke sand. Then we steered North North-east untill wee brought the rocke or low point East halfe a point Southerly, then North by West, latitude at noone twelve degrees, fiftie six minutes; And keeping this course we had seven, sixe, six and a halfe, and as wee went in the deeper water, foureteene, fifteene and sixteene fathome good ground, and at night did let fall our anchor in fifteene and a halfe fathome blacke Ozie ground, distant from the Arabian shoare three leagues, and from the Abesh shoare on the other-side ten leagues faire cleere weather, so that we could see from side to side, the wind at South South-east, little wind.

They could see from side to side of the straight.

The sixteenth, in the morning we weighed, the wind at East South-east, wee steered North by West for Moha, and had eighteene, sixteene, fifteene fathome about foure leagues off the shoare. Then we steered North and North by East, and had nine, ten, eight and seven fathome: but finding a shoale or banke, which lyeth to the South-eastward of the Towne, wee steered North North-west keeping in eight, nine, seven fathome, and edging to the Southward we had ten, eleven, ten and a halfe, untill we brought the Towne East by South Southerly of us, and were in five and a halfe fathome where we let fall our anchor, the Steeple or high Church standing in the Towne bearing East, and one league of the point to the South-ward South by East three leagues off. Nota, you must bring the

high Church East Northeast Easterly, before you shall be cleered of the shoale afore-said at your comming into the Roade: which is very dangerous, and where the Trades-Increase did set at least foure and twentie houres. But it shewes it selfe by the colour of the water: here at entrie, wee had very much wind at South and South South-east with a great Sea.

The shoale whereon the Trades Increase strooke.

Not long after we were at anchor, the Governour sent off a poore old slave in a small Canoa, to know what was the cause of our comming. The Generall used the poore man kindly: who of his owne accord told him that the English that lately were heere, were not well used by Regib Aga then Governour, whereupon he was cashiered, and that the Governour at the present was called Ider Aga, a Grecian by birth, a man very kinde to Strangers, and a great friend to Merchants. The Generall willed the Purser to give the poore man two Rials of eight, and so returned him to his Master, with answere that we were Englishmen, and friends to the Grand Signior, and would upon his sending of a worthy and fit man, acquaint him further with the cause of our comming. Presently after he sent off an Italian turned Moore, well clad, with the like message, and to know whether we had the Grand Signiors Passe. The Generall told him hee had not only such a Passe, but likewise Letters from the Kings Majestie of Great Britaine unto the Basha. The Italian desired to see them. Which the Generall denyed, in respect hee held him a base fellow, from Christian to turne Moore, but willed him to acquaint the Governour therewith, and that we were appointed in honour of the said Passe to shoote off fiftie one Peeces of Ordnance at our arrivall heere in this Road, which he intended presently to doe. The Italian intreated that he might first give his Master to understand thereof, which was granted, and the Purser willed to give him five Rials of eight, and his Boate one, his name was Mustafa Trudgeman. The Ordnance shot out of each shippe was, The Clove nineteene, Hector seventeene, Thomas fifteene Peeces. The Towne answered

Regeb Aga displaced, Ider Aga successor.

[I. iv. 342.]

with five Peeces of excellent Ordnance, and two Gallies three a-piece. These Gallies were stout Gallies, of five and twentie Oares on a side, and well fitted, yards up. The Captaines name whereof was Mamy, and the Captaines name of the Towne Mahumet-bey.

The seventeenth, the Generall received a present from the Governour Ider Aga, that is to say, three Bullockes, twentie Hens, two baskets of Plantens, and two of Limons, with many complements, desiring him to come ashore. He returned him a faire fowling Peece, and willed the Messenger to tell him that hee desired to have a sufficient pledge from him for his safe returne, (when he should come) for reasons not unknowne to the Governour.

The Governour sent his Secretarie unto the Generall with a Letter to know what answere he had formerly returned him by Mustafa Trudgeman: for he having given him at much intreatie a Bottle of Wine was so drunke therewith before he got to the Governour, as that he could not speake: which being certified by the Secretarie, on the eighteenth Master Cockes, and Bolton our Linguist were sent ashoare, to acquaint the Governour that the Generalls comming was to intreate Trade, and that whensoever it pleased him to send a man of equall worth to remayne with the ships, as a pledge for his safe returne, hee would in person come and visit him: and also to let him to understand that our Generall was not ignorant of the wrongs done by Regib Aga unto Sir Henry Middleton his Countrey-man and his Companie. But if we might now have quiet Trade, all matters passed should be forgotten, and we would treate with him of such our businesse as the Grand Signior had given us leave, which we hoped should bee for all our goods. The Secretarie remayned aboord, pledge for Master Cockes and Bolton; he did eate of our victuals, but had it dressed by his owne people. At night they returned having beene well used, feasted, vested in cloth of Silver, and carryed up and downe the Towne with Musicke before them, to give the people to understand how welcome they were,

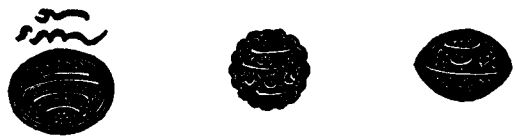
as Master Cockes understood it. But at their comming away, they were brought into a house, and dis-robed of their Vests. The Generall asked the Secretarie whether it were ordinary and usuall with them to doe so, he answered; Yes: he replyed that in no other part of Turkie the like was done, that ever he heard of. In the end the Secretarie was dismissed, and halfe a Violet Kersie given him: hee was very importunate to know whether the Generall were not of kinne unto Sir Henry Middleton. The like was demanded of Master Cockes by them ashore, fearing that hee was come to take revenge of them.

The Letter written from his mouth is this.

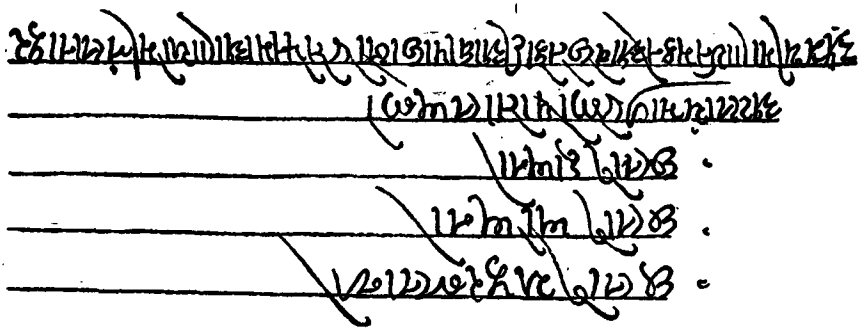
RIght worthy and my esteemed good Friend, I have had conference with them you sent ashoare, and have used them in the best sort our Countrey fashion doth affoord, investing them with Robes, and conducting them backe with Musicke, that the Countrey people might take notice how you come and are received in Amitie. And if it be your pleasure to come ashore to me to morrow, I will give you the best entertaynment the place will affoord, with a true and upright heart, without guile or deceit, & will send you my Secretarie or any other pledge you shall esteeme fitting, if it please you to send me word thereof by my Interpreter, which is now aboord your ship, the time you will have me send my pledge, and houre you meane to come ashoare. I have written yesternight to Jeffer Basha, and it will bee some fourteene or fifteene dayes before I have answere from him. Yet in the meane-time if you please to send any of your people ashoare to buy either fresh victuals, or any thing else the Countrey will affoord, they shall be welcome. As also to sell any thing they please, without any molestation at all And so expecting your answer, I cease: from Moha, the five and twentieth of Moharem, De 1021. de Mahomet.

Dus Como bono Amico
Aidar Aga Aga de Mucha.

[I. iv. 343.] I have also divers Letters of Mamy Captaine of Mucha (Moha) or of the Gallies there, unto the Generall, which to avoide prolixitie, and because the substance is as the former, I omit. I have yet caused some of the Seales to be cut, and heere added for the raritie, being not in wax but stampes of Inke, in forme as heere is expressed.



Likewise I have added a piece of a Letter in the Banian hand and Language (common in great part of the Indies) written from the Sabandar in Moha, to Captaine Saris.



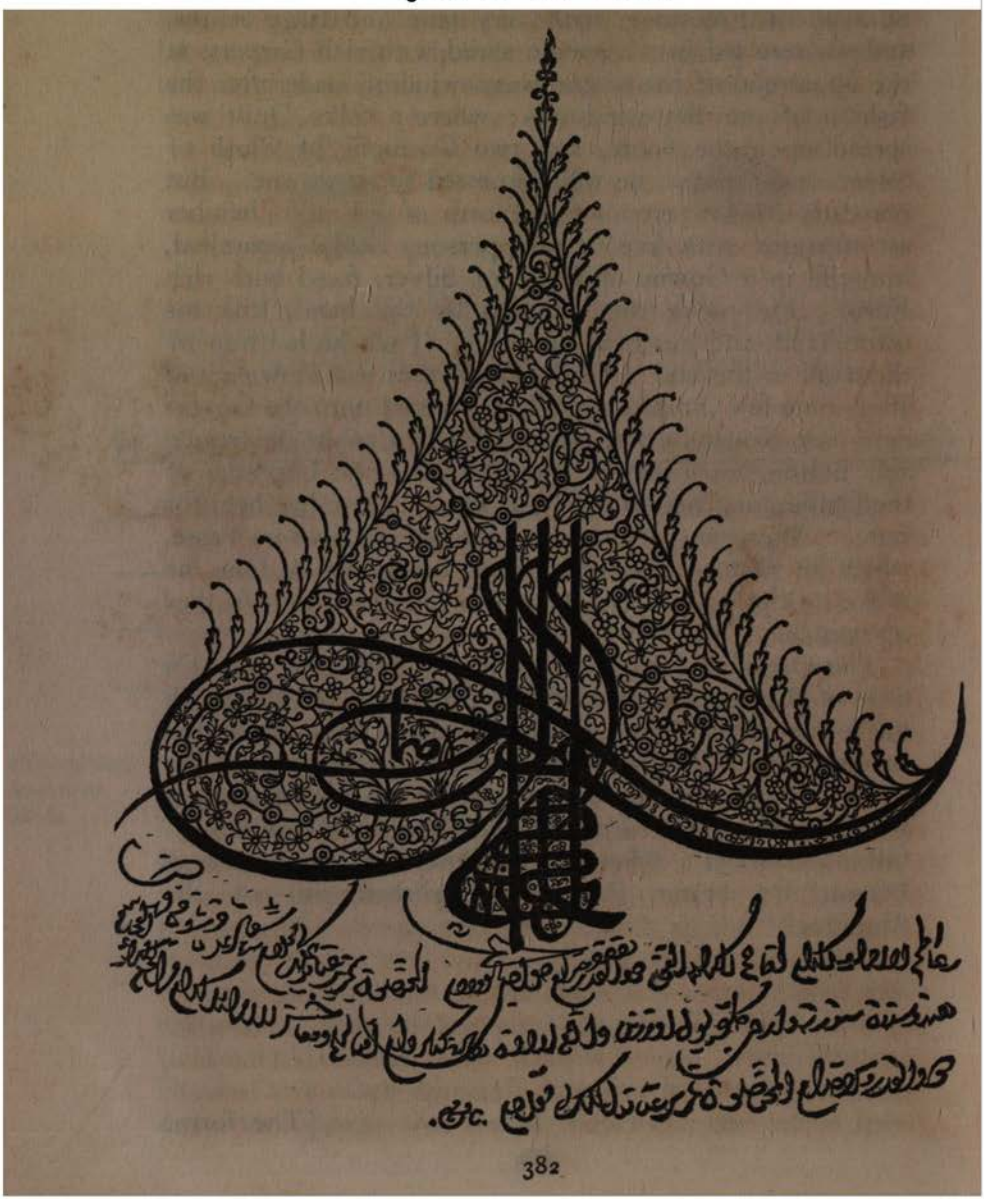
Generall Saris landeth at Moha. The twentieth, the Governour sent aboord, according to agreement the day before, Mahumet Aga Admirall of the shoare, and Commander of the Roade for the Turkes Custome and Anchorage, And Nasuffe a grave old man, with two attendants proper men to remayne pledges for the Generall. So he went ashore with all the Merchants, the three Skiffes well fitted, and had one and fiftie Peeces of Ordnance shot out of the ships at parting. Hee was received at the landing place by the Captaine of the Gallies, and divers other principall men, with Waites, Drums, and other Musicall Instruments playing before, and divers Peeces shot out of the Castle, the people fol-

lowing in such abundance, that we could hardly passe. Having passed two Guards of verie proper men well clad, we were brought into the Governours House, which is built all of Freestone, with very faire and large staires, and so were led into a roome spred with rich Carpets, at the upper end of the roome was a window made after the fashion of our Bay-windowes: where a Silke Quilt was spread upon the floore, and two Cushions of Cloth of Silver, laid thereon, he was requested to sit downe. But presently the Governour came forth of another Chamber accompanied with five or sixe persons richly apparelled, himselfe in a Gowne of Cloth of Silver, faced with rich Furre. He tooke the Generall by the hand, kist his owne hand, and put it to his head. Then he led him by the hand to the said window, where they sate downe, and after some few complements, he delivered unto the Governour our Kings Letter, which Master Cockes did reade, and Bolton our Linguist interpreted to the Captaine of the Gallies, and hee to the Aga, which course hee held for state. After, he delivered him the Grand Signiors Passe, which he gave to his Secretarie to reade, which done, he tooke it, kist it, and layd it upon his head without further ceremonie.

The Originall I have in my hands, and have caused a little of the beginning to be here expressed, and therewith the forme of the Grand Signiors Seale, (a little contracted to come within the Page) and heere, to give delight to the Curious Reader, annexed. All the larger strokes or lines are Gold, the rest Azure, with Red here and there beautifully intermixed. After which followeth the same Letters Patent, for better Patencie, Englished out of the Arabique.

[The forme

[I. iv. 344.] The forme of the Grand Signiors Seale, with part of his Passe.



The Great Turkes Letters Patents Englished.

YOu that are My most Laudable, Fortunate, Wealthie, and great Vice-reys and Beglerbeys, that are on the way from My most Happy and Imperiall Throne (both by Sea and Land) unto the Confines and Bounds of the East-Indies; Owners of some part of Dignitie, and those unto whom belongeth to give aide, helpe, and succour in Gods cause, and Mussulmanicall Religion, upon their Emperours becke, The Wealth and Greatnesse of whom let it continue for ever. Likewise unto yee My most [I. iv. 345.] Laudable and Valiant Saniacq Beys, that are under the above-named Beglerbeys, owners, and hope of future greater Dignities, and those unto whom belongeth dutifull aide and help in Gods cause and Religion, upon their Emperours direction: the Honour and Dignitie of whom bee ever continuing. And unto yee, My most Laudable Wise, and Prudent Justices of Peace, Judges, and Ministers of Justice, that are within the Precincts of the said Saniacqbeys, whose Judgements, Justice, and Words doe flow, as from a fountaine of all Wisedome and Prudence: The Worthinesse and Greatnesse of whose Dignitie and Function, let it continue for ever. Also unto yee My Laudable, Great, and most Worthy Captaines and Reyses of all Our Navies and Shipping that swimme upon the face of the Sea. Unto yee My laudable Captaines, of the Castles, Cities, and Townes: And unto yee worthy and laudable Customers, dwelling upon the Seacoast, upon Rivers, Bridges, and all other parts of our Dominions, and thereunto adjacent. Upon sight of this My most High and Imperiall Commandement, in conformitie of your most bound duties, yee shall arise, and doe obeisance and Reverence thereunto.

Hereby yee shall understand, that the Embassadour of the King of Great Brittanie that resideth in Our happie and most high Port, hath given us to understand by his Supplication; That forasmuch as some of his Masters the King of Great Brittaine his subjects, have with great

charge and labour, discovered a Trade in the East-Indies, and withall understand of Wealth, & likelihood of Trade in some Parts of Our Dominions by the way to be had in their Passage to the said Indies, beeing therefore desirous to visit those places for the better enlarging of their said Trade. To the ende that such men may in so good and laudable enterprises have all favour, aide, and helpe (so farre as lawfully and conveniently may be graunted) Hath requested us in the Name of his said Master the King of Great Brittaine, to vouchsafe them our safe-conduct and recommendations. In conformitie of whose request, as also in regard We and our Predecessors, are and have beene for the space of many yeeres in strict league and Amitie, with the afore-mentioned King of Great Brittaine, and the Subjects of that Kingdome, who long have had, and at this present have free Traffique and Trade in merchandizing in our Dominions and Provinces through the Mediterranean Seas. Wee therefore doe command, and expressely charge yee all, and every of yee, our above mentioned Subjects and Officers, that yee will not only kindly and lovingly intertaine and receive the said Merchants and Subjects of Great Brittaine, comming or passing through or by any of Our Dominions, especially intending to trade, to the Dominions of Yemen, Aden, and Moha, and the parts adjoyning thereunto. Assisting and relieving them with all things needfull for themselves, their men and Ships: but also freely to permit them by Land or by Sea, to goe or saile, outward and returning, even as their occasions shall require, and to remaine in any of our Dominions, Countreys, or Cities, granting them such libertie of Traffique, and Priviledges as shall be reasonable without giving or suffering any let or hinderance, injurie, or molestation to be offered or done unto them. Yea, yee shall yeeld unto them such Offices of Benevolence and Humanitie, as shall bee meet and convenient to be yeelded unto honest men, and strangers, undertaking so long and laborious a Voyage. And if so be that We shall understand, that contrary to the Capitu-

lations, the Amitie, and League, which is betweene us and the King of Great Brittaine, yee doe offer them the least wrong, and any way molest and trouble the said Merchants in their Traffique, and ought else: Know ye for certaine, that yee shall not onely incurre Our high displeasure, but yee shall be punished for example unto others: and therefore carry your selves conformable to this My Imperial Commandement, and give credit to this My Imperiall Ensigne. Written at Our Mansion Guard at Constantinople, on the fifteenth day of the Moone called Zilkigie. Anno. 1019.

The Governour afterward tooke a Copie thereof, and returned it againe.

He told our Generall that he was welcome, desiring that what had formerly been past, touching Sir Henry Middleton, might not be remembred, for that the quarrell grew by two drunken men, and was by the then Governour rashly followed, for which he was displaced five Moneths since. And as concerning Trade, he could not permit any great matter, till he had direction from his Master Jafar Basha of Sinan, whom he had written unto, and would within tenne or twelve dayes returne an answer, earnestly intreating that he would permit his people to come on shoare to buy what they wanted, and to sell small matters, to the end that the Naturalls might see that we were in peace and amitie together, and that what was past was forgotten. These his speeches made good what the Generall had formerly conceived, touching the doubt that the East-Indian ships would make of their comming in here, unlesse they understood that wee were all friends: and their not comming in here, would bee a great hinderance to every Officer of this Port. Besides, we riding so neere the shoare (as we did of purpose) as that no laden ship could come in, but that she must perforce ride within call of us, which did put them in the greater feare: whereby he reckoned himselfe sure of Trade, either a shoare or aboord the ships, and that keeping the Towne

in this awe, he might the more boldly adventure his skiffe and people to the shoare, to fetch what our ships wanted.

The Governour feasted them very royally at a dinner, with all sorts of wild fowle, Hennes, Goates, Mutton, Creame, Custards, divers made dishes, and Confections, all served in Vessels of Tinne (different from our Pewter) and made Goblet-fashion with feet, the dishes so placed the one upon the other, that they did reach a yard high as we sate, and yet each dish fit to bee dealt upon without remoove. The meate was all served up at once, and that [I. iv. 346.] before we sat down. Our drinke was water simply, or else water boyled with an herbe called Cauhaw therein, which is in tast somewhat bitter. We did sit crosse-legged upon Carpets laid upon the floare: for there they used neither Tables nor Stooles. Dinner ended, he led the Generall into an inner Chamber, where he had fowre little boyes that attended him, beeing his buggering boyes: there they two being set upon a crimson Velvet Carpet, the rest of the Chamber floare beeing spread with very rich Carpets, one of the boyes bearing a linnen napkin in his hand, did usher in two of the other, whereof the first had a silver Chaffing-dish with coales, the other brought a dish wherein were divers rich perfumes, viz. Ambergreece, Lignum Aloes, and others. The Governour requested the Generall to let the Boy cover his head close with the napkin; which done, the other Boy held the Chaffing-dish, with the perfumes put therein, under his head, that he might receive the fume which was very pleasant. After he had finished, the Governour and two other chiefe men about him did the like, being as it seemeth a ceremony much used among them. Having conferred a while together, there came in three of the Boyes again. The one brought a Vest or Gowns of cloth of Gold, wrapped up in a case of Taffatie, died in Saffron to preserve the colour of the Gold. The other Boy had a Shash or Turbant striped all with Gold, and in length twenty two yards: the third a Damaskeen, or Turkish Sword, richly garnished with Silver and Gilt,

both Hilt and Scabberd. The Governour himselfe did put the Vest upon the General, & did girt the Damaskeen unto his side, telling him, That they were not presents from himselfe, but commanded by the Grand Signior, who (as he said) did bestow them, and intreated him to ride with the Cady, (who is chiefe Justice there) and the Captaine of the Gallies, about the Towne, that the people might take notice of the amitie and friendship that was betwixt us. They brought a horse richly trapped, the mettall worke of the bridle all of Silver: but he rather chose to goe on foot, that he might the better view the Towne, whereto they gave consent, and so wee walked together about the Town, and having viewed a house wherein to have setled our Factory, I was brought to the house of the Captaine of the Gallies, where he had a costly banquet. And thus returning by the Governours house, he met him upon the stayres, where againe earnestly intreating that the discourtesies offered Sir Henry might be forgotten, and that it might appeare by his often comming or sending his people a shoare, they tooke their leaves one of another. And so accompanied with a great traine of the best of the Towne, he returned aboord, where the shippes discharged fifteene peeces of Ordnance. The Turkes that remained pledges having divers Presents given them, were sent friendly on shoare, and had fifteene Peeces shot off at their parting.

The one and twentieth, the Generall sent M. Cocks and others a shoare with a Present to the Governour, a case of Bottles fild with Rosa Solis, which he did earnestly desire the Generall to give him, and to send it so wrapped up, as that it might not be knowne what it was: likewise was sent two Vests of Violet broad cloth to his Eunuches. They had further directions given them to enquire a shoare what Customes were due in and out, the weights, measures, valuations of Coynes, prizes of Indicos, Callicoes, Cotton-yearne, and other Commodities fit for us to lade. Also to procure the Jewe to come aboord, who was in the Ascension at her casting away, neere the Barre of

Surat, and could give us certaine intelligence of Sir Henries successe.

Note of Moha Roade.

Note, that this Road of Moha is very open and dangerous, with very shoald water a mile off the Towne low land even with the Sea. At this present the wind South South-west a great storme, which caused such a Sea, as that we did send not lesse then seven feete, riding in five fathome; and the wind at West you have no succour. But the country people say, that in the time of those winds, which beginne in the fine of May, the extremitie of heate is such, as that it deads the wind, which maketh that season very contagious.

Extremitie of heat beginneth in the fine of May.

The thirtie one, the General understood from the Captaine of the Towne that yester-night late arryved the Messenger from the Grand Basha, with Letters to the Governour to this effect, That he should yeeld us peaceable Trade, both on shoare, and with the Indian ships, as he would answer the contrary at his perill, and to let us furnish our selves with what we wanted. He was doubtfull of the certaintie of this pleasing newes, for that not halfe an houre before, M. Cockes had speech with the Governour, who spake of no such matter. The Captaine said, that the reason of the Governours not speaking thereof, was, because here was a Jelba bound for Mecca, and readie to depart, which he would not have to know, that the Basha had graunted us trade, fearing least they should acquaint the Sheriffe at Mecca therewith, who by his Letters to the Grand Signior, might cause the graunt to be revoked. But we rather thinke the Basha hath returned some harsh answer, with direction to doe that unto us, which as yet he cannot effect, we being so watchfull and wary over him, and therefore will not be knowne to have received answer from Sinan, till better bethinking. Note that Hosoroofe (one that closely had sent a letter of M. Femells, testifying their treacherous usage here) did now send word by our Linguist, That the Generall should beware of comming a shoare himselfe, unlesse he had good pledges as formerly, and then he

might boldly come, but otherwise not to trust them, though the Governour should sweare upon his Alcaron: for they were souldiers, and did not much respect oathes: and as hee heard, the newes that was come from the Basha did not tend to our Benefit: for that the Copy of the Grand Signiors passe was not as then come to the Bashaes hands: But then should be fully seene what would be done, which would be within sixe dayes.

[I. iv. 347.] The second of Aprill, 1612. the Caravan from Grand Cayro in Egypt, arrived here in Moha. The third, came into the Road two Indian ships, one of Chaul, the other of Cananor, their lading Indicos, Callicos, Pintados, Amber-greece, and Cotten-yarne, with at least foure hundred passengers, who carried much wealth about them. We saluted them with nine Peeces of Ordnance out of our Fleet. They answered with three Chambers a Peece beeing all they had. The Generall sent the Skiffe, to enquire what newes upon the Coast of Surat. The Captaine sent word that there were three English ships trading there, but further could not tell. The Captaine of the Towne with five chiefe Janisaries came aboord, beeing sent by the Governour, to let our Generall understand, that the Basha had written unto him to intreate and use us kindly, and to permit us peaceable Trade, desiring the Generall that hee would in person come a shoare the next morning, and he should further understand. He craved pardon, not forgetting Hosoroofes admonition. But Captaine Towerson being desirous to goe a shoare, the Captaine was requested to tell the Governour, that the Generall upon good pledge would the next morning send his Brother unto him, which was well liked of: so having feasted the Captaine and his retinew, and given them divers Presents, they were sent a shoare, with twentie one Peeces of Ordnance at parting, which he sent word that he tooke so well, as that we should not want the best assistance he could doe us.

Aprill. Caravan of Cayro. Indian ships.

The fourth in the morning, though the pledges were not yet come, yet desirous to see what the Basha had

ordered, Captaine Towerson was sent a shoare: for we held the two Indian shippes which rid hard by us, for sufficient pledge, if on shore any injury should be offered. The Governour used him friendly, and vested him to content, but nothing was effected of that hee went about, the Turkes not performing their promise. The Governour sent word, that it would be fitting to send two of our men of good fashion up to the Basha to Sinan, with the Kings Letter and Present, and then speedy dispatch would be had to our liking. Whereof the General approoved, intending the next day to lay out a Present for him.

Three letters from Sir Henry Middleton and Capt. Sharpeigh.

The fifth, the Captaine of the Gallies sent aboord three letters, which the last night came to the Governours hands, from S. Henry Middleton, and Captaine Sharpeigh, who rid then at an anchor at Babmandel. The effect whereof was, That he was come from Surat, and had little or no Trade there. That Captaine Hawkins upon distast was come from Agra, and with his wife was aboord his ship. That he had brought all away from thence, except one man of Captaine Hawkins, which went over Land for England. And that he was come backe to bee revenged of the Turks, wishing our Generall to get his goods and people aboord with all speed. Hereupon he altered what yesternight was agreed upon, and forthwith sent one of the Marchants away to Sir Henry with a letter of the proceedings of his Voyage, and of the manner of our entertainement here hitherto: that if he had not thus come in, he had on Monday sent two men of fashion up to Sinan.

Indian Merchandise.

Note, the two Indian ships aforesaid, did discharge here these goods following: Lignum Aloes sixtie Kintals, Indico sixe hundred Churles out of both ships, Shashes of all sorts great store, Cinamon of Celon one hundred and fiftie Bahars, each Bahar three Churles and an halfe, Osfar which is a red die, great quantitie, Cloves great store, Bastas or white Callicos from twentie to fortie Royals the Corge, (a Corge being twentie pieces) a great

quantitie. The Price of Indico was from thirty to thirty five, fortie, and fiftie Rials the Churle.

The seventh, the Generall writ to the Captaine of the Towne, that he should procure the Indian Merchants to barter with him at reasonable rates for such of their commodities as he should desire, and as might serve to lade one of our ships, which doing would satisfie S. Henry of their now friendly meaning towards us, and cause him to forbeare all hostile attempts.

At this present, there was a great rumour spread in the Towne, of a Jelba or two, which Sir Henry had taken (comming over from the Abesh side with victuall) in respect whereof, we durst scarcely adventure our Skiffe and Ging a shoare.

The Generall received another letter from Captaine Mamee, That the answer which the Governour had received from the Basha, was in these words; Ider Aga, You have writ me that three English ships are come to Moha, to trade in merchandise, with the Grand Signiors Passe: Give them faithfull promise from me to come on shoare, to take a house untill the Monson be past, to buy and sell. You have likewise writ me, that they will send up two men unto me: give them all things fit for their journey, &c. Captaine Mamee did further write, that what our Generall would propound, the Aga and hee would underwrite. That for bartering, they would doe something for love, but nothing by force, and were as willing to lade all the three ships as one.

Weights of Moha.

Note, as we were informed, the weight here used is called an Inen, which is two Rottalas, a Rottala is a pound of their weight: tenne Inens is twentie pound of theirs, which makes twenty three pound English haberdepoize, sometimes foure and twentie pounds as the Weigher will befriend you. A Churle of Indico by their weight is an hundred and fiftie pound, and of ours betwixt an hundred and sixtie sixe, and an hundred and seventie pound. Cotten wooll is sold by the Bahar, which is three hundred Rottalas, making betwixt three hundred thirty two pound,

and three hundred forty foure pound English, at eighteen Royals the Bahar, very good & cleane. Their [I. iv. 348.] measure of length is called a Peeke, contayning seven and twentie inches, or three quarters of our English yard.

The ninth, the Governour sent off a Canoa to intreate me, that the Generall in the morning he would send ashoare, and he should have both the Bashas answere, and a warrant to stay all such Junckes as shall passe Sir Henrie, and force them to come in hither, and trade with them for such of their goods as he desired, &c. and that he would suffer his people to come ashoare, because the Merchants were now growne fearefull, by reason of Sir Henries staying some of the ships.

The tenth, Master Cockes was sent ashoare, had conference with the Governour, and Captaine Mamy: who told him that they were now fully resolved, that what they had formerly promised, they might not performe, the Cadie disliking thereof, saying, that they might hazard their owne lives thereby: That neither Merchant nor Broker would come aboord (as our General had requested) the Knight had so discontented them: That they of Grand Cairo had their Factors there, which lay purposely to ingrosse Indicoes, and other Indian Commodities, whereof they would not buy untill they should see what quantitie would come: That the Bannians (or Indian Liegers ashoare) which have Indicoes in their hands, would not sell, hoping of a scarcitie: he also brought word, that they denie ashoare to buy any of our goods, unlesse wee will land them first.

Note, the Grand Signiors Custome of this Port Moha, is worth yearly unto him fifteen hundred thousand Chicquenes, (which rated at five shillings sterling a piece, is yeerely thirtie seven thousand five hundred pounds sterling) according to the report of the Governour to Master Cockes.

§. III.

Their Adventures with Sir Henry Middleton, with other Observations of those parts, and arrivall at Bantam.

THe eleventh, the Generall caused the Merchandizing Councell to meete and consult what was best to be done, seeing that Sir Henrie thus kept the Junckes from comming in thither, and that there was then no further hope of Trade heere. It was agreed upon, that untill the Monson would permit us to proceed further, wee should continue friendship with the Towne, as hitherto we had done, &c.

The twelfth, the Generall being informed of Sir Henries earnest desire to speake with mee, and protestations of great kindnesse and love, resolved to goe unto him; and so willed the Master with the first wind to set sayle for Babmandell. Whereof hee did let the Governour of the Towne to understand, and tooke a Letter of his to carrie to Sir Henrie, the better to continue friendship still with him.

The fourteenth, in the morning we arrived at the Bab, where wee found the Trades Increase riding, and foure Indian Junckes or ships. The Generall went aboord the Trade, where hee remayned untill night, but nothing could at that time be concluded upon betwixt the Generals.

The fifteenth Sir Henry came aboord the Clove.

The sixteenth, our General seeing Sir Henries resolution, called his Councel together, & acquainted them with what he observed thereupon, and that in regard, that by these brabbles and jarres happened betwixt Sir Henrie, the Turkes and the Cambayans, our hopes of any Trade to be had at Surat, was as small, as that which we had already found at Moha: Our best course would be, that the Hector and Thomas should waigh anchor & ply between Aden and the Bab, The Clove to keep the Abesh

Channell there, that none might passe by in the night, and so to meet with as many of the Indian ships as we could, to whom we might put off our Broad-cloth, Leade, Tinne, Iron, and Elephants Teeth (Commodities which were provided for those parts) in barter for such as he knew would vent well in those Countries, whither wee were afterwards to goe: if wee lighted upon Indicoes, they would be good for England also. That he had certaine intelligence of two very great ships daily expected, called the Rehmi and the Hasani the least of them (by report) able to lade the Hector, with requestable Commodities: Hereunto they generally assented, to be put in practice with the first wind.

The Generall went aboord the Trade, where at length this agreement was made: that both Fleets should joyne to trade with as many of the Indian ships as they could meet with, and to exchange our English Commodities with them for theirs: Sir Henrie to dispose of two third parts of all the goods which should be bartered for from this day forwards, and Generall Saris the other third. The Grand Signior to have his Custome paid. Hereof Writings were made, being sealed and delivered betwixt them. The Hector and Thomas were appointed to ply betweene the North end of Babmandell and the Abesh shoare, to meete with all such as should come that way: with charge that no man should take the value of a penie out of them, or offer the least violence to any of their persons, &c.

[I. iv. 349.] The eighteenth, in the evening, a ship of Cananor arrived laden with Spice, Drugs and other Commodities.

The Generall set sayle for Moha, the wind at South and South by East a stiffe gale, where we arrived within five houres after. The Governour presently sent off to us intreating to know how all things passed at the Bab; requesting that our Linguist might bee sent ashoare to acquaint him therewith, which was accordingly done.

The twentieth, the Skiffe was sent ashoare to fetch our Linguist, who returned and brought a present of fresh

victuals from the Governour to our Generall. The Governour intreated to have a muster of our Commodities, which Master Cockes carryed presently to him: hee liked of divers colours of our Broad-cloth, promising to take for a thousand Rials besides some quantitie of Tinne and Lead. Many others desired to have Lead and Iron, wherefore he intreated that in the morning some quantitie thereof might bee brought ashoare, for hee having once begun, the Merchants would certainly follow and trade with us.

He sent three samples of Indico, but none of Lahor, which is round and the best. The price a hundred Rials the Churle; which is an hundred seven and twentie pound or Rottalas of Moha, and about a hundred and fiftie pound English. But they would not sell by any other weight, then that they bought by, which they might very well doe, the price so unreasonable: for wee esteemed the three sorts to bee worth but thirtie, fortie and five and fortie the best the Churle.

Our Generall writ to Sir Henry and Captaine Towerson, and sent his Letters over land by Mahumed, Secretarie to the Gallies.

The one and twentieth we sent ashoare eight Clothes, one Tunne of Iron, one Tunne of Lead, two Chests of Tinne of sixe hundred weight. They offered for foure of the best clothes three halfe Rials the Peeke, which should be seven and twentie inches, but measured by another Peeke, proved to be one and thirtie inches. The Bahar of Tinne, an hundred and twentie Rials. The Bahar of Iron, twelve Rials. Lead fifteene Rials, which were no prices to our liking. At night the Merchants returned with their Commodities aboord againe.

The five and twentieth, the Generall (upon conference with Master Cockes) resolved to set saile and goe to Assab, where we came to an anchor.

The seven and twentieth, about eight at night hee found the Trade and Hector riding there, with eleven saile of Junckes or Indian shippes of severall places. Note, that

comming into this Road or Harbor, keepe the Northerne side aboord, leaving a little Rocke or Hummocke on your star-boord side, then we had twelve, eleven, ten, nine, eight and seven fathome sandie ground, and in seven fathome wee let fall our anchor about halfe a mile off the shoare.

The thirtieth, the Generall sent his Skiffe to the Junckes, to give warning to the Nohodaies, and Merchants, that they should not offer to set saile without his leave. The Nohodas and principall of them requested, that such of their goods as wee desired might bee sorted out of hand, that they might not loose their Monson of going to Judda, offering to bring aboord our shippes what packes wee would to be opened there, and to carrie backe what we refused.

The ninth of May, 1612. I caused the Indian ships to be measured, which were found to bee of the scantlings following, viz. The Rehemy, was long from stem to sterne-post, an hundred three and fiftie foot. For rake from the Post afte, seventeene foot. From the top of her sides in bredth, two and fortie. Her depth, one and thirtie.

The Mahomedee in length, an hundred sixe and thirtie foot. Her rake afte, twentie. In bredth, one and fortie. In depth, nine and twentie and an halfe. Her maine Mast in length, was sixe and thirtie yards, an hundred and eight. Her maine yard, foure and fortie yards, an hundred two and thirtie.

The other were not much lesse.

The tenth, Captaine Mamy came from Moha to treate with Sir Henry concerning his demand. But first he came aboord the Clove, where hee was friendly entertayned, and after the Generall went with him aboord the Trade, where he delivered to Sir Henrie two Letters, viz. one from the Basha of Sinan, and the other from the Aga of Moha: the effect, to know what he demanded of them, for they were ignorant of any after injurie offered to him, & for the former they said that they had given him satis-

faction before his departure. Wherefore they intreated the Junkes might bee discharged and sent for Moha. His answere was, that hee demanded satisfaction for the losse of his mens lives, & for the making of him lose his Monson, to the overthrow of his Voyage. Mamy said, if he would write his minde, he should have answere from the Basha in fourteene dayes.

The twelfth, Captaine Mamy returned with Letters from Sir Henrie.

The K. of Rehita riding upon a Cow, visiteth both the Generals.

The fifteenth, the King of Rehita being a pettie Prince upon the African or Abesse side, came riding downe upon a Cow to visit Sir Henrie and our Generall: he had a Turbant on his head, a piece of a Periwinkle shell hanging on his fore-head, in stead of a Jewell, apparelled like a Moore, all naked (saving a Pintado about his loines) attended with an hundred and fiftie men in battaile after their manner, weapond with Darts, Bowes and Arrowes and Sword and Targets: both the Generals went ashoare with an hundred shot and Pike to prevent all Treacheries, that the Turkes might plot against them by colour of [I. iv. 350.] this courtesie, being loath to let him returne without an enterview, lest they should want the refreshing which they might have by his friendship heere at Assab, which is under his command. They presented him with divers gifts, and (according to his desire) did give him his lading of Aquavitæ, that hee was scarce able to stand; they are Mahometanes, being a blacke hard-favoured people, with curled pates. The King bestowed upon our Generall five Bullockes, and proffered all the assistance he might doe them.

This day the Pepper-Corne arrived from Aden, bringing with her a Juncke, which came from Sinde, or the River Indus, laden with Butter, Oyle, and Cambaya cloath. They brought us newes that Mallacamber, Captaine of the great shippe of Diu had escaped them with his shippe, and was arrived at Moha, passing in sight of them; the Pepper-Corne shot at her, but could not reach her, shee went so well. This was the ship for which

the Pepper-Corne had purposely weighed, and which the Thomas and Darling had so long expected to have come to Babo.

This day our Generall had a note delivered him of the prises of commodities, how they were lately bought and sold at Surat, whereof the copie followeth, viz. Broadcloath of three and twentie pound a Cloath severall colours, twentie Mamoodyes, the Conido of five and thirtie Inches and five Mamoodyes make one Riall of eight. Kersies eightie foure Mamoodyes the piece, which was lesse then ours did cost in England. Lead the great Maund, thirtie three pound, at seven and one third part of Mamoodyes. Tinne the small Maund, five and twentie pound, at five and a halfe Rialls of eight. At Dabull, Iron the Bahar, containing three hundred and threescore pound, at one and twentie Rialls the Bahar. Peeces damasked, from twelve to eighteene Rialls the piece. Ellephants teeth, threescore and five Mamoodyes, the great Maund of three and thirtie pound. Indico Cirkesa, three sorts, whereof the best at fourteene Rupias, which make halfe a Riall of eight: the second sort, twelve Rupias; the third sort eight, the great Maund of three and thirtie pound. Indico Lahor, which is best of all; three sorts, whereof the best at sixe and thirtie, the second at thirtie, the third at foure and twentie Rupias, the Maund of five and fiftie pound. Charges of bringing it to the waterside, ten in the hundred for the Cirkesa, and twentie in the hundred custome for Lahor.

The seventeenth, we began to weigh Lead, and deliver our English commodities to the Captaines & Masters of the Juncks, in part of paiment of the goods, which we had received of them.

The Thomas is dispatched for Socatora, Priaman and Tecoo.

The three and twentieth, the Thomas manned with nine and fortie men, all in health, set saile for Socatora, for Aloes: and from thence for Priaman and Tecoo, upon Sumatra, for Pepper.

The one and thirtieth, the messenger from the Basha of Sinan, the Sabander of the Bannians at Moha, and

Captaine Mamy arrived at Assab, to compound the differences with Sir Henry Middleton.

The foure and twentieth of June, the Trade set saile out of Assab Road for Moha, and the five and twentieth day, the Cloave did follow. The same night they in Moha made great Bonefires, and Fire-workes, which for that they had not done the like before when wee were there, wee supposed them therewith to brave us. *June* 24.

The sixe and twentieth, our Generall sent his Skiffe to the shoare with letters to the Aga, the Sabandar, and Captaine Mamy, and gave the Cockson charge not to put ashoare, for feare of surprising. The effect of these letters was, to see what readie money might bee procured to cleare the accounts betwixt the Indians and us. The nine and twentieth, the Governour returned an answere to our Generall, more ceremonious then of substance; so that the thirtieth day we returned againe to Assab Road.

The first of July the Trade came thither likewise, and fell to our old trade of bartering for Indian commodities. *July* 1.

The fift, Mere Mahumood Tookee, Captaine of the Rehemi of Surat (which was the Queene Mothers ship) brought divers dishes of meate aboord the Cloave, being dressed after their fashion; he was accompanied with divers of his principall merchants, who were all kindly entertained: his shippe was at the least of twelve hundred Tunnes.

The eleventh, we all visited the Cloave and Hector: the Trade and Pepper-Corne weighed anchor and set saile for Moha, together with seven of the Indian ships, which for the most part of them were better then any of us any way: in the evening we anchored short of Moha.

The twelfth, we weighed and stood for Moha, and about three in the after-noone, we all anchored before the Towne of Moha.

The eighteenth, one of the Junckes, which was indebted to us, got in so neare the shoare, that we doubted shee would steale all her goods ashoare. Whereupon the next day, the Cloave and the Pepper Corne did warpe nearer,

and discovered many Jelbaes aboord the Juncke to unlade her, but at their going ashoare, the Cloave, Hector and Pepper-corne, made many shot at them, so as the men forsooke both the Junckes and the Jelbaes and swomme ashoare; the Castle nor Towne not once shooting at us, albeit we were much within command of their Ordnance.

The twentieth, the Gallyes fearing our comming so neare, warpt behinde an Island to the Northward.

[I. iv. 351.] *August* 7. The seventh of August, wee had advice of the arrival of the great shippe of Sues, and foure great Gallyes at Bogo, a Towne on the Abesse side, about halfe a dayes saile from Moha. Our Generall received a Letter from the Governour of Moha, shewing that this day was Festivall amongst them, and that thereon they were accustomed to shoote off certaine Peeces of Ordnance, desiring that it might not be taken in evill part, doubting lest we should hold it done in a bravado, and so in requitall shoote into the Towne againe. About noone they discharged seventeen Peeces out of the fort, three from the landing-place, and divers from within the land, with abundance of small shot, which went off in good order; some of their great shot went a head us, and some a sterne, to shew what they could doe, but all past in kindnesse: hereby wee found the report of this place false, viz. That heere were only two Peeces, and that they were not able in two houres to discharge them.

The Hector departeth for Priaman and Tecoo. The eight, the Hector set saile for Priaman and Tecoo (the Monson now serving) having eightie eight English in perfect health. The Nohodais, or Captaines of the Junckes, desired to have Pasports from our General, for their better getting into their Countrey, in case they should meet with any more of our Nation: which was granted.

The tenth, all rekonings were cleared with the three Junckes, the Hasani, Caderi, and Mahomodi. The eleventh, we cleared the Rehemey and Salameti. Note our whole cargason of commodities and Rialls bartred for in this place, did amount but to fortie six thousand one hundred seventie foure Rialls of eight.

I have thought good to adde heere, two Acquittances for better understanding the premises.

In Moha Road in the Red-sea the tenth of August 1612.

Memorandum, That I Mahomed Hashen Comall Adeene Ashen, Captaine of the Hassavy of Surat, have bartered and sold unto Captaine John Saris, Generall of the eight Voyage into the East-Indies, for the summe of seven thousand foure hundred Rialls of eight, and $\frac{11}{48}$ of a Riall in these goods following, viz.

Indicoes of both sorts 86. balles amount with profit unto the summe of -	3046$\frac{7}{48}$	7400$\frac{11}{48}$
Cambaya Cloath 316. Corges, 7.$\frac{7}{8}$ peeces, amounts to with profit, summe, -	4136—	
Carpets three, valued at - - -	0020—	
Quilts of Cottonia, two, at eightie Rialls a Corge - - - - - -	0008—	
Rice, Butter, Ginger and Sugar, amount in Rialls - - - - -	0053$\frac{7}{24}$	
For eighteene yards Broad-cloath received backe in account, summe -	0096—	
Foure bales Gumme, lacke with profit -	0040$\frac{19}{24}$	

Summe totall of all the Merchandizes sold, as above said, is Rialls 7400$\frac{11}{48}$.

And I have Receits in payment thereof these goods following, viz.

Eight and twentie and an halfe Broad-cloathes amounts to in Rialls - -	4574$\frac{19}{48}$	7400$\frac{11}{48}$
Ten pieces of Kersies amounts to -	0501$\frac{2}{3}$	
Thirtie Bahars of Lead, amounts to -	0720—	
Twentie Bahars Iron, amounts to -	0480—	
Foure and an halfe Bahars of Tinne, amounts to - - - - - -	0679$\frac{7}{8}$	
Fifteene Fowling-peeces, amounts to -	0445—	

Summe totall of these goods Received, amounts unto in Rialls—7400$\frac{11}{16}$

And in witnesse of the truth, I have hereunto set my hand and Seale the day and yeere above written.

[I. iv. 352.] In Moha Road in the Red-sea, the twelfth day of August 1612.

Memorandum, That I Nohada Hassan, Captaine of the good ship, called the Cawdrie of Diew, have bartered and sold unto Captaine John Saris, Generall of the eight Voyage into the East-Indies, for the summe of two thousand nine hundred fortie and sixe Rialls of eight, and $\frac{88}{96}$ parts of a Riall, in these goods following, viz.

Indicoes of both sorts, one and thirtie Bales, with profit, amounts to in Rialls - - - - - -	1694$\frac{13}{16}$	2947$\frac{9}{16}$
Spicknard one Bale, Turbith one Bale, Cinamon five Bales, with profit amounts Rialls - - - -	0064$\frac{1}{4}$	
Cloath of Cambaya an hundred thirtie seven Corges, and three pieces with profit, amounts to Rialls - -	1188$\frac{8}{8}$	
Summe totall - -	2947$\frac{9}{16}$	

And I have received in payment, these goods following, viz.

Broad-cloathes, sixe pieces, for the summe of Rialls - - - -	0890$\frac{9}{3}$	
Kersies, ten pieces, amounts to Rialls -	0477$\frac{1}{3}$	
Lead one and thirtie Bahars and three quarters, amounts to Rialls - -	0762$\frac{17}{48}$	
Iron ten Bahars, amounts to Rialls -	0240—	2947$\frac{9}{16}$
Tinne one Bahar and an halfe, amounts to Rialls - - - - - -	0226$\frac{1}{3}$	
Fowling-peeces fourteene, amounts to Rialls - - - - - -	0350—	
More Receits in money to ballance, Rialls - - - - - -	0000$\frac{17}{34}$	
Summe totall amounts to Rialls -	2947$\frac{9}{16}$	

And in witnesse of the truth, I have hereunto set my hand and Seale the day and yeare above written.

नाथ्रिमनक्षत्रस्य

English commodities not vendible in any quantitie at Moha.

At the Port of Moha we found not our English commodities vendible for any quantitie: the Naturalls poore, and the Turkes unwilling to deale with us.

We departed for Bantam in Java.

The thirteenth, we set saile from Moha for Bantam, our Company seventy five men all in perfect health.

The fourteenth in the morning, in sight of Babo, but the wind large at North-west, we steered East by South through the great Channell on the Abesse side, having eighteene fathom, about one league of the Island Babo, where is very good and safe harbour for shipping, and of good receit, but the place is barren.

September 3. 1612.

The third of September, we arrived at Socatora in the Road of Delisha, having been much hindred in our passage hither, by a West and North-west Current. We understood that the Thomas had been heere three moneths past, but stayed not, for that they could not agree upon the price of Aloes.

The fourth, the Merchant and Linguist were sent

ashoare, friendly entertained and furnished with horses to returne to the Skiffe, but could not agree upon the price, hee holding it at fortie Rialls of eight, the kintall of one hundred and foure pounds; saying, he had only five and twentie hundred weight, for which he was earnestly solicited by the Portugals.

Being loath to lose time heere, it was concluded that hee should have thirtie Rials for one parcell, and thirtie eight for another; so he delivered foure thousand sixtie seven pound, which cost one thousand foure hundred eighteene and an halfe of Rialls of eight: we found the King very false both in his weight and word, but we used him kindly for the good of future Voyage. The eight, we set saile for Bantam.

Cuttle fish yeelding a wonderfull glare in the Sea.

The two and twentieth, latitude by the Starre eight degrees, twelve minutes, the wind at West South-west, we steered East by South. About midnight we fell into the strangest and fearfullest shining water that ever any of us had seene: the water giving such a glare about our ship, as that we could discerne a letter in the book thereby, it being not halfe an houre before so darke, as that it was not possible to see halfe our shippes length any way We doubted it had beene the breach of suncken ground, and thought to have cast about: but finding that wee had sailed in it for halfe an houre, and saw no alteration, we held on our course, quartering very much wind; but at length it proved to be Cuttle-fish, which made this feare-full shew.

Selon or Zeilan.

The seven and twentieth, in the morning we had sight of the Island Selon, bearing Northeast by East, about seven leagues off, being very high land up into the countrey, but low to Sea-ward.

[I. iv. 353.] *Cape Comorin in seven degrees, two and fortie minutes. False plats.*

The nine and twentieth about noone, we fell with Cape Comorin, bearing East by South about fourteene leagues off, being high land, and towards the North, shewing double land neare the water-side, we sounded and had no ground at an hundred fathom. Note, that this land lyes in the latitude of seven degrees, two and fortie minutes

to the Northward of the Line: but in our Plats it is made to stand in sixe degrees, and ten minutes, which differs one degree, two and thirtie minutes, stretching South South-east. By experience we find that it lyeth more Northerly; and in our course we had no sight of any of the Islands described in our Plats, neither did we discover any of the Maldive Islands, whereof the number is said to bee so great; making our account to have past betweene the Maine and the Northerne Coast of the Maldivas, in eight degrees no minutes, discrying no land, untill we saw this Maine.

October 15. South latitude foure degrees, nine and fortie minutes.

The fifteenth of October, latitude foure degrees, nine and fortie minutes to the Southward of the Line: This day we had sight of Sumatra, whereof the Eastmost part did beare East North-east fourteene leagues off, high land: heere we found a very strong Current setting to the South-ward, which put us off from the land. Note, that those bound for the Straights of Sunda, must keepe Sumatra aboord, after they are come into one degree, thirtie minutes to the Southward of the Line, for there begins the current: keep thirtie leagues off with good looking out, for there are many Cayos fifteene or twenty leagues off, which by reason of the current, we did not see.

Sumatra.

The eighteenth, latitude five degrees and twentie minutes, way East, Northerly, very tempestuous, with thunder and lightning very fearefull, with much raine, so that we could not see the land: But, praised be God, notwithstanding the evill weather, our people were all then in as good health (if not better) as when we parted out of England.

We arrived in the Road of Bantam.

The foure and twentieth, we came to an anchor in the Road of Bantam, where (though contrary to expectation) we found the Hector, which arrived there the day before, with the James in her company, and certaine Flemmings. The arrivall of all these ships, and expectation daily of the Trades-Increase, the Pepper-Corne, Darling and Thomas to follow, occasioned a great (though sudden)

The James.

alteration in the prices of commodities. Those of any request being raised very neare to thrice the value of what they were bought for, the day before the Hectors arrivall. Cloaves which the Marriners of the Hector and James had bought the day before for sixteene Rialls of eight the Peecull, were now risen to fortie Rialls and upwards: Pepper the day before was at ten Rialls of eight the ten sackes, but upon our comming, were raised to twelve Rialls and an halfe, &c.

The sixe and twentieth, we went ashoare, and so to the Court, accompanied with the Merchants, and gave divers presents to the Governour Pangran Chamarra, (who is as Protector to the King, ruling all, the King being as no body, though of yeares sufficient) which Presents hee well accepted: we desired his Order for speedie landing of our goods, which he granted; provided, that the Kings officers might be acquainted with what wee landed, that the King might not be wronged in his Custome.

A letter of Master William Adams from Japan.

The eight and twentieth, a Letter from Master William Adams out of Japan, was read to all the Merchants, that they might take notice of the hopes of that Countrey. It was now concluded upon, that in regard the Flemmings were so strong, and almost sole Commanders of the Moluccas and Banda, and that the place heere is so unhealthfull, besides our people dangerously disordering themselves with drinke and Whores ashoare: The Hector should with all speed bee dispatched for England, and that fourteene thousand sackes of Pepper should be provided for the lading of her, and the Thomas: doubting that if once there should come newes of the other ships expected, Pepper would be much raised over that it now was.

We bargained with Lackmoy for two thousand sackes of Pepper, at an hundred twentie seven Rialls of eight and an halfe the hundred sackes: and with Keewee, for a thousand sackes, at an hundred twentie five Rialls the hundred sackes: and for three thousand sackes more, at

an hundred and fiftie Rialls the hundred. Wee made triall on shoare, what a Peecull of Cloaves might weigh by our English weights, and found it to be an hundred and thirtie two pound subtill, good weight.

The ninth of November, Sir Henry Middleton arrived at Bantam in the Pepper-Corne. The fifteenth, (the Governour having earnestly requested it) there mustered before the Court fortie men out of the Cloave and Hector, thirtie out of the Pepper-Corne, and ten out of the Salomon, in all eightie men, which gave him good content. The Flemmings denyed him: it was for the breaking up of the Mahometanes Lent. *November* 9.

The seventeenth, agreed with Keewee for foure thousand sackes of Pepper, at sixteene Rialls ten sackes, with allowance of three in the hundred basse.

The eighteenth, heere arrived eleven saile of Flemmings, great ships, and the Thomas in their company; shee had gotten at Priaman only three hundred and twelve Bahars of Pepper, and twentie Taile of Gold. *Twentie Taile of Gold.*

The two and twentieth, an hundred Flemmings, with their furniture and their pike-men in bright armour marched to the Court, where they brought themselves into a ring, and gave three vollyes of shot: The Governour sent word to them, that the King thanked them, that they had done enough, and might depart with their iron hats; for so the Javans call head-peeces. [I. iv. 354.]

The eight and twentieth, three Holland ships, laden for the most with Pepper and Mace, set saile, homeward bound: five more of their ships set saile for Banda, and the Moluccas.

The fourth of December, a Dutch ship arrived heere from Choromandell: by whom wee understood that they left the Globe in Patane, bound for Siam. *December* 4. *The Globe in Patane, bound for Siam.*

The eleventh, the Hector set saile from Bantam for Morough the watering place, where there is a sweet ayre, and where good refreshing of Orrenges, and other wholesome fruits are to bee had; there to attend till the Thomas were full laden.

The two and twentieth, the Trades-Increase and the Darling arrived heere from Priaman.

The five and twentieth, in honor of the Birth-day of our Saviour Christ, certaine Chambers were discharged at the English house in Bantam, and were answered with Ordnance out of the shippes.

Kewee a chiefe China Merchants curtesie. The eight and twentieth, Kewee, the chiefe China Merchant, invited Sir Henrie and my selfe, with all the Merchants, to dinner, and caused a Play to be acted before us by Scenicks of China, which was performed on a Stage with good pronunciation and gesture.

January 12. The twelfth of January, the Thomas set saile for England, having in her sixe and thirtie English, and three Indians.

§. IIII.

The Voyage of Captaine Saris in the Cloave, to the Ile of Japan, what befell in the way: Observations of the Dutch and Spaniards in the Molucca's.

THe fourteenth of January 1612. in the morning, wee weighed out of the Road of Bantam, for Japan, having taken in heere for that place seven hundred sackes of Pepper for a triall there. Shee had in her seventie foure English, one Spaniard, one Japan, and five Swarts or Indians.

The fifteenth in the Morning, little wind at West, and haling into fourteen fathom, we steered East by South, *Pulo Lack.* and East South-east, leaving Pulo Lack on our Starboord, and eleven or twelve on our Larboord side, our depth from fourteene to ten fathoms, going within two Islands, which lye to the Eastwards of Pulo Lack. And in the faire way there lyeth a shoald, which hath not above sixe foot on the toppe of it, and is not above halfe a Cables length every way, and hard aboord it there is *We came on ground.* ten fathomes, and the next cast on ground, as by experience: for heere we lay three houres beating, with a

reasonable stiffe gale; but through Gods mercy, and the extraordinary labour and endeavour of the Company, got her off; but sprung a leake, that for all night, and till ten the next day we continued pumping every man (my selfe only excepted) taking his turne, and all little enough to keepe it from increasing, which made us all to doubt that wee should be enforced to put backe againe to Bantam, to the overthrow of all our men and Voyage for Japan. The Carpenter by his diligence having found out the leake, made it Tite, thankes bee to God. To goe cleare off this shoald, keepe close to the Islands, for the Maine is shoald.

The sixteenth, we anchored at the watering place called Tingo Java, beeing foureteen leagues from Bantam, and *Tinga Java.* some three leagues and an halfe to the West-wards of Jaccatra, riding between two Ilands which lie off the point, *Two Islands.* distant five miles. Depth ten and nine fathomes close to the Iland, but the maine is shoald. I sent Presents to the King, to his Sabandar, and Admirall requesting leave to buy such necessaries as we wanted.

The eighteenth, the King of Jaccatra sent his chiefe man unto me, with thanks for the Presents, and proffer of what his Countrey affoorded. The twenty one, we set saile, steered neere unto the East-most Iland of the two, that are against the watering place: depth ten and nine fathome, and so to Sea-boord of all the Ilands East North-east from the watering place. For the outward-most of them beareth East by North Northerly, and off the Norther point of the said Iland lieth a shoald, which yee shall see breake, distant from the Iland halfe a league, and having that South of you, the East point of Java will beare East Southerly, depth seventeene and eighteene fathome, and all the way out from twentie to foureteene fathome, but here you shall find a Current setting East *A Current.* South-east, which you must allow for, as you have the wind. In the evening we anchored, little wind at North by West, the Current setting us to the South-east upon the shoare: depth thirteene and thirteene fathomes and an

halfe, being shot three leagues to the East-wards of the East point of Jaccatra, wind at North-west.

The twenty two, the wind at South-west, we weighed and steered East North-east to get deepe water, and finding foureteene fathome, the high hill over Bantam did beare West South-west, halfe a point Westerly. The three and twentieth in the morning, we deckt up our [I. iv. 355.] sailes, the wind at South-east, and had sight of an Iland which lieth off Cherribon, with three of those high piked hils of Java, the Eastermost bearing South-east, and Cherrybon South by East. Latitude at noone sixe degrees tenne minutes, the wind at North North-west, the Iland bearing East by North three leagues and an halfe off.

Note, that yee may boldly keepe betweene twentie three and twenty foure fathome water in the Offing, and in twentie fathome upon Java, the darkest night that is, and in the day upon Java in what depth yee please.

The twentie fourth in the morning, we had sight of three high piked hils, and three other to the East-ward, like Ilands: depth twentie fathome, the point of Java bearing South-east by South, and the Iland lying off it South-east and North-west about nine leagues off. We steered East by South, and East South-east. Latitude sixe degrees tenne minutes, way East twenty eight leagues.

The twentie sixth, at breake of day we had sight of *Pulo Labuck.* the Iland called Pulo Labuck, bearing North-east by East eight leagues off, wind West by North. We steered East by South, depth thirtie foure and thirtie five fathomes, and about nine of the clocke had sight of land, bearing South-east and South-east by South, the Iland aforesaid bearing now North-east by North little wind, latitude sixe degrees twelve minutes, way East and East by North twentie two leagues, wind at West, the Iland at foure in the after-noon, bearing West by North nine leagues off, depth thirtie foure fathomes. The twentie seventh, latitude sixe degrees foure minutes, way East Northerly

twenty eight leagues, depth thirtie eight fathome, and at three in the afternoone had sight of an Iland bearing North North-east seven leagues off, and at five of the clocke sounded, and had thirtie foure fathomes.

The twenty eighth, at foure in the morning, we had twentie five fathomes, steering East till noone, latitude five degrees fiftie five minutes, way East Northerly twenty leagues, depth thirty fathome. From noone we steered East by South, and at foure a clocke had thirty five fathome. The twenty ninth, in the morning about foure, wind at West by North, we steered East by South, but had no ground at fortie fathome, but at noone fiftie two fathomes, with many overfalls. Latitude sixe degrees nine minutes, way East by South twentie eight leagues, wind at West and West by North, with a Current setting to the West-ward, afternoone we sounded, but had no ground at an hundred fathome, and steered East. *A Current.*

The thirtieth in the morning, latitude five degrees fiftie seven minutes, way East Northerly twenty eight leagues, and in longitude from Bantam, two hundred twenty foure leagues, the over-fals continuing, but sounding had no ground at an hundred fathome. At three in the afternoone, we had sight of a low flat Iland at top-mast head, bearing North-east by North five or six leagues off, full of trees, and had eighteene fathome, and at next cast eightie five fathome: then we steered East by South, and at foure a clocke it did beare North by East halfe a point Northerly, three or foure leagues off. Then we had sight of two other low flat Ilands, the one opening to the East-ward, the other to the West-ward, so that this was the middle-most. At sixe at night, it bearing North halfe a point Easterly, we sounded againe, but had no ground at eightie fathom, we steered East by South, keeping our lead in respect of the over-fals or Ripplings, which were fearefull, yet had no ground at sixtie fathome.

The one and thirtieth, at breake of day we had sight of the Celebes, the Wester end rising like an Iland, and the outward-most high land bearing East by North: *Celebes.*

Latitude five degrees fiftie two minutes, the East part bearing East by North sixe leagues off, way East Northerly sixteene leagues and a Current setting to the North-west ward. At Sunne-setting we tooke in our sailes to keepe short of the straights of Desalon, by the Naturals called Solore, and keeping our Lead all night, we found first twenty fathome, the high land North, and so drove into thirtie three, and fortie seven fathome, fearing a shoald which lyeth two third parts of a league from the Celebes, and at low water the breach upon it may be seene. On the Celebes side it is very dangerous, and full of sunken ground. Wherefore we haled over for Desalon side, keeping a good birth of it, having a piked hill, which is next to the Sea-side, rising like an Iland, being to the West-wards, then it is North North-east, and when it is North, then yee are thwart of the West end of the shoald, and then will the Iland which yee leave on your Star-boord side, beare East North-east, so that yee may be bold to steere out in the middest betweene the two Ilands. And when the Pike hill beares North by West, then are you thwart of the East end. Note that the East end of Desalon showeth like an Island, and will deceive you till you come to it, but having brought the North end of the point East North-east, halfe a point Easterly, then bee bold; for you are cleare of the shoald afore-said. It is about foure leagues betweene them: we came within halfe a mile of the Iland of our Star-boord side, going through, and the wind taking us suddenly short, we sounded, but had nó ground at fiftie five fathome, right up and downe.

The Straight of Desalon or Solore.

February. The first of February afternoone, we were thwart of the point of the Iland bearing South off us, and the two Ilands which make the straights, lying one from the other North and South, distant five small leagues.

The second in the morning, we had sight of the South [I. iv. 356.] part of Desalon, South-west by South, and the North part West by North eight leagues off. We steered East by North, the wind at North by East, latitude five

degrees fiftie two minutes, distant from Desalon tenne leagues. The third in the morning, the Southerne end of Cambina did beare North-east by East, and the Iland or Hammocke North-east eight or nine leagues, latitude five degrees fiftie seven minutes: the Iland North-east halfe a point Northerly eight leagues, way East Southerly five or sixe leagues, and towards night the wind at South, and South South-east, we steered all night East by North. The fourth in the morning, the wind at North-east, latitude five degrees no minutes. At three we saw land East by North, making it to be Botun.

The fifth, three or foure leagues off Cambina, we found the Current to carry us to the North-ward, the wind at East by North; and the Iland of the East end of Cambina, North-east halfe a point Easterly foure leagues off. The sixth at breake of day, the Iland North-east by North Northerly foure leagues off, the wind at North; so that these twenty foure houres we have gotten to the Eastwards one point.

The seventh at breake of day, the Northern point was North by East, & a smal high land, that lieth to the South-ward sixe or seven leagues off Botun, South-east, and the Easter land of Botun East North-east: we steered East by North, and East, but left the high land to the South-wards on our Star-boord side, and it did beare South-east halfe a point Easterly, then was the point of Botun shut in, in a long great Iland. The Norther end will be North North-west.

The Ile Tingabasse.

The eighth in the morning, we saw another Iland, called Tingabasse, rising round and flat. Here we had a Current setting North-east, the wind at North-east by North and North North-east. The ninth, wind at North-West by North, the point of Botun North-west halfe a point Northerly, we had sight of two Curra Curras between us and Botun: The Skiffe was sent off to them, and brought one M. Welden, one of the Expeditions Companie, and a Flemming bound for Banda. The said Welden beeing employed in the King of Botuns affaires

M. Welden an Englishman imployed in the King of Botuns service.

for Banda, and had now the command of these Curra Curras. Latitude five degrees twentie minutes, wind at East North-east, we steered North, and at night the wind Southerly, we steered North North-east: and from the East point of Botun, the land fals away suddenly, with two or three great Bayes to the North-westwards; and three great Ilands which lie to the Northward of Botun, which make the straights.

Advertisements concerning the straight of Botun.

Note, to goe through the straights of Botun, it is not above a league broad, and the entrance is on the North-side of the Iland; and if you come from the Westward, being thwart of the North-west point, your course is East North-east, and East by North, up to the Roade, and no danger but what you shall see; but you must leave the three great Ilands to the North-wards of you, yet goe not betweene any of them, and falling with the West end of Botun, goe not betweene the Iland that lyeth off it. There are two long Ilands, but leave them on your star-boord side, for it is full of broken ground betweene them and Botun. But if the wind serve you, then hale to the North-ward of all the Ilands either betweene Botun and Cambina, or else to the North-ward of that too, and so you may keepe the Coast of Celebes, for it is bold: we steered with little wind all night, North North-east.

The tenth in the morning, the straights of Botun did beare North-west by West, and the maine Iland of Tingabasse South South-east halfe a point Southerly.

The eleventh, at five in the morning, the wind at North-west, the Iland West ten leagues off, we steered North North-east, latitude at noone foure degrees eight minutes; way North North-east Easterly a little, foure and twentie leagues, and off the East point of Botun, five and thirtie leagues, the wind all night betweene North and North by West.

The twelfth, little wind at North by West, latitude foure degrees sixe minutes, way East by North twentie leagues.

The thirteenth in the morning, we had sight of the Iland Buro, beeing high-land, the one point bearing North-east by North, and the other North-east ten leagues off, the wind at North by West, having made to noone seven leagues of latitude, three degrees one and fortie minutes. *The Ile of Buro.*

The fourteenth in the morning, we bore up with the East part of the Iland to seeke for some place to ride in.

The fifteenth and sixteenth of latitude, three degrees, fortie minutes, breake of day the Northermost part of Buro, East by North nine leagues off, little wind at East North-east, and North by East.

The seventeenth, little wind, the East-part of Buro, bearing East Northerly, wind at North, at noone North-west by North, the North part of Botun East by South, and three Ilands, which we then had in sight at Top-mast head, North-east by North.

The eighteenth, in the morning, we were by the Eastermost Iland three leagues off, wind at North North-west, it bearing North North-east. At noone we were within a mile off the shore. The Skiffe was sent to speake with the Countrey people. This Iland is called Sula: wee had fifteene fathome, the ships length off the shoare, and a mile off no ground at a hundred fathomes: the West part of Buro lying South halfe a point Westerly, and North halfe a point Easterly fourteene leagues the one from the other, wind at West, the Land stretching North North-east. *The Ile of Sula.*

The twentieth, wind at East by North, steered North by East, of latitude one degree thirtie minutes, way North-east seven leagues.

The one and twentieth in the morning, we were foure or five leagues off an Iland, called Haleboling by our Saylers, being a high copped round Iland, different in shape from all the rest of the Ilands in sight. The wind at North-east, and at East having made to this noone a North-east way fourteene leagues of latitude one degree, sixteene minutes the point of Haleboling, or Bachian, [I. iv. 357.] *The Ile of Haleboling, so called by the English Saylers, by others Boa de Bachian.*

North-east by North foure leagues off: and the outward-most land, North a quarter Westerly, finding a current setting North-east, wind all night at North North-east and North.

Machian. The two and twentieth in the morning, wee had sight of land North by East, it being the Iland Machian very high land: heere we had a current setting North North-east of latitude at noone no degrees, one and fiftie minutes, way North seven leagues, variation at Sun-setting, foure degrees twelve minutes, wind at North by East, and North North-east.

The three and twentieth in the morning we were three leagues off the Land, wind at North North-east seeking a place to anchor in: and within a quarter of a mile of the shoare had fortie fathome, wherefore we bore up to the South part of the Iland, where we had twentie and nineteene fathomes for a cast or two, but then no ground. Wee steered from this South point East South-east, for so the Land lyeth open off the point of the high round Iland, being foure leagues betweene the two points, but the Wester point is an Iland with three or foure other to the East-wards, which you cannot perceive till you bee verie neere them. Then the Land falleth away North-east, and sheweth a large and round sound or Bay with Land of both sides very deepe. This round Hill is Bachian, and yeeldeth great store of Cloves; but by reason of the Warres they are wasted. The people not suffered to make their benefit thereof, forbeare to gather them, and let them fall and rot upon the ground. Beeing by the Flemmings and Spaniards opprest, and wrought to spoyle one another in Civill Warre, whilest they both secure in strong Forts, sit and looke on, prepare to take the bone from him that can wrest it from his fellow. Having no ground to anchor in, and not able to get to the Northward, we resolved to stand off all night, hoping to have a shift of wind to carrie us to the Iland Machian, whither we intended.

Misery of wars in the Moluccas.

The foure and twentieth, in the morning the high land

South by East ten or twelve leagues off the Iland seemed ragged, we stood in, and a league off the point, sent off the Skiffe to sound and to looke for water, but returned aboord finding no water nor place to anchor in, wherefore we stood into the Bay, and presently had sight of a Fort and Towne called Bachan. The Pinnasse a head finding fresh water in divers places, but steepe too into the cod of the Bay, where the Flemmings have a Fort artificially and warlike built; the Towne hard by it. Heere we came to an anchor (saker shot off the Fort) having had very uncertaine shoaling, as seventie, sixtie, eight and ten fathome; but Ozie.

A small Fort of the Hollanders. Boa de Bachan, being the Norther end of the Ilands, in our plats called Haleboling.

The Dutch saluted us with five Peeces; whom I requited with the like number, but the Kings man being then a-boord our ship, we told him, it was done to the honour of his King, who sent mee word that hee would have come to visit mee, but that the Dutch intreated him to forbeare. In this Fort are thirteene Peeces: viz. one Demy-culvering of Brasse, the rest Saker and Minion. The Flemmings here resident are more feared of the Naturals then loved, which notwithstanding is cause of their better benefit. For the Naturals, assoon as we were arrived, told us that they durst not bring us a Cattie of Cloves, but upon their lives. As wee rid heere, the outwardmost point was South South-west, and the other South-west, distant from us foure leagues. The King sent his Admirall and divers of his Nobles aboord to bid me welcome, saying, that they knew of what Nation we were by our Flagge, using much Ceremonious courtesie, wishing that we were seated there in stead of the Flemmings, that they might bee cleered of them, their Countrey now almost ruined by these Warres. I entertayned them friendly, and told them that our comming was to procure Trade and to leave a Factorie amongst them, if their King so pleased. They answered that it was a thing by them much desired, but at present not to bee granted, yet they would acquaint their King therewith.

The small forces of the Hollanders in Bachian.

The Captaine of the Dutch Fort came aboord to visit mee, by whom I understood their force to be but of thirteene Peeces and thirtie Souldiers. The most of them marryed, some to the Countrey-women, and some to Dutch women, whereof the Fort was fitted with eleven able to withstand the furie of the Spaniard or other Nation whatsoever, beeing of a very lustie large breed, and furnished with few good qualities. But it seemed they followed their Leader: for no sooner was the Captaine aboord, but the Amazon-band followed, complayning of great miserie, sitting downe with our Saylors to victuals at their first comming, with small intreatie. They had what the ship affoorded, and they returned ashore with their Captaine.

The third of March, we sounded with the Skiffe alongst the East-side of this Bay, and at the opening or going out neere to a little Iland, we found a place to anchor, in twelve, sixteene, twentie fathome, Corall ground, without command of the Fort. Note, there is a shoald to the South-wards the length of three Cables, latitude no degrees, fiftie minutes.

The fourth, the King of Ternata sent me a present by his Priest.

Variation 4. degrees, 48. minutes Easterly.

The fifth, variation at Sun-rising, foure degrees fortie eight minutes Easterly. A Moore came aboord with a muster of Cloves, offering to sell some quantitie, if wee would goe to Machian. This Moore was sent by a man of great account of that place, who at the present was [I. iv. 358.] heere. Wherefore it was thought good to stay a day longer to have some conference with him, his name was Key Malladaia; and was Brother to the old King of Ternata.

Tahannee, is a Towne upon Machian, where the

The sixth, we stayed to speake with this Cavalier, who came and promised to goe with us to Machian, and to bring us to a place there called Tahannee, and did put aboord us two of his chiefe men to be as our Pilots

Portugals heretofore have had a Fort, but now there is none, neither for them nor the Flemmings, there is the best riding of the whole Iland, but very neere the shore, yet free of all danger.

thither, appointing us to goe before and stay for him at an Iland by the way, and within two dayes he would be with us, giving us great incouragement of good store of Cloves. He told me that the Dutch gave fiftie Rials of eight the Bahar, but they would cost us sixtie Rials, which I willingly promised to give him.

The seventh in the morning, we weighed anchor and parted out of this Road called Amasan, & by direction of our new Pilots, steered in West & West by North for the Iland Machian, leaving two Ilands (which lye foure or five miles from the place where we last anchored) on our lard-boord side, depth two and twentie, thirtie and fortie fathomes, two Cables length off the Iland.

The tenth, we had sight of Machian being a high and copped Iland bearing North-easterly, and the Iland Tidore opening like a Sugar-lofe on the Wester side, but not so high Land as Machian: it is shut into the point of the Wester side of the outwardmost Ilands, of the three that lye in the going out, two of them being without the narrow or straight, and the third maketh the straights it selfe, yet there are more Ilands on the Easter side. But the current setting to the South-wards, we anchored in three and twentie fathomes, a mile off the little Ilande in the straights mouth: so that the distance from the straights of Namorat, to this passage, is five leagues, and from the Roade of Amasane, where the Flemmish Fortresse standeth, fourteene leagues.

The Roade of Amosane where the Hollanders Fort standeth.

The eleventh in the morning, we weighed the wind at South South-east, and current setting to the North-ward, we passing the streights. The wind vered to the North-west by North, we stood to the East-ward till noone, then we tackt to West-ward the wind at North North-west, and had sight of Geilolo, being a long Land, depth going out nine and twentie, and foure and thirtie fathome, and many Ilands to the East-ward, and East South-east. The point of old Bachian lying to the North-ward of the streights some three or foure leagues, leaving foure Ilands on the star-boord side. That which maketh the straights

Geilolo

Tavally Bachar. on that side is called Tavally Bachar, and when you are a little without the small Iland which lyeth in the straights, you shall have eighteene fathome, a cast or two, and then it will deepen, and standing to the North-wards you shall open another Iland to the West-ward called Tamata, with a Rocke like a Sayle a good distance off the point of it. And anchored at an Iland bearing North Westerly, three leagues from the straights in three and fortie fathomes, *A shoale.* where on the Southerne point is a shoale having three fathome on the skirts, and is dry at low water, which shoale reacheth over to the South part of Bachian, we riding halfe a mile off the shoare. This Iland is called Tavally, the wind at North North-west.

Heere we stayed all the twelfth day, for Keymalladaia, being the place where hee appointed to come unto us. This Iland is distant from Machian ten leagues: here we had good store of wood, but no water.

The thirteenth, our Cowpers provided themselves of Rottans for Water-caske, which make excellent hoopes, and are heere of all assises in great abundance. The shoale afore-said now dry, beareth West by South, halfe a mile off us, and another point a mile off, North North-east. The wind at North.

The fourteenth, for that Keymalladaia came not, his servant doubted that the Flemmings seeing us to adventure through this passage amongst the Ilands did suspect him and perforce kept him. Wherefore we did set sayle, the wind at North by West, and plyed up for Machian. The Norther point of Tavally, and the Norther point of Lattetatte (from whence wee set saile) bearing one of the other West by North, and East by South, distant sixe leagues, and the Norther end of Tavally, and the bodie of *Grochy a great Iland.* Grochie, the great Iland, lye the one from the other North-west foure leagues, and North North-west from Grochy, are foure or five small Ilands which cover the Mayne of the great Iland, and are distant from it five leagues North-wards, and there are many Ilands North-east by North, called Motere. The sound lyeth cleere

of all the Ilands betweene Bachan and Geilolo, (alias Batta China) South-east and North-west, and is very broad, but hath Ilands on the star-boord side as you goe to the North-wards. The Channell betweene Bachian, Machian, Tidore, and Ternata lyeth North by West, and South by East, and is sixe leagues over in the narrowest part.

The fifteenth in the morning, we passed betweene Battachina and Caia. Latitude at noone no degrees seventeen minutes to the North-ward: so that Machian is not truely placed in the Plats: for that there the Equinoctiall cuts it in the middle, and wee find it to stand five leagues more Northerly, wind at North by East, and North by West, with a Current setting to the Southwards, variation foure degrees fiftie eight minutes Easterly. The sixteenth in the morning, we were faire by the Iland of Caia, the wind at North by East. Here we had sight of a saile to the North-wards, which by a Fisherman we understood to bee a Flemming bound from Machian to Tidore with Sago, which is a * Roote whereof the Naturalls make their bread.

Machian five leagues North off the Line.

Caia an Iland.

[I. iv. 359.]

**Some say the tops of trees.*

The seventeenth in the morning, we were neere a Fort of the Flemmings called Tabolola, wind at North-east: we stood to the Southwards, the Current setting us to the North-wards. Then the wind at East by North, we steered with the East-most point, and came to an anchor at foure in the afternoone in the Road of Pelebere, hard by Tahanne in fiftie fathome, within call of the shoare, having one point of the land South South-west two miles off, and another North-east by North one mile and an halfe off, and the Iland Caia five leagues off. This night some small quantitie of Cloves were brought aboord, the price set at sixtie Rials of eight the Bahar, of two hundred Cattees, each Cattee three pound five shillings English. I received a letter from Key Malladaia from Bachian, excusing his stay, with promise that he shortly would bee with me, in the meane time that he had written to the people to helpe me with all the Cloves they could.

A Fort of the Hollanders called Tabolola.

The Hollanders entertainment of us.

The eighteenth, a Samaca came aboord and proffered much curtesie: two Hollanders came with him, being very inquisitive to know who directed us to this roade, saying, that it must needs bee one of the Naturalls, and if they knew him they would cut him in peeces before our faces; that we did wrong them in comming hither, this beeing their Countrey, as having conquered it by the Sword. They were appointed to returne to their Forts, and tell their Captaines that if they needed ought that we might spare, they should have it for reasonable content before all others, because we acknowledged them our neighbours and brethren in Christ: but for any propertie of this Countrey to be more in them then us, we tooke no notice, and therefore would ride there, and trade with whosoever it pleased to come aboord. So they parted, threatning the Naturalls which were then aboord, that if any did bring Cloves aboord us, they would put them to death. The countrey people made light of their threats, and said they held us their friends, and would come aboord to us. Bought this day three hundred Catties Cloves for Cambaya cloth, and some sold for ready money.

The nineteenth, the two Flemmings came aboord againe, and beganne to note downe in their Table-bookes the names of the Countrey people which came aboord. Whereupon I caused the Boat-swaine to turne them out of the ship, and command them to come no more aboord. Divers of our Companie were sent to walke ashoare, to see what intertainement the Countrey people would give them. They went up to the Townes of Tahanne and Pelebere, and were very friendly used. They told our men, that the Flemmings had wrought so with Key Chillisadang, the King of Ternataes sonne, who was newly come, that he had forbidden them to sell us any Cloves upon paine of death, otherwise we should have had them before the Flemmings, whom they find great oppressors of them. Towards night, the Prince passing by our ship in his Curracurra, I sent my Pin-

Tahane.
Pelebre.

nasse well fitted with a faire Turkie Carpet, and Crimson Silke and Gold Curtaines, intreating him to come aboord; which he tooke kindly, but excused it, saying, that in the morning he would visit me.

The one and twentieth, an Oran Caya came aboord, and told me that a Curra Curra of the Flemmings had searched three or foure Prawes or Canoas comming aboord us with Cloves, and had taken them from them, threatning death to them for the next offence. And that since our comming hither, they disfurnished their Forts, and placed their people round about the Iland, that the Naturalls should not be able to bring us any more Spice, and that they had sent over a Curra Curra to Tidore, to cause two great ships of theirs to come hither and ride by us, the one a head, the other a sterne, to beate us out of the Road, without trade or refreshing.

The spight of the Hollanders to us.

The twentie two, we had sight of one of the Flemmish ships comming about the point, by reason whereof we had little trade now, the people being afraid. I received a Present from Key Malladaia, who as yet was not come. The Naturals expected what would now become of us, the Flemmings having reported ashoare, that they should see us runne out of the Road at sight of one of their ships. It was the Redde Lion, had thirtie Peeces of Ordnance, anchored a sterne of us.

The twentie fourth, the Prince of Ternate, Key Chillisadang sent to tell me, that hee would come and visit me. So all things were fitted in the best manner for his entertainment. Hee came attended with divers great Curracurras, and rowed thrice round about the ship before he entred. At his boording of us, our ship discharged five Peeces of Ordnance: I brought him to my Cabbin, where I had prepared a Banquet, meet enough to have been set before the King of Ternata himselfe (had he been there) with a very good comfort of Musique, which much delighted him. He promised me to give the people license to bring Cloves aboord us, and requested that I would but have patience for a day or two, that he might

have advice from his brother then beeing at Tidore. I bestowed on him divers Presents, and at parting ordered seven Peeces for his farewell.

The twenty fifth in the morning, a Curracurra of the Flemmings came rowing by our shippe, scoffing at our people, and singing a song which they had made in derision of us: they often using thereof caused our men justly to find themselves therewith aggrieved, as also for their rowing over our Can-bodyes divers times, endevouring to sinke them. Wherefore I caused the Pinnasse to be wel fitted, and gave order, that if at their returne they continued their mocking of us, to run aboord and sinke them. They came singing and scoffing according to their custome, the Pinnasse ranne aboord them with such a surge, as that the water came through her sides; there beeing in her two of the Captaines of their Forts, well fitted with shot and darts: our men were well provided, and had two good Fowlers in the Skiffes head. They lay a good while aboord her, and willed them to take this for a warning, and leave off their scoffing and mocking of us, for else they would teach them better manners the next time, and so they returned aboord with their promise, that it should be no more so.

A Curracurra of the Hollanders almost sunke.

[I. iv. 360.]

Towards evening they sent one of their Merchants unto me, with a writing from their Doctor in Droits, who as we were informed, was chiefe amongst them in absence of But or Blocke, who had come out of Holland, Generall of eleven Saile. The effect whereof was to let me know, That all the people of the Moluccas had made a perpetuall contract with them for all their Cloves, at fiftie Royals of eight the Bahar, of two hundred Cattees, in respect that they had delivered them out of the servitude of the Spaniards, not without losse of much blood, and expence of great wealth; willing me that I should not moove the people from their obedience, which might redound to their greater damage, they holding the Countrey to be their owne, as conquered by the Sword. Also that the Naturals ought them much money, which was advanced

A writing sent from the Hollanders.

to be paid in Cloves. Answer was returned that we would not meddle with their businesse, our comming being only to trade with such as desired to trade with us, and so dismissed him.

The twentie seventh, the Flemmings inforced the Prince to lie with his Curracurra a sterne, to keepe watch that none bring any thing aboord us: for in our sight he commanded a Canoa aboord him, which was comming to us (as we thought with Spice) making him returne. Towards night, two of the Naturalls brought us some refreshing.

The twentie eighth, the Prince understanding that we tooke it not well, that hee rid so neere us to the fearing of the Naturals, remooved and went about a point further off, which much discontented the Flemmings. After noone, with the Skiffe well manned, I went to see if I could deale with the Prince for a parcell of Cloves, but found him gone to the Wester side. Captaine Blocke seeing my Skiffe gone into the Bay, followed us with his Curracurra, and would have landed where I was, but that I would not suffer him, which the Naturals seeing, and that Captaine Blocke returned aboord againe without landing, divers of the better sort came downe to us, protesting great love towards us, and sent for Cocos and other fruites, and bestowed them upon the Ging. The Master of the Clove seeing Captaine Blocke to make such speed after us, manned the long Boat for aide, but upon a signe given returned aboord.

The thirtieth, the Flemmings brought the Prince to ride by us in his old place. Towards evening another Flemmish ship came in, called the Moone, a proper ship of thirtie two Peeces of good Ordnance, but not above fiftie men: she came to an anchor so neere a head us, as that wee could scarcely wind cleare one of the other. The Prince sent unto me to excuse his comming backe, but now we saw that he durst not displease the Flemmings. The thirtie one, divers harsh dealings and discourtesies passed betwixt the Flemmings and us.

Aprill the first 1613. The first of Aprill, the Flemmings brought an hundred and twentie of their men ashoare, which morning and evening did set and discharge the watch with Drum, Fife and Ensigne. This force they had gathered together out of their Forts and ships.

The second, I seeing no more hope of lading, and that Key Malladaia came not according to promise, gave order to the Master, to cause water to be filled, and to make readie to set saile with the first faire wind. At noone, observing we found this Road of Pelabry, to stand in no degree, twentie sixe minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, Variation three degrees, eight and twentie minutes, the highest land in the Island, Mechian bearing West North-west halfe a point Westerly.

Road of Pelabry.

The fift, we weighed anchor, little wind, the Current setting to the Southward, we drove to sea, being under our fore-saile, and ahead the Moone the greater ship of the Flemmish, which made a faire shot under our sterne, which we presently answered, close a head his Admirall, expecting further, but heard no more of them. At noone they both weighed and followed us, but the wind at South-west had put us so farre to the windward, as that the Naturalls came aboord with Cloaves for a time, as fast as we could weigh and pay for them, the Flemmings not able to hinder them. Also there came an Oran Caya aboord who promised us a good parcell of Cloaves, if we would but come nearer the shoare in the morning.

The sixt, about fiftie Cattees of Cloaves were brought aboord in divers Canoas, but no newes of the Gallant. Towards evening I standing nearer the shoare then we were willing, but for this occasion, we had sight of a weft ashoare: the Skiffe was sent and spake with the Oran Caya, who said the Cloaves were readie, and in the darke should be brought aboord; but presently a Curra Curra, of the Flemmings passing by, put him into such a feare, as albeit our people would have wafted him, yet durst he not adventure: so they returned.

The seventh in the morning, wee were thwart of Mootiere, being distant from the Wester point of Machian foure leagues North by East, halfe a point Easterly; and from it North three leagues, is the Island Marro, and from that two leagues Tidore. There is passage betweene these Islands, or on any side of them, without danger. Wee had sight of the two Flemmings to the Southwards of us, plying after us: Latitude at noone no degrees, five and thirtie minutes, wind Westerly. *Mootiere.*

The eight, Marro, North by West, some two miles off the body of it and one point North by East, halfe a point Easterly, and the other North-west by North, halfe a point Westerly, and the pike of Tidore North by West, and opening the East point of Tidore, and the Wester point of Bachian, they will beare the one from the other North and South, and the body of Marro West South-west halfe a point Southerly, and the Westerne part of Tidore, that you shall see West by North. Looke well out, for in the faire way is a long shoale, which lyeth even with the water at high water, the water shewing whitish, and stretcheth North-east and South-west, betweene Marro and Battachina: and having brought the points of the Islands, as above-said, then it will be East of you, at low water you shall see it, for it ebbeth sixe foote, the tide setting sixe houres to the Northward, and sixe to the Southward: but keepe close to the Islands for there is no feare. The Spaniards Fort is on the East-side of Tidore, where is deepe water shoare-too. It fell suddenly calme, so that a great sea did set us into the shoare. The Fort made a shot at us, but willingly short: we answered with one to Sea-boord: then the Fort made two more, intending to strike us, one betweene our missen mast and ancient staffe, the other betwixt maine-mast and fore-mast. Then they shot a Peece from the Top of the Fort without sharpe; wee answered that without, and presently they sent off a Boat with a flagge of truce, the Sea still setting us upon the shoare, no wind, nor ground at an hundred fathom, so that we could lay it off no way, two Gallyes [I. iv. 361.] *Marro.* *A dangerous shoald.* *The Spaniards Fort on the East-side of Tidore.*

riding under the Fort: when their Boat was put from the shoare, they shot their two chase peeces, but without sharpe. They came and tooke a fast a starne our shippe: there were two Spaniards souldiers of good ranke, (knowne to Hernando the Spaniard, whom wee tooke with us from Bantam) sent from the Captaine Generall of the shoare, Don Fernando Byseere, to know of what Nation we were, what we came for, and wherefore we came not to an anchor under the Kings Fort. We requested them to come aboord: they said they were commanded to the contrary: wherefore I willed to let downe wine and bread unto them in a string, from the poope, which they fell too lustily, in so great a showre of raine, as we had seene, yet would not enter the ship. I returned answere, that I was the subject of the Kings Majestie of Great Britaine, as by my Colours they might well discerne. They said the Flemmings had many times past by scot-free, by shewing the like, which made them shoote the second shot with sharpe at us, thinking us to bee Flemmings. I sent them word that my comming was, to doe the best good I could to the friends of the Kings Majestie of Spaine, but was not minded to anchor heere, but further a head, where, if it pleased Don Fernando to come aboord, he should be welcome: with which answere, they returned ashoare contented. Suddenly it pleased God to grant us a gale, so that we stood alongst the shoare. The Captaine Generall sent off the Pilot Major of the Gallyes, Francisco Gomes, a man of good presence, to bid mee welcome, offering his assistance to bring us into the best anchoring place under the Fort, or elsewhere about the Island. Being darke, he brought us to a place about one league and an halfe off the Fort, whereas he said no force was, and so intreated after supper to be set ashoare, for that the Captaine Generall would dispatch away letters to Ternate, to the Master Del Campo, Don Jeronimo de Sylva, for resolution in all points, and so departed.

The ninth in the morning before day, finding that we

were within command of eight peeces of Ordnance, we got up our anchor and removed a league further to the Southward, where we rid in five and thirtie fathome: Gomes the Pilot came aboord with two Spaniards more of good fashion, whom I bid kindly welcome, so that they tooke their lodging aboord. They brought with them a Present of eatable commodities from their Generall. I returned the like to theirs, with proffer of all friendship and assistance, that in mee lay, to supply his wants, and to accept of Cloaves for payment, desiring speedie answere, for that I would not stay long there. The two Flemmish shippes plyed, as if they would have come to an anchor by us; but afterwards went and rid at their new Fort Maracco.

Marasco, a new Fort of the Hollanders.

The tenth, the Captaine Generall sent to request me to stay, and the next morning hee would visit me, with the Sergeant Major of Ternate, who was arrived with a letter from the Master Del Campo, giving them leave thereby to trade with me for divers matters, and to content mee in what I requested; wherefore I resolved a while longer, to see what good might be done.

§. V.

Further observations touching the Molucca Ilands, and their proceeding on their Voyage to Japan.

THe eleventh, wee expected the Captaine Generall according to promise, and hearing nine peeces of Ordnance to be shot out of the Fort, provided for them, thinking verily that they were comming: But it proved to bee for the arrival of the Prince of Tidore, who had bin abroad in war, and was now returned with the heads of an hundred Ternatans, his force being only sixtie small shot, two brasse Bases, and three or foure Fowlers: having overthrowne Key Chilly Sadang, the King of Ternate his sonne, whom the Flemmings had enforce over from Ternate to Machian, to keepe the

[I. iv. 362.] *Key Chilly Sadang, the King of Ternate his sonne, slaine by the Tidorians.*

countrey people from selling of Cloaves to us. For whom returning back towards Ternate, (after our departure) the King of Tydores sonne, lying purposely in waite upon sight of them, the Tydorians keeping themselves behind a point of land, sent out two small Praws to fish in their way, whom the Ternatans espying, did presently give chase unto. The Fishermen easily retire, the other earnestly pursue, untill before they once thought thereof, they fell into their enemies hands, who spared not one man of an hundred and sixtie, the Prince of Ternate himselfe being one of the number, whose head the Conquerour brought to his wife, who was sister to the Prince of Ternate, so slaine. At their first incounter, a barrell of powder, which the Prince had bought of us at Machian, tooke fire, which was the confusion and losse of them all. With the Prince was slaine one of his yonger brethren, and the King of Geilola. Towards evening came aboord us the Sergeant Major of Ternate, and Secretary of State; with the like complements to those of the Tydorian Officers, requesting me to come thither, and they would doe what in them lay for me: whereto I consented, the rather because it was in my way.

The twelfth, the Prince of Tidore sent unto mee, to excuse his hitherto not visiting of mee, and to acquaint me that he had some store of Cloaves, which I should have. I thanked him, and requested speedie dispatch. They promised mee to be aboord againe before day. Wherefore to prevent all treachery, we kept double watch, match in cocke, and all things in readinesse. This Tidorian Prince being a very resolute and valiant souldier, having performed many dangerous exploits upon the Flemmings, and not long since surprized one of their ships (being a Man of War) then riding not farre from this place. Before day, a Gally (which the Spaniards told us they expected) came over from Batta China, and were neare us in the darke before they were aware, we haled her, they answered, Spaniards, and your friends, and so made to the shoare with all speed, shee was but small, of fourteene

oares on a side. At noone latitude no degrees, fiftie minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctiall.

The thirteenth, we weighed, the wind Northerly, and a Current setting out of the South-ward: passing by the Fort, we gave them five peeces, which they requited. Divers Spaniards boorded us with complements, and the Princes man, saying, that if we had stayed but foure and twentie houres longer, we should have had good store of Cloaves, but wee rather thought they intended some treachery against us with their Gallyes, Frigats, and Curra Curra's, which by sudden departure we thus prevented. Comming about the Wester point of Tidore, we had sight of the foure Flemmish shippes, riding before their Fort of Maricco: one of them at sight of us, shot off a peece of Ordnance, as we supposed, to call their people aboord to follow us. We steered directly with the Fortresse of Ternate: comming neare, shortned our sailes, and lay by the Lee, and shot off a peece towards the Towne, without sharpe; which they readily answered, and sent off a Souldier of good fashion, but to as little purpose as those of Tidore had done.

Foure ships of Holland.

But little wind our shippe sagged in, and no anchoring, but at night a gale at South, we stood into the Sea, having lost much by the Current of that wee had gotten, finding it to set to the Southward.

The fourteenth, the wind at South South-west, we steered North North-west, and at noone had latitude one degree no minutes: we had sight of a Gallie, wherefore we cast about, but finding her to stand away, went our course for Japan.

But before we part further from this Moluccan Coast, I thinke it not amisse, to acquaint the Reader with a few Notes that I hold worthy observance, touching the Trade and state of those Ilands.

Throughout all the Moluccæ Ilands, a Bahar of Cloves doth weigh two hundred Cattees of that Countrey, every Cattee three pound five ounces haberdepoiz, which maketh the Bahar to be sixe hundred sixtie two pound

eight ounces haberdepoiz subtill. For which Bahar of Cloves, the Flemmings by their perpetuall contract (as they terme it) give fiftie Rials of eight. My selfe for more speedie obtayning of lading, yeelded to pay them sixtie Rials of eight the Bahar. Which increase of price made them so forward to furnish us, that had not the Flemmings by their force over-awed the nationals, imprisoning and threatning them with death, and keeping watch and good guards alongst the Sea-Coast, I had in one moneth procured our full lading. The most of these Ilands beare store of Cloves. Those of note inhabited, yeeld one yeare with another as followeth, that is to say, Ternate, one thousand Bahars. Machian, one thousand and ninetie. Tydore, nine hundred. Bachian, three hundred. Moteer, sixe hundred. Meau, fiftie. Batta China, five and thirtie. The totall is three thousand nine hundred seventie five.

Every third yeare is farre more fruitfull then either of the former two, and is called the great Monson. It is lamentable to see the ruines that Civill Warre hath bred in those Ilands, which as I understood at my being there, beganne and continued in manner following. The Portugall at his first discoverie of them, found fierce warres betwixt the King of Ternate and the King of Tydore, under which two Kings all the other Ilands are either [I. iv. 363.] subjected or confederated with one of them. The Portugall for the better setling of himselfe, tooke part with neither of them, but politikely carrying himselfe kept both to bee his friends, and so fortified upon the Ilands of Ternate and Tydore, where, to the Portugals great advantage, having the whole Trade of Cloves in their owne hands, they domineered and bore chiefest sway untill the yeare 1605. wherein the Flemming by force displaced them, and planted himselfe: but so weakly and unprovided for future danger, that the next yeare the Spaniard, (who whilest the Portugall remayned there, was ordered both by the Pope and King of Spaine not to meddle with them) came from the Philippinas, beat the

The Hollanders planted in the Moluccas, 1605.

Flemmings out of both the Ilands, tooke the King of Ternate Prisoner, sent him to the Philippinas, and kept Ternate and Tydore under their command. The Flemming since that time hath gotten footing there againe, and at my beeing there had built him these Forts, viz.

Upon the Iland Ternate, They have a Fort called Malayou, which hath three Bulwarkes, and is walled round about. Secondly Tolouco, which hath two Bulwarkes, and a round Towre walled about. Thirdly, Tacome, which hath foure Bulwarkes, and is walled about.

Upon the Iland Tydore, Marieko which hath foure Bulwarkes.

Upon the Iland Machian, First, Tafasoa, (the chiefe Towne of this Iland) where they have foure great Bulwarkes walled about, sixteene Peeces of Ordnance, and about one thousand Inhabitants of the Naturals.

Secondly, Nofakia, another Towne, where they have two Forts walled about, and another Fort upon the top of a high hill there, which freeth the Roade on the other side, and hath five or sixe Peeces of Ordnance.

Thirdly, Tabalola, a Towne where they have two Forts walled, eight Peeces of Ordnance, and the Inhabitants hereof, (as of the former) under their command. This place is very strongly scituated by nature.

Those of Nofakia are esteemed no good Souldiers, but are reported to take part alwayes, as neere as they can ghesse it, with the strongest. But the Naturals of Tabalola, which formerly dwelt at Cayoa, are accounted the best Souldiers of the Moluccæ Ilands, and are deadly Enemies to the Spaniards and Portugals, and as weary now of the Flemmings.

In these three Forts upon Machian, there were at my being heere an hundred and twentie Holland Souldiers, viz. eightie, at Tafasoa; thirtie, at Nofakia; and ten, at Tabalola: which Garrison is with the least.

This Iland Machian is the richest of Cloves of all the Moluccæ Ilands, and according to the generall report of

the Inhabitants, yeeldeth in the yeare of the great Monson above eighteene hundred Bahars of Cloves.

Upon the Iland Bachian, The Flemmings have one great Fort.

Upon the Iland Moteer, They have foure Bulwarkes.

These Civill Warres have so wasted the Nationals, that a great quantitie of Cloves perish, and rot upon the ground for want of gathering. Neither is there any likelihood of peace to bee made betwixt them, untill the one part be utterly rooted out.

Thus leaving them to their warres I will returne to our Trafficke, and shew in what manner we traded with the Naturals for Cloves, which for the most part was by bartering and exchanging Cotton cloth of Cambaya, and Coromandell for Cloves. The sorts requested, and prices that they yeelded.

Candakeens of Barochie, six Cattees of Cloves. Candakeens Papang, or flat, three Cattees. Selas, or small Bastas, seven & eight. Patta chere Malayo, sixteen. Dragam chere Malayo, sixteen. Five Cassas twelve. Course of that kind eight. Betellias, or Tancoulos red, fortie foure and fortie eight. Sarassas chere Malayo, fortie eight and fiftie. Sarampouri, thirtie. Chelles, Tapsiels, & Matafons, twentie, & foure and twentie. White Cassas, or Tancoulos, fortie, and foure and fortie. Dongeriius, the finest, twelve. Course of that kind, eight and ten. Pouti Castella, ten. Ballachios the finest, thirtie. Patta chere Malayo, of two fathomes eight and ten. Great Potas, or long foure fathome, sixteene Cattees of Cloves. Parcallas white, twelve. Salalos Ytam, twelve and fourteene. Turias and Tappe Turias, one and two. Patola, of two Fathomes, fiftie and sixtie. Those of foure and one fathome accordingly. Rice eight and twentie pound, a Riall of eight. Sagu, which is a roote whereof the Naturals make their Bread, and is their chiefest food through the whole Countrey, it is sold in bunches, and was worth there one quarter of a Riall of eight a bunch. Velvets, Sattins, Taffataes, and

other stuffes of Silke of China, are very well requested heere. And this shall serve for advice concerning the Moluccæ Ilands.

The sixteenth, calme till night, then a gale at West: we steered North North-west.

The seventeenth in the morning, wind at East by South, we steered North but after variable, shifting to all the points of the Compasse: towards night we had sight of land to the North-ward.

The eighteenth, calme, much raine and contrarie windes, I therefore resolved to goe for the Iland Saiem which was to the West-ward, and there to stay and refresh till the Monson would permit me to proceed. But instantly the wind came to the West, so that wee stood North and North by East. The nineteenth, little wind at West, [I. iv. 364.] wee continued our course North by East, very much raine and extreame hot.

The twentieth, in the morning calme, and a continuall current setting to the East-ward, which we have felt ever since our departure from Ternate. In the after-noone the wind North a gale we stood to the West-ward to stemme the current, in regard of the Northerly winds subject to calmes and the Easterly current, we stood in with a great Iland called Doy, to rest and refresh our selves. *A Current to the East-ward.* *Doy a great Iland.*

The one and twentieth, in the morning we were faire before the said Iland, neere the Northerne point, being a low point stretching to the Southwards, we stood in East by South, wind at North by East: at noone the Skiffe was sent to search out a convenient place to ride in, but the current did set so strong to the East-ward, as that we could not get a head, onely discovered a Bay very large, but it had a great shoale lying off the Northerne point halfe a league into the Sea, and had sixtie fathome two mile off the shoare sand, but night approaching wee stood off till morning. *A great shoale.*

The two and twentieth, after Sun-set we anchored in foure and twentie fathomes, in the Bay having had

(standing in) fiftie sixe, thirtie five, twentie sixe, and twentie foure fathomes.

The three and twentieth, I sent the Skiffe ashoare to seeke a convenient place to water in, and to pitch a Tent for the company to defend them from the raine. They found such a place right over against the ship, together with a great tracke of Deare and Swine, but no signe of people: the Countrey full of Trees and abundance of Cokers, Penang, Serie, Palmitas, and Fowle, Phesant and Wood-cockes. I went ashoare, the Merchants with mee, a Tent was set up, our Carpenter made Fal-pits very artificially to take Swine, some fish we tooke amongst the rockes, but cost much labour, one Phesant, and two Wood-pidgeons very large bodied like Hens, some of the Companie stayed all night on shoare, to looke for the comming of the Swine to the Trap.

The foure and twentieth, we saw very large Swine, but got none. This day about halfe an houre after seven in the morning, the Moone in the full was eclipsed in the strangest manner that ever any of us had seene, being obscured three houres and an halfe before she recovered her perfect light, which unto us was very fearefull.

A strange Eclipse of the Moone.

The five and twentieth, our people searched abroad, brought to the ship great store of Cokers, some Fowles, and heads of Palmita Trees, which boyled with Beefe are as good as Cabbage.

The eight and twentieth, the Companie laboured to get in wood and water. The Skiffe sounded about the shoale, and found ten and twelve fathome, at the Norther point neere to it, night and day very much raine.

The nine and twentieth and thirtieth were spent in getting aboord our wood, whereof wee had great store, and as good as our Billets in England.

May 1. 1613. The first of May, the Skiffe was sent to sound to the Wester point into the Bay, and found very deepe water. Landing, they found the ruines of houses, and certaine brasse pannes, so that we were of opinion that the place

had lately beene inhabited, but the Inhabitants by the Warres hunted from their home.

Doy at the Northermost end of Geilolo.

The twelfth, we set sayle from this Island Doy, being the North-east most Iland of Batta China or Geilolo in the Moluccas, latitude two degrees, thirtie five minutes, variation five degrees, twentie minutes Easterly, having remayned heere twentie dayes, beeing seventie one persons bound for Japan, and at noone fourteene leagues North by East, off the place where wee anchored.

The thirteenth, the shippes way to noone North by East, twentie two leagues. Wee steered North the wind West, variation five degrees thirtie minutes Easterly, with a strong Current setting to the East-ward, then the wind shifted to the West by South, West North-west, East, then a gale at West by South, and West South-west. The fourteenth, latitude five degrees twentie sixe minutes, way North by East twentie sixe leagues, wind West, and Current as afore-said: cleere weather. The fifteenth, latitude five degrees fiftie sixe minutes, way North North-east, fourteene leagues current as formerly. The sixteenth, latitude seven degrees ten minutes way North Easterly, twentie seven leagues, wind at South-west, and West rainie. The seventeenth, latitude eight degrees twentie two minutes, way North twentie foure leagues wind South-west, but in the morning at East with raine. The eighteenth, latitude nine degrees seven minutes, way North-easterly fifteene leagues, wind at East and East North-east very cleere weather. The nineteenth, latitude nine degrees fortie one minutes, way North eleven leagues one third part, wind East and East North-east. The twentieth, latitude ten degrees fortie minutes, way North halfe a point Westerly, twentie leagues, wind East and North-east, with helpe of a current Northerly. The one and twentieth, latitude eleven degrees thirtie sixe minutes, way North North-west twentie leagues, wind North-east East, North North-east, and North-east by East star-boord tacke aboord. The two and twentieth, latitude twelve degrees thirtie nine

minutes, way North North-west, twentie three leagues, wind East North-east, North-east by East, and North-east.

[I. iv. 365.] The three and twentieth, latitude twelve degrees fiftie seven minutes, way North by West, sixe and two third parts of a league wind, South-east calme. The foure and twentieth, latitude thirteene degrees fortie two minutes, way North fifteene leagues, wind South by East, very smooth water. The five and twentieth, latitude fifteene degrees, twelve minutes, way North thirtie leagues, wind South, we steered North Westerly. Note, that wee find those favourable winds in the full of the Moone. The sixe and twentieth, latitude seventeene degrees, sixe minutes, way North thirtie eight leagues, wind South by West South, and South South-west a continuall stiffe gale and smooth water. The seven and twentieth, way North-east twentie foure leagues, wind at West North-west and West, with Raine, Thunder and Lightning. The eight the twentieth, way North nine leagues, wind West, and West North-west. The nine and twentieth, latitude nineteene degrees fifteene minutes, way North nine leagues, winde North-east East, West, West North-west and South, calmes and gusts. The thirtieth, latitude twentie degrees twelve minutes, way North twentie leagues, wind at South-east and East South-east. The one and thirtieth, latitude twentie one degrees, thirtie five minutes, way North by West, thirtie leagues, wind East, and East by North. Variation sixe degrees no minutes Easterly.

Note.

Variation sixe degrees Easterly.

June 1. 1613. The first of June, we passed the Tropick of Cancer, the Sunne in our Zenith wee could not observe, way North fortie leagues, wind at South-east, and South-east by East, variation five degrees twentie five minutes Easterly.

The second, latitude twentie five degrees fortie foure minutes, way North fortie two leagues, wind South-east and South-east by South, making account we should have seene the Ilands, Dos Reys Magos, about eight of the clocke in the morning, but as yet see none. About foure a clocke in the after-noone we made land, being a very

The Iles Dos Rëys Magos.

low Iland bearing North-west about three leagues off, wind South-east by East, and having it North North-east, we had sight of the high-land over the low land, there being many little Ilands to the number of ten or eleven, with broken ground and breaches reaching over to each Iland, so that wee could discerne no passage to the West-ward. At night we tackt off, tooke in our Top-sayles, and lay close by in our courses all night, wind very much at South South-east, we steered East. The Ilands lye alongst North-east and South-west.

The third we stood in for the land, being a high Iland bearing North-west, seeming to us a most pleasant and fruitfull soyle, as any we had seene since our comming out of England, well peopled, and great store of Cattle. Wee purposed to have come to an anchor about the North-east point, and sounding had sixty fathome, had sight of two Boates comming off unto us, wee used all the meanes we could to speake with them, being desirous of a Pilot, and to know the name of the Iland, the better to bee assured where we were. But the wind was so forcible, as that we could not get in, wherefore we stood away North-west, and had sight of another Iland bearing West North-west, we steered with it, and from thence had sight of another Iland, bearing North-east halfe a point Easterly, some seven or eight leagues off, and comming under the Wester-most Iland, we discerned certaine Rockes that lay off the shoare above two miles, the one above water, and the Northermost under-water, and is a great way without the other, the Sea breaking upon it. Then the land falleth away to the South-wards round, and neere to the point you shall open a steepe Rocke, that is upon the West-side of the Iland, resembling Charing-Crosse. Then we steered North-west with an extreame gale at South by West, and South South-west. When we had opened the Iland, and a current setting to the South-ward, at foure of the clocke we tooke in our Top-sailes and haled close upon a tacke, the Iland being about seven leagues North-west off us. Way to noone North halfe a

point Easterly, sixteene leagues, way North North-west three quarters Westerly, twentie leagues. At three a clocke in the afternoone we set our courses, the wind at North-west, and North-west by North, wee steered North-east some two houres, then calme and raine, variation at Sunne-setting foure degrees fortie minutes Easterly.

Variation foure degrees fortie minutes, Easterly.

The fifth, way West by North foure leagues and an halfe, wind North North-east, wee steere North-west starboord tackt, variation foure degrees fortie two minutes.

The sixth, way North North-west nine leagues, wind East North-east, North-east by North and North-east by East, little wind, much raine, variation foure degrees nineteene minutes Easterly. At night the wind at East and East South-east.

The seventh, way North-east by North sixteene leagues, wind at South-east and South South-west, then we steered away North-east by North, supposing to bee off Tonan twentie eight or thirtie leagues.

The eight, in the morning wee had sight of a high round Iland bearing East sixe leagues off with divers other Ilands rising in sixe or seven parts bearing West five or sixe leagues off: having made to this noone twentie two leagues North-east by North, wind at South South-west a stiffe gale. Then we haled over North-west with another Iland, which we found to be foure in number, being barren and many picked Rockes. Then we steered North by East, the wind at South by West, about three of the clocke wee had sight of an Iland, with three Hils like three round Sugar-loves, bearing East by S. five leagues off. At five of the clock we had sight of an [I. iv. 366.] Iland rising in two parts, bearing North North-east, the Northren end being an high steep upright point, the land falling away to the Eastward North-east, and at sixe of the clock the body of it did beare East one league and an halfe off. The wind West, we stood off upon a tacke North North-west.

The ninth, in the morning wee had sight of land, bearing North North-east, and sixe great Islands on a ranke.

From the Island we descried yesternight North-east and South-west, and at the Northermost end of them all, many small rockes and hummockes, and in the Bay to the Eastward of the hummockes we saw an high land bearing East, East by South, and East South-east, which is the Island called Xima in the Plats, but called by the Naturals Mashma, and the Island aforesaid, North North-east, is called Segue or Amaxay: it lyeth East by North, and West by South, with many small Islands and rockes on the Southerne side of them, and is distant from the Island with the steepe point, (which wee did see the eight day) South South-west twelve leagues, the wind calme all night, yet we got to the Northward, as wee supposed, by the helpe of a current or tide. *Xima or Mashma.*

The tenth, by breake of day the outward-most land to the Westward did beare North by East ten leagues off, the wind at North-east by North: at nine, a gale at South, wee steered North by West, and had sight of two hummockes without the point. Then wee steered North North-west, and soone after came foure great Fisher-boats aboord, about five tunnes apeece in burthen, they sailed with one saile, which stood like a Skiffe saile, and skuld with foure oares on a side, their oares resting upon a pinne fastned on the toppe of the Boats side, the head of which pinne was so let into the middle part of the oare, that the oare did hang in his just poize, so that the labour of the Rower is much lesse, then otherwise it must be; yet doe they make farre greater speed then our people with rowing, and performe their worke standing, as ours doe sitting, so that they take the lesse roome. They told us that we were before the entrance of Nangasaque, bearing North North-east, and the straights of Arima, North-east by North, and the high hill, which we did see yesterday, is upon the Island called Uszideke, which maketh the straights of Arima, where at the Norther-most end is good riding, and at the South end is the going into Cochinoch. To this noone we have made a North-way sixe leagues. Wee agree with two of the Masters of the *An excellent kind of oares.* *Nangasaque.*

Fisher-boats (for thirtie Rialls of eight a piece in money, and Rice for their food) to Pilot us into Firando; which agreement made, their people entred our shippe, and performed voluntarily their labour, as readily as any of our Mariners. We steered North by West, the Pilots making account to be thirtie leagues off Firando. One of the foure Boats which came aboord us, did belong to the Portugals, living at Langasaque, and were new Christians, and thought that our ship had been the Macau ship; but finding the contrary, would upon no intreatie stay, but made hast backe againe to advise them.

§. VI.

Their arrivall at Firando: the Habite, Rites, and Customes of the Japonians.

June 11. 1613. THe eleventh, about three of the clocke in the afternoone, we came to an anchor halfe a league short of Firando, the tide so spent that we could not get further in: soone after I was visited by the old King Foyne Sama, and his Nephew Tone-Sama, Governour then of the Iland under the old King. They were attended with fortie Boats or Gallyes, rowed some with ten, some with fifteene oares on a side: when they drew neare to the ship, the King commanded all, but the two wherein himselfe and his Nephew were, to fall a sterne, and they only entred the ship, both of them in silke gownes, girt to them with a shirt, and a paire of breeches of flaxen cloath next their bodies, either of them had two Cattans or swords of that Countrey by his side, the one of halfe a yard long, the other about a quarter. They wore no bands, the fore-parts of their heads were shaven to the crowne, and the rest of their haire, which was very long, was gathered together and bound up on a knot behind, wearing neither Hat nor Turbant, but bareheaded. The King was aged about seventie two yeeres, his Nephew or Grand-child, that governed under him, was about two and twentie yeeres old, and either of them

The King of Firando and his Nephew.

Japonian habite.

had his Governour with him, who had command over their slaves, as they appointed him. Their manner and curtesie in saluting was after their manner, which is this. First, in presence of him whom they are to salute, they put off their shooes (stockings they weare none) and then clapping their right hand within their left, they put them downe towards their knees, and so wagging or moving of their hands a little to and fro, they stooping, steppe with small steps sideling from the partie saluted, and crie Augh, Augh. I led them into my Cabbin, where I had prepared a Banquet for them, and a good consort of Musicke, which much delighted them. They bade me welcome, and promised me kind entertainment. I delivered our Kings Letters to the King of Firando, which he received with great joy, saying hee would not open it till Ange came, who could interpret the same unto him; this Ange is in their language a Pilot, being one William Adams an English man, who passing with a Flemming through the South-sea, by mutiny and disorder of the Marriners shee remained in that Countrey, and was seised upon by the Emperour about twelve yeares before. The King having stayed aboord about an houre and a halfe, tooke his leave: he was no sooner ashoare, but all his nobilitie, attended with a multitude of souldiers, entred the ship, every man of worth brought his present with him, some Venison, some Wilde-fowle, some wilde Boare the largest and fattest that ever any of us had seene, some Fruits, Fish, &c. They did much admire our shippe, and made as if they had never seene it sufficiently. We being pestered with the number of these visiters, I sent to the King, requesting him that order might bee taken to remove them, and to prevent all inconveniences that might happen. Whereupon he sent a Guardian, (being a principall man of his owne Guard) with charge to remaine and lye aboord, that no injury might be offered unto us; and caused a proclamation to be made in the Towne to the same effect. The same night, Henrick Brower, Captaine of the Dutch Factory there, came aboord to visite me, or rather to see

Japonian manner of salutation.

[I. iv. 367.]

William Adams. His story written by himselfe you have before.

what passed betwixt the King and us. I did write the same day to Master Adams (being then at Edoo, which is very neare three hundred leagues from Firando) to let him understand of our arrivall. King Foyn sent it away *Osackay.* the next day by his Admirall to Osackay, the first Port of note upon the chiefe Island, and then by post up into the Land to Edoo: giving the Emperour likewise to understand of our being there, and cause thereof.

The twelfth in the morning, there was brought aboord such abundance of fish, and so cheape as we could desire. We weighed and set saile for the Road. The King sent at the least threescore great Boats or Gallyes very well mand, to bring us into the harbor. I doubted what the cause of their comming might be, & was sending off the Skiffe to command them not to come neare the ship but the King being the head-most, weaved with his handkercher, and willed the rest to attend, and himselfe comming aboord, told me that he had commanded them to come to tow our ship in about a point, somewhat dan- *A strong tide.* gerous, by reason of the force of the tide, which was such that having a stiffe gale of wind, yet we could not stemme it, and comming into the eddie, we should have been set upon the Rockes. So we sent Hawsers aboord them, and they fell to worke. In the meane while the King did breake his fast with me. Being at an anchor, I would have requited the people for their paines, but the King *We anchored before the Towne.* would not suffer them to take any thing. Wee anchored before the Towne in five fathome, so neare the shoare, that we might talke to the people in their houses. We saluted the Towne with nine peeces of Ordnance, but were not answered, for they have no Ordnance heere, nor any Fort, but Barricados only for small shot. Our ground heere was Ozie. Divers Noblemen came to bid me welcome, whereof two were of extraordinary account, called Nobusane and Simmadone, who were very well entertained, and at parting held very great state, one staying aboord whilest the other were landed; their children and chiefe followers in the like manner. There came con-

tinually such a world of people aboord, both men and women, as that we were not able to go upon the decks: round about the ship was furnished with Boats full of people, admiring much the head and sterne of the ship. I gave leave to divers women of the better sort to come into my Cabbin, where the picture of Venus, with her sonne Cupid, did hang somewhat wantonly set out in a large frame, they thinking it to bee our Ladie and her Sonne, fell downe and worshipped it, with shewes of great devotion, telling men in a whispering manner (that some of their owne companions which were not so, might not heare) that they were Christianos: whereby we perceived them to be Christians, converted by the Portugall Jesuits.

Note the danger of idolatry, even in Popish sense, by veneration of Images.

The King came aboord againe, and brought foure chiefe women with him. They were attired in gownes of silke, clapt the one skirt over the other, and so girt to them, bare-legged, only a paire of halfe buskins bound with silke riband about their instep: their haire very blacke, and very long, tyed up in a knot upon the crowne in a comely manner: their heads no where shaven as the mens were. They were well-faced, handed, and footed; cleare skind and white, but wanting colour, which they amend by arte. Of stature low, but very fat; very curteous in behaviour, not ignorant of the respect to be given unto persons according to their fashion. The King requested that none might stay in the Cabbin, save my selfe and my Linguist, who was borne in Japan, and was brought from Bantam in our ship thither, being well skild in the Mallayan tongue, wherein he delivered to mee what the King spoke unto him in the Japan language. The Kings women seemed to be somewhat bashfull, but he willed them to bee frollicke. They sung divers songs, and played upon certain Instruments (wherof one did much resemble our Lute) being bellyed like it, but longer in the necke, and fretted like ours, but had only foure gut-strings. Their fingring with the left hand like ours, very nimbly: but the right hand striketh with an Ivory bone, as we use to play

The Kings women, their habite.

Their musicke instrumentall and vocall.

upon a Citterne with a quill. They delighted themselves much with their musicke, keeping time with their hands, and playing and singing by booke, prickt on line and space, resembling much ours heere. I feasted them, and presented them with divers English commodities: and after some two houres stay they returned. I moved the King for a house, which hee readily granted, and tooke two of the Merchants along with him, and shewed them three or foure houses, willing them to take their choise, paying the owners as they could agree.

Prick-song.

[I. iv. 368.]

The thirteenth, I went ashoare, attended upon by the Merchants and Principall Officers, and delivered the Presents to the King, amounting to the value of one hundred and fortie pounds or thereabouts, which he received with very great kindnesse, feasting me and my whole companie with divers sorts of powdered wild fowles and fruits: and calling for a standing Cup (which was one of the Presents then delivered him) he caused it to be filled with his Countrey wine, which is distilled out of Rice, and is as strong as our Aquavitæ: and albeit the Cuppe held upward of a pint and an halfe, notwithstanding taking the Cup in his hand, he told me hee would drinke it all off, for a health to the King of England, and so did, my selfe and all his Nobles doing the like. And whereas in the roome where the King was, there was onely my selfe and the Cape Merchant, (the rest of our Company being in an other roome) the King commanded his Secretarie to goe out unto them, and see that everie one of them did pledge the health. The King and his Nobles did sit at meat crosse-legged upon Mats, after the Turkie fashion, the Mats richly edged, some with cloath of Gold, some with Velvet, Satten, and Damaske.

Presents.

Feasting and drinking of healths in Japan.

Gesture at meate.

The foureteenth and fifteenth, we spent with giving of Presents. The sixteenth, I concluded with Captaine Audassee, Captaine of the China quarter here, for his house, to pay ninetie five Ryals of eight for the Monson of sixe Moneths, he to repaire it at present, and wee to repaire it hereafter, and alter what we pleased: he to fur-

nish all convenient roomes with Mats according to the fashion of the Countrey.

This day our ship was so pestered with people, as that I was enforced to send to the King for a Guardian to cleare them out, many things being stolne, but I more doubted our owne people, then the Naturals. There came in a Flemming in one of the Countrey boates, which had been at the Iland Mashma, where he had sold good store of Pepper, broad Cloth, and Elephants teeth, but would not be acknowne unto us to have sold any thing, yet brought nothing backe in the boat with him. But the Japons his watermen told us the truth, viz. That he had sold good quantitie of goods at a Mart there, and returned barres of silver, which they kept very secret.

Mashma a place of good vent for our commodities.

The one and twentieth, the old King came aboord againe, and brought with him divers women to be frollicke. These women were Actors of Comedies, which passe there from Iland to Iland to play, as our Players doe here from Towne to Towne, having severall shifts of apparrell for the better grace of the matter acted; which for the most part are of Warre, Love, and such like. These Women are as the slaves of one man, who putteth a price what every man shall pay that hath to doe with any of them; more then which he is not to take upon paine of death, in case the partie injured shall complaine. It is left to his owne discretion to prize her at the first, but rise he cannot afterwards, fall he may. Neither doth the partie bargaine with the Wench, but with her Master, whose command she is to obey. The greatest of their Nobilitie travelling, hold it no disgrace to send for these Panders to their Inne, & do compound with them for the Wenches, either to fill their drinke at Table (for all men of any ranke have their drinke filled to them by Women) or otherwise to have the use of them. When any of these Panders die (though in their life time they were received into Company of the best, yet now as unworthy to rest amongst the worst) they are bridled with a bridle made of straw, as you would bridle an Horse, and in the cloathes

Women Actors of Comedies in Japan, being also common women, and their price rated.

Bawdes in Japan.

Their abhominable esteeme after death.

they died in, are dragged through the streetes into the fields, and there cast upon a dunghill, for dogges and fowles to devoure.

Five thousand Chinese done to death for trading in forrain parts.

The twentie three, we had newes of two China Junkes arrived at Langasaque, laden with Sugar. By him we understood, that the Emperour of China had then lately put to death about five thousand persons, for trading out of the Countrey, contrary to his Edict, confiscating all their goods: notwithstanding hope of profit enticed these men to put it in hazard, having bribed the new Pungavas and Officers upon the Sea-coast, which upon the execution of the former, were placed in their steads.

The Hollanders formerly passed under the name of Englishmen. Note. Japonian song of the English.

The twentie ninth, a Soma or Junke of the Flemmings arrived at Langasaque from Syam, laden with Brasill wood and Skins of all sorts, wherein it was said that there were Englishmen, but prooved to be Flemmings. For that before our comming, they passed generally by the name of Englishmen: for our English Nation hath been long known by report among them, but much scandalled by the Portugals Jesuites, as Pyrats and Rovers upon the Seas; so that the Naturals have a song which they call the English Crofonia, shewing how the English doe take the Spanish ships, which they (singing) doe act likewise in gesture with their Cattans by their sides, with which song and acting, they terrifie and skare their children, as the French sometimes did theirs with the name of the Lord Talbot.

July.

The first of July, two of our Company happened to quarrell the one with the other, and were very likely to have gone into the field, to the endangering of us all.

Severitie for fighting and drawing weapons.

For it is a custome here, That whosoever drawes a weapon in anger, although he doe no harme therewith, hee is presently cut in peeces: and doing but small hurt, not only themselves are so executed, but their whole generation.

The second day, I went ashoare to keep house in Firando, the houshold consisting of twenty sixe persons. Note, that at our comming we found Broad-clothes of

fifteen or sixteene pound a cloth to be sold by the Dutch in Firando, for fortie Rials of eight, which is eight pound sterling the Mat, which Mat is two yards and a quarter: but desirous to keep up the price of our cloath, and hearing that the Dutch had great store there, I had conference with Brower, Captaine of their Factorie to this effect; That betwixt us we should set rates upon such clothes as both of us had, and neither of us in any wise to sell under the price agreed upon: for performance whereof, I proffered to enter into bond to him. In the morning he seemed to approove hereof, but ere night sent word that he disliked it, excusing himselfe that he had no warrant from his Masters to make any such agreement. The next morning, he shipped away great store of Cloath to divers Ilands, rating them at base prizes, viz. at twentie, eighteene and sixteene Rials the Mat, that he might procure the more speedie dispatch of his owne, and glut the place before the comming of ours. [I. iv. 369.] *English broad clothes sold by the Dutch in Japan.*

Bantam Pepper ungarbled, which cost at Bantam one Riall three quarters of eight the sacke, was worth here at our comming tenne Tayes the Peecull, which is one hundred Cattees, making one hundred thirtie pound English subtill. A Taye is five shillings sterling with them. A Riall of eight is worth there in ordinary payment but seven Masse, which is three shillings sixe pence sterling. For a Masse is as a Riall of Plate.

Tinne the Peecull, thirtie Tayes: Elephants Teeth the Peecull eightie Tayes: Iron cast Peeces the Peecull sixe Tayes: Powder the Peecull twentie three Tayes: Aloes Socatrina the Cattee sixe Tayes: Fowling Peeces the peece twentie Tayes: Callico and such like Commodities of Choromandel, and of the Guzerates, as they are in goodnesse.

The seventh, the King of the Iland Goto, not farre from Firando came to visit King Foyne, saying, that he had heard of an excellent English ship arrived in his Dominions, which he greatly desired to see, and goe aboord of. King Foyne intreated me that he might be *King of Goto.*

permitted, for that hee was an especiall friend of his. So he was well entertained aboord, banqueted, and had divers Peeces shot off at his departure, which he very kindly accepted, and told me, that hee should bee right glad to live to see some of our Nation to come to his Iland, whither they should be heartily welcome.

The King of Goto desirous that our men would come into his Kingdome.

The eighth, three Japonians were executed, viz. two men and one woman: the cause this; The woman none of the honestest (her husband being travelled from home) had appointed these two their severall houres to repaire unto her. The latter man not knowing of the former, and thinking the time too long, comming in before the houre appointed, found the first man with her already, and enraged thereat, he whipt out his Cattan, and wounded both of them very sorely, having very neere hewne the Chine of the mans backe in two. But as well as he might hee cleared himselfe of the woman, and recovering his Cattan, wounded the other. The street taking notice of the fray forthwith seased upon them, led them aside, and acquainted King Foyne therewith, and sent to know his pleasure, (for according to his will, the partie is executed) who presently gave order that they should cut off their heads: which done, every man that listed (as very many did) came to trie the sharpenesse of their Cattans upon the Corps, so that before they left off, they had hewne them all three into peeces as small as a mans hand, and yet notwithstanding did not then give over, but placing the peeces one upon another, would try how many of them they could strike through at a blow: and the peeces are left to the Fowles to devoure.

Japonian manner of Execution.

To steale anothers slave, death.

The tenth, three more were executed as the former, for stealing of a woman from Firando, and selling her at Langasacque long since, two of them were brethren, and the other a sharer with them. When any are to be executed, they are led out of the Towne in this manner: There goeth first one with a Pick-axe, next followeth an other with a shovell for to make his grave (if that bee permitted him) the third man beareth a small Table

The manner of their going to execution.

whereon is written the parties offence, which table is afterwards set up upon a Post on the grave where he is buried. The fourth is the partie to be executed, his hands bound behind him with a silken cord, having a little Banner of Paper (much resembling our wind-vanes) whereon is likewise written his offence. The executioner followeth next, with his Cattan by his side, holding in his hand the cord wherewith the offender is bound. On either side of the executioner goeth a souldiour with his Pike, the head thereof resting on the shoulder of the partie appointed to suffer, to skare him from attempting to escape. In this very manner I saw one led to execution, who went so resolutely and without all appearance of feare of death, that I could not but much admire him, never having seene the like in Christendome. The offence for which he suffered was for stealing of a sacke of Rice (of the value of two shillings sixe pence,) from his neighbour, whose house was then on fire.

The eleventh, there arrived at Langasacque three China Junckes laden with Silkes. The nineteenth, the old King Foyne, intreated me for a peece of Poldavis, which I sent him; hee caused it presently to be made into Coates, which he (notwithstanding that hee was a King, and of that great age, and famed to be the worthiest souldiour of all Japan, for his valour and service in the Corean warres) did weare next his skinne, and some part thereof was made into handkerchiefes, which he daily used.

Poldavis worn by the King.

The twentieth, a Soma or Juncke comming from Cochinchina arrived at Langasaque, laden with Silkes, and Benjamin, excellent cleere and rich. The nine and twentieth, M. Adams arrived at Firando, having been seventeene dayes on the way comming from Sorongo, we having staied here for his comming fortie eight dayes. After I had friendly entertained him, I conferred with him in the presence of the Merchants, touching the incouragement hee could give of trade in these parts. He answered, that it was not alwaies alike, but sometimes better, sometimes worse, yet doubted not but we should doe as well

William Adams commeth unto them. [I. iv. 370.] *The first Carrier for not making haste with the letters to Adams, was banished by the angry King.*

as others; giving admirable commendations of the Countrey, as much affected thereunto.

The thirtieth in the morning, one of the yong Kings Governours was by his order cut into pieces in the street, for being (as it was thought) too familiar with his mother. A slave of his died with him, for endeavouring to defend his Master. This day there came to Firando certaine Spaniards of M. Adams his acquaintance, to desire passage in our ship for Bantam. These Spaniards had been belonging to a Spanish Gentleman their Generall, who about a yeare past, were come (upon the King of Spaines charge) from Nova Hispania, to discover to the Northward of Japan, and arriving at Edoo, attending the Monson to goe to the Northward, which beginneth in the end of May, his Company (whereof these were two) mutinied against him, every man taking his owne way, leaving the ship utterly unmanned, wherefore I thought it best to keepe them out of my ship.

An intention of the Spaniards to discover to the Northward of Japan.

August. The third, King Foyne sent to know of what Bulk our Kings Present to the Emperour was, also what number of people I would take with me, for that he would provide accordingly for my going up in good fashion both for Barke, Horses, and Pallanchins.

This day I caused the Presents to be sorted that were to be given to the Emperour, and to those of office and esteeme about him, viz.

	l	s	d
To Ogoshosama, the Emperour, to the value of - - - - - - - -	87	7	6
To Shongosama, the Emperours sonne -	43	15	0
To Codskedona, the Emperours Secretarie -	15	17	6
To Saddadona, the Emperours Sonnes Secretarie - - - - - - -	14	03	4
To Icocora Juga, Judge of Meaco - -	04	10	6
To Fongo dona, Admirall of Orungo - -	03	10	0
To Goto Shozavero, the Mintmaster - -	11	00	0
Totall - - -	180	03	10

§. VII.

Captaine Saris his Journey to the Court of the Japonian Emperour, and observations there, and by the way.

THe seventh of August, King Foyne furnished me with a proper Galley of his owne, rowed with twentie five oares on a side, and sixtie men, which I did fit up in a verie comely manner, with waste clothes, ensignes, and all other necessaries, and having taken my leave of the King, I went and remained aboord the ship, to set all things in order before my departure. Which done, and remembrances left with the Master and Cape Merchant, for the well governing of the ship and house ashoare during my absence, taking with mee tenne English, and nine others, besides the former sixtie, which were onely to attend the Gallie, I departed from Firando towards the Emperours Court. Wee were rowed through, and amongst divers Ilands, all which, or the most part of them, were well inhabited, and divers proper Townes built upon them; whereof one called Fuccate, hath a very strong Castle, built of free stone, but no Ordnance nor Souldiers therein. It hath a ditch about five fathome deepe, and twice as broad round about it, with a draw bridge, kept all in very good repaire. I did land & dine there in the Towne, the tyde and wind so strong against us, as that we could not passe. The Towne seemed to be as great as London is within the wals, very wel built, and even, so as you may see from the one end of the streete to the other. The place exceedingly peopled, very Civill and curteous, onely that at our landing, and being here in Fuccate, and so through the whole Country, whithersoever we came, the boyes, children, and worser sort of idle people, would gather about and follow along after us, crying, Coré, Coré, Cocoré, Waré, that is to say, You Coréans with false hearts: wondering, hooping, hollowing, and making such a noise about us, that we could

The old King sent 100. *Tayes of Japan money for him to spend by the way. A Tay is five shil. of our money.*

My setting forward toward the Emperours Court.

Fuccate a large and faire Towne.

scarcely heare one an other speake, sometimes throwing stones at us (but that not in many Townes) yet the clamour and crying after us was every where alike, none reprooving them for it. The best advice that I can give those who hereafter shall arrive there, is that they passe on without regarding those idle rablements, and in so doing, they shall find their eares onely troubled with the noise. All alongst this Coast, and so up to Ozaca, we found women divers, that lived with their houshold and family in boats upon the water, as in Holland they do the like. These women would catch fish by diving, which by net and lines they missed, and that in eight fathome depth: their eyes by continuall diving doe grow as red as blood, whereby you may know a diving woman from all other women.

Women with their households that live in boats upon the water. Women-divers.

We were two daies rowing from Firando to Fuccate: about eight or tenne leagues on this side the straights of Xemina-seque, we found a great Towne, where there lay in a Docke, a Juncke of eight hundred or a thousand Tunnes of burthen, sheathed all with yron, with a guard appointed to keep her from firing and treachery. She was built in a very homely fashion, much like that which describeth Noahs Arke unto us. The Naturals told us, that she served to transport souldiers into any of the Ilands, if rebellion or warre should happen.

[I. iv. 371.] *Straights of Xeminaseque. A strange Juncke.*

We found nothing extraordinary after we had passed the straights of Xemina-seque, untill we came unto Osaca, where we arrived the twenty seventh day of August: our Galley could not come neere the Towne by sixe miles, where another smaller Vessell met us, wherein came the good man or Host of the house where we lay in Osaca, and brought a banquet with him of wine and salt fruits to intertaine me. The boat having a fast made to the mast-head, was drawn by men, as our Barkes are from London Westward. We found Osaca to be a very great Towne, as great as London within the walls, with many faire Timber bridges of a great height, serving to passe over a river there as wide as the Thames at London.

Osaca.

Description of Osaca.

Some faire houses we found there, but not many. It is one of the chiefe Sea-ports of all Japan; having a Castle in it, marvellous large and strong, with very deepe trenches about it, and many draw bridges, with gates plated with yron. The Castle is built all of Free-stone, with Bulwarks and Battlements, with loope holes for smal shot and arrowes, and divers passages for to cast stones upon the assaylants. The walls are at the least sixe or seven yards thicke, all (as I said) of Free-stone, without any filling in the inward part with trumpery, as they reported unto me. The stones are great, of an excellent quarry, and are cut so exactly to fit the place where they are laid, that no morter is used, but onely earth cast betweene to fill up voyd crevises if any be. In this Castle did dwell at our beeing there, the sonne of Tiquasamma, who being an infant at the time of his Fathers decease, was left to the governement and education of foure, whereof Ogoshosamma, the now Emperour was one and chiefe. The other three desirous of Soveraigntie each for his particular, and repulsed by Ogoshosamma, were for their owne safetie forced to take up Armes, wherein fortune favouring Ogoshosamma at the triall in field, two of them beeing slaine, the third was glad to save himselfe by flight. He beeing Conquerour, attempted that which formerly (as it is thought) hee never dream'd of, and proclaimed himselfe Emperour, and seazing upon the true heire, married him unto his daughter, as the onely meanes to worke a perfect reconcilement, confining the young married couple to live within this Castle of Osaca, attended onely with such as had been brought up from their cradles by Ogoshosamma, not knowing any other Father (as it were) then him: So that by their intelligence he could at all times understand what passed there, and accordingly rule him.

A faire and strong Castle.

The son of Tiquasama, the true heire of Japan how defeated of his right.

Right over against Osaca, on the other side of the River, lyeth another great Towne called Sacay, but not so bigge as Osaca, yet is it a Towne of great Trade for all the Ilands thereabout.

Sacay.

The eight and twentieth day at night, having left

musters and prices of our Commodities with our Host, we parted from Osaca by Barke towards Fushimi, where we arrived.

Fushimi.

The nine and twentieth at night we found here a Garrison of three thousand Souldiers maintayned by the Emperour, to keepe Miaco and Osaca in subjection. The Garrison is shifted every three yeares, which change happened to be at our being there, so that we saw the old Bands march away, and the new enter, in most Souldier-like manner, marching five abrest, and to everie ten files an Officer which is called a Captaine of fiftie, who kept them continually in verie good order. First, their shot, viz. Calievers, (for Muskets they have none, neyther will they use any) then followed Pikes, next Swords, or Cattans and Targets, then Bowes and Arrowes: next those weapons resembling a Welch-hooke called Waggadashes; then Calievers againe, and so as formerly, without any Ensigne or Colours: neyther had they any Drummes or other Musicall Instruments for Warre. The first file of the Cattans and Targets had silver scabberds to their Cattans, and the last file which was next to the Captaine had their scabberds of gold. The Companies consisted of divers numbers, some five hundred, some three hundred, some one hundred and fiftie men. In the midst of every Companie were three Horses very richly trapped, and furnished with Sadles, well set out, some covered with costly Furres, some with Velvet, some with Stammet broadcloth, every Horse had three slaves to attend him, ledde with silken halters, their eyes covered with lether covers. After every Troope followed the Captaine on Horse-backe, his bed and other necessaries were laid upon his owne Horse, equally peased on either side, over the same was spread a covering of redde felt of China, whereupon the Captaine did sit crosse-legged, as if hee had sate betwixt a couple of panniers: and for those that were ancient or otherwise weake-backt, they had a staffe artificially fixed unto the Pannell, that the Rider might rest himselfe, and leane backward against it, as if he were sitting in a chaire.

Garrisons changed every three yeares.

Their March and Weapons.

No Ensignes nor Drums or other Martiall Musicke.

Strange riding.

The Captaine Generall of this Garrison wee met two dayes after we had met his first troop, (having still in the meane-time met with some of these Companies as we passed along, sometimes one league, sometimes two leagues distant one from another.) Hee marched in very great state, beyond that the others did, (for the second Troope was more richly set out in their armes then the first: and the third then the second, and so still every one better then other, untill it came unto this the last and best of all.) He hunted and hawked all the way, having his owne Hounds and Hawkes along with him, the Hawkes being hooded and lured as ours are. His Horses for his owne Sadle being sixe in number, richly trapped. Their Horses are not tall, but of the size of our midling Nags, short and well trust, small headed and very full of mettle, in my opinion, farre excelling the Spanish Jennet in pride and stomacke. He had his Pallankin carryed before him, the inside of Crimson Velvet, and sixe men appointed to carrie it, two at a time.

Hunting and Hawking.

[I. iv. 372.]

Their Horses.

Such good order was taken for the passing and providing for, of these three thousand Souldiers, that no man either travelling or inhabiting upon the way where they lodged, was any way injured by them, but cheerefully entertayned them as other their guests, because they paid for what they tooke, as all other men did. Every Towne and Village upon the way being well fitted with Cookes and Victualling houses, where they might at an instant have what they needed, and dyet themselves from a pennie English a meale, to two shillings a meale.

Their good order.

The Dyet used generally through the Countrey, is Rice of divers sorts, one better then other (as of our Wheate and Corne here) the whitest accounted the best, which they use in stead of Bread, Fish, fresh and salted, some pickeld Herbes, Beanes, Raddishes and other Roots salted and pickled, Wild-fowle, Ducke, Mallard, Teale, Geese, Phesant, Partridge, Quaile, and divers others, which they doe powder and put up in pickle, of Hens they have great store, as likewise of Deere both red and fallow:

The Dyet in Japan.

Store of provision.

wild Bores, Hares, Goates, Kine, &c. of Cheese they have plentie, Butter they make none, neither will they eate any Milke, because they hold it to bee as bloud, nor tame beasts.

No Butter nor Milke eaten.

Of tame Swine and Pigs they have great abundance. Wheate they have as good as any of ours, being red. They plow both with Oxen and Horse as wee doe heere. At our being there, we bought Hens and Phesants of the best for three pence a piece. Pigs very fat and large twelve pence a piece, a fat Hogge five shillings. A good Beefe, such as our Welch Runts, at sixteene shillings, a Goate three shillings, Rice a halfe-pennie the pound. The ordinarie drinke of the common people is water, which with their meate they drinke warme, holding it to bee a sovereigne remedie against Wormes in the maw: other drinkes they have none, but what is distilled out of Rice, which is almost as strong as our Aquavitæ, and in colour like to Canarie Wine, and is not deare. Yet when they have drawne off the best and strongest, they wring out of it a smaller and slighter drinke, serving the poorer sort of people, which through want cannot reach to the better.

Water drunke warme.

The thirtieth, we were furnished with ninetene Horse at the Emperours charge, to carrie up our Kings presents, and those that attended me to Surunga.

I had a Pallankin appointed for me, and a spare Horse led by, to ride when I pleased, very well set out. Sixe men appointed to carrie my Pallankin in plaine and even ground. But where the Countrey grew hilly, ten men were allowed me thereto. The Guardian whom King Foyn sent along with us, did from time to time and place to place by warrant, take up these men and Horses to serve our turnes, as the Post-masters doe here in England: as also lodging at night. According to the custome of the Countrey, I had a slave appointed to runne with a Pike before mee.

A Pike, signe of authoritie.

Thus we travelled untill the sixth of September, before we got to Surunga, each day fifteene or sixteene leagues,

Surunga.

of three miles to a league as we ghessed it. The way for the most part is wonderfull even, and where it meeteth with Mountaines, passage is cut through. This way is the mayne Roade of all this Countrey, and is for the most part sandie and gravell; it is divided into leagues, and at every leagues end are two small hils, viz. of either side of the way one, and upon every one of them a faire Pine-tree, trimmed round in fashion of an Arbor. These markes are placed upon the way to the end, that the Hacknie men, and those which let our Horses to hire, should not make men pay more then their due, which is about three pence a league. The Roade is exceedingly travelled, full of people, ever and anon you meet with Farmes and Countrey houses, with Villages, and often with great Townes, with Ferries over fresh Rivers, and many Futtakeasse or Fotoquis which are their Temples, scituate in Groves and most pleasantest places for delight, of the whole Countrey. The Priests that attend thereupon dwelling about the same, as our Friers in old time planted themselves here in England. When wee approched any Towne, we saw Crosses with the dead bodies of those who had beene crucified thereupon. For crucifying is heere an ordinarie punishment for most Malefactors. Comming neere Surunga, where the Emperours Court is, wee saw a Scaffold with the heads of divers (which had beene executed) placed thereupon, and by it were divers Crosses with the dead Corpses of those which had been executed, remayning still upon them, and the pieces of others, which after their Executioners had beene hewen againe and againe by the triall of others Cattans. All which caused a most unsavourie passage to us, that to enter into Surunga, must needs passe by them. This Citie of Surunga is full as bigge as London, with all the Suburbs. The Handi-crafts men wee found dwelling in the outward parts and skirts of the Towne, because those that are of the better sort, dwell in the inward part of the Citie, and will not be annoyed with the rapping, knocking, and other disturbance that Artificers cannot be without.

High-wayes.

Fotoquis Japonian Temples. Priests.

Crosses and crucifying.

Surunga a very great Citie.

Assoone as we were setled in our lodging in Surunga, I sent Master Adams to the Court, to let the Secretarie understand of my comming, and desire of as speedie dispatch as might bee. Word was returned that I was welcome, that I should rest me, and within a day or two I should have accesse to the Emperour.

The seventh was spent in fitting up of the presents, and [I. iv. 373.] providing little Tables of slit deale of that Countrey (which smelleth verie sweet) to carrie them upon, according to the custome.

The Castle & Court of the Emperour.

The eighth, I was carryed in my Pallankin to the Castle of Surunga (where the Emperour kept his Court) and was attended with my Merchants and others carrying the presents before me. Being entred the Castle, I passed three draw bridges, every of which had a corps of Guard, and comming up a paire of verie faire and large stone staires, I was met by two grave comely men the one them Codske dona, the Emperours Secretarie; the other Fungo dono the Admirall, who led me into a faire roome matted, where we sat downe crosse-legged upon the Mats. Anon after they lead mee betwixt them into the Chamber of Presence, where was the Emperours Chaire of State, to which they wished me to doe reverence. It was of cloth of Gold, about five foot high, very richly set forth for backe and sides, but had no Canopie over-head. Then they returned backe againe to the place where before they did sit, where having stayed about one quarter of an houre, word was brought, that the Emperour was come forth. Then they rose up and led me betwixt them unto the doore of the roome where the Emperor was, making signes to me that I should enter in there, but durst not looke in themselves. The presents sent from our King to the Emperour, as also those which (according to the custome of the Countrey) I gave unto the Emperour, as from my selfe, were placed in the said roome upon the Mats very orderly, before the Emperour came into it. Comming to the Emperour, according to our English Complements, I delivered our Kings Letter unto his

Majestie, who tooke it in his hand, and put it up towards his fore-head, and commanded his Interpreter, who sate a good distance from him behind, to will Master Adams to tell me that I was welcome from a wearisome journey, that I should take my rest for a day or two, and then his Answere should be readie for our King. Then he asked whether I did not intend to visit his sonne at Edoo. I answered, I did. The Emperour said that order should be taken to furnish mee with men and Horses for the Journey, and against my returne his Letters should be readie for our King. So taking my leave of the Emperour, and comming to the doore where I had left the Secretarie and Admirall, I found them there readie to conduct me to the staires head where formerly they had met mee, and there I tooke my Pallankin, and with my Attendants returned to my lodging.

The ninth, I went to deliver the Secretarie his present, which in no wise hee would receive, but heartily thanked me, saying, that the Emperour had commanded the contrarie, and that it were as much as his life if he should take any gift. But hee tooke five pound of Aloes Socatrina to use for his health. I delivered the Articles of priviledge this day to Codskedona, being in number fourteene. He requested to have them abbreviated and made as short as might bee, for that the people of Japan affect brevitie.

Japonians affect brevitie.

The tenth, the Articles so abridged, were sent by Master Adams to the Secretarie, who shewed them to the Emperour, and he approved thereof, denying one only, which was, That whereas the Chineses had refused to trade with the English, that in case we should now take any of them by force, that our Nation might have leave and libertie to bring them into Japan, and there make sale of the goods so taken. At the first motion, the Emperour answered, that seeing they denyed us Trade, we might take them. But upon conference with the Lieger of China, the Emperours minde was changed, and would not allow of that Article. The rest were passed under his

The Copie of which hee brought home and gave mee which after followeth.

great Seale, which is not of Waxe (as ours) but stamped like a print and coloured red.

The eleventh, the Present appointed for the Mint-master, was delivered him, which he took thankfully, and returned to me two Japonian Gownes of Taffata, quilted with silke Cotton.

The twelfth, Master Adams was sent to the Mint-master (being the Emperours Merchant, and having charge of his Mint and readie monies, a man of very great esteeme with the Emperour, and one that hath vowed that whensoever the Emperour shall dye, he will cut out his own guts and dye with him.) Master Adams carryed unto him the particular prices of our English Commodities (as before is specified.)

About noone the same day, wee departed for Edoo, to the Emperours sonne, beeing furnished with horse and men by the Emperour, as formerly.

The description of an Image called Dabis.

The Countrey betwixt Surunga and Edoo is well inhabited. We saw many Fotoquise or Temples as we passed, and amongst others one Image of especiall note, called Dabis, made of Copper, being hollow within, but of a very substantiall thicknesse. It was in height, as wee ghessed, from the ground about one and twentie or two and twentie foot in the likenesse of a man kneeling upon the ground, with his buttockes resting on his heeles, his armes of wonderfull largenesse, and the whole bodie proportionable, he is fashioned wearing of a Gowne. This Image is much reverenced by Travellers as they passe there. Some of our people went into the bodie of it, and hoope and hallowed, which made an exceding great noyse. We found many Characters and Markes made upon it by Passengers, whom some of my Followers imitated, and made theirs in like manner. It standeth in the maine

Pilgrimage to Tencheday.

Roade of the Pilgrimage to Tencheday, which is much frequented: for night and day, rich and poore, are comming and going to visit Tencheday. M. Adams told me that he had beene at the Fotoqui or Temple dedicated to this Tencheday, to whom they make this devout pilgrim-

age; and as he reported, there is monthly one of the fairest Virgins of the whole countrey brought into that Fotoqui, and there she sits all alone in a roome neatly kept, in a very sober manner, and at certaine times, this Tencheday (which is thought to be the Divell) appeareth unto her, and having knowne her carnally, leaveth with her at his departure certaine skales, like unto the skales of fishes: what questions shee is willed by the Bonzees, or Priests of that Fotoqui to aske, Tencheday resolves: and every moneth a fresh Virgin is taken in; but what becomes of the old, Master Adams himselfe did not know. [I. iv. 374.] *Virgins dedicated to an Idoll.*

The fourteenth, we arrived at Edoo, a Citie much greater then Surunga, farre fairer building, and made a very glorious appearance unto us; the ridge-tiles and corner-tiles richly gilded, the posts of their doores gilded and varnished: Glasse-windowes they have none, but great windowes of board, opening in leaves, well set out with painting, as in Holland: there is a Cawsey which goeth thorow the chiefe streete of the Towne; underneath this Cawsey runneth a River, at every fiftie paces there is a Well-head, fitted very substantially of free-stone, with buckets for the neighbours to fetch water, and for danger of fire. This streete is as broad as any of our streets in England. *We arrived at Edoo.*

The fifteenth, I gave the Kings Secretary, Sadda-dona, to understand of my arrivall, requesting him to let the King know thereof.

The seventeenth, I had accesse to the King, and delivered him the Presents from our King, as also certaine from my selfe (according to the custome of the Countrey.) The King kept his Court in the Castle of Edoo, which is much fairer and stronger then that of Surunga, hee was better guarded and attended upon, then the Emperour his Father. Sadda-dona the Kings Secretary, is father to Codske-dona the Emperours Secretary, whose yeeres affoording better experience, hee is therefore appointed to have the government and direction of the yong King,

who (at our being there) we esteemed to be aged about two and fortie yeeres.

My entertainment and accesse to the King heere, was much like to the former at Surunga with the Emperour: he accepted very kindly our Kings Letter and Presents, bidding me welcome, and wishing me to refresh my selfe, and his Letters and Presents to our King should be made readie with all speed.

The nineteenth, I delivered Sadda-dona his Presents. This day two and thirtie men being commanded to a certaine house, for not paying their debts, and being in the stockes, within the house, the house in the night time by casualtie fiered, and they were all burnt to death.

Towards evening, the King sent two varnished Armours for a Present to our King. Hee sent likewise a Tatch or long sword, (which none may weare there but souldiers of the best ranke) and a Waggadash for a present to my selfe. From Edoo to the Northermost part of Japan, it is esteemed two and twentie dayes journey by horse, little more or lesse.

The one and twentieth, we parted by Boat from Edoo to Oringgaw, a Towne upon the sea side. From whence we arrived at Surunga the nine and twentieth day, and there remained for the Emperours Letters and Presents to our King.

The eight of October, I received the Emperours Letters, directed to our Soveraigne Lord James, King of Great Britaine, the true Copie whereof is as followeth.

To the King of Great Britaine.

YOur Majesties kind Letter sent me by your servant Captaine John Saris, (who is the first that I have knowne to arrive in any part of my Dominions) I heartily embrace, being not a little glad to understand of your great wisdome and power, as having three plentifull and mightie Kingdomes under your powerfull command. I acknowledge your Majesties great bountie, in sending mee so undeserved a Present of many rare things, such as

my Land affordeth not, neither have I ever before seene: Which I receive not as from a stranger, but as from your Majestie, whom I esteeme as my selfe. Desiring the continuance of Friendship with your Highnesse: And that it may stand with your good liking, to send your Subjects to any part or Port of my Dominions, where they shall bee most heartily welcome, applauding much their worthinesse in the admirable knowledge of Navigation, having with much facilitie discovered a Countrie so remote, being no whit amazed with the distance of so mightie a Gulfe, nor greatnesse of such infinite clouds and stormes, from prosecuting honorable enterprises, of Discoveries and Merchandizing: wherein they shall find me to further them, according to their desires. I returne unto your Majestie a small token of my love (by your said Subject) desiring you to accept thereof, as from him that much rejoyceth in your Friendship. And whereas your Majesties Subjects have desired certaine priviledges for Trade, and setling of a Factorie in my Dominions, I have not only granted what they demanded, but have confirmed the same unto them under by Broad-seale, for better establishing thereof. From my Castle in Surunga, this fourth day of the ninth month, in the eighteenth yeere of our Dary, according to our Computation. Resting your Majesties Friend. The highest Commander in this Kingdome of Japan:

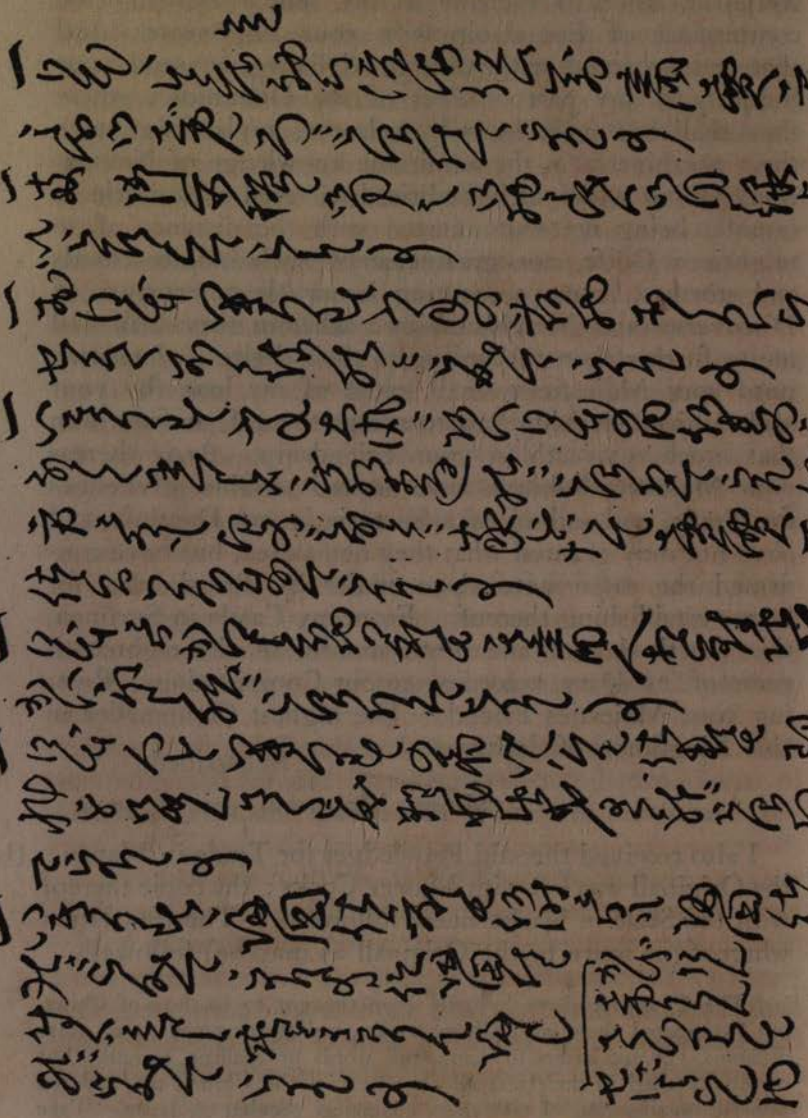
Subscribed.

Minna. Mouttono. yei. ye. yeas.

I also received the said Priviledges for Trade in *Japan: the Originall was left with Master Cocks: the copie thereof with the Seale in blacke heere followeth. The translation whereof (as neare to the Originall as may be) followeth. [I. iv. 375.]

*The Characters have by some been thought to be those of China, but I compared them with China bookes, and they seemed to me quite different, yet not letters to compound words by spelling, as ours; but words expressed in their severall characters, as the Chinois use, and the brevitie manifesteth. I take them characters peculiar to Japan. Take them thou Reader, and judge better, if thou canst.

The Japonian Charter, the lines to be read downwards, beginning at the right hand.



This last is the Seale.

Priviledges granted by Ogoshosama, Emperour of Japan, unto the Right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, Governour, and others the Honorable and Worshipfull Adventurers to the East-Indies.

[I. iv. 376.]

1 INprimis, Wee give free licence to the subjects of the King of Great Britaine, viz. Sir Thomas Smith, Governour, and Company of the East-Indian Merchants and Adventurers, for ever, safely to come into any of our Port of our Empire of Japan, with their shippes and merchandizes, without any hinderance to them or their goods. And to abide, buy, sell, and barter, according to their owne manner, with all Nations: to tarry heere as long as they thinke good, and to depart at their pleasures.

2 Item, Wee grant unto them freedome of Custome, for all such merchandizes as either now they have brought, or hereafter shall bring into our Kingdomes, or shall from hence transport to any forraigne part. And doe authorize those ships that hereafter shall arrive, and come from England, to proceed to present sale of their commodities, without further comming or sending up to our Court.

3 Item, If any of their shippes shall happen to be in danger of shipwracke, Wee will our subjects not only to assist them, but that such part of shippe and goods as shall be saved, be returned to their Captaine, or Cape Merchant, or their assignes. And that they shall or may build one house or more for themselves in any part of Our Empire, where they shall thinke fittest. And at their departure to make sale thereof at their pleasure.

4 Item, If any of the English Merchants or other shall depart this life, within our Dominions, the goods of the deceased shall remaine at the dispose of the Cape Merchant. And that all offences committed by them shall be punished by the said Cape Merchant, according to his discretion: and Our Lawes to take no hold of their persons or goods.

5 Item, Wee will that yee Our subjects trading with them for any of their commodities, pay them for the same, according to agreement, without delay, or returne of their wares againe unto them.

6 Item, For such commodities as they have now brought, or shall hereafter bring, fitting for Our service and proper use: Wee will that no arrest bee made thereof, but that the price bee made with the Cape Merchant, according as they may sell to others, and present payment upon the delivery of the goods.

7 Item, If in discovery of other Countries for Trade, and returne of their shippes, they shall need men or Victualls, Wee will that yee Our subjects furnish them for their money, as their need shall require.

The discovery of Yeadzo to the northward.

8 And that without other Passe-port, they shall and may set out upon the discovery of Yeadzo, or any other part, in or about our Empire.

From our Castle in Surunga, this first day of the ninth moneth, and in the eighteenth yeere of Our *Dary, according to Our Computation. Sealed with our Broad-seale, &c.

*Or Raigne.

Under-written:

Minna. Mottono.

yei. ye. yeas.

Oringgaw the best haven or road for us.

Note that Oringgaw is a very good harbour for shipping, where ships may ride as safely as in the River of Thames before London, and the passage thereto by Sea very safe and good: so that it will be much better for our ships to saile thither, then to Firando, in respect that Oringgaw is upon the maine Island, and is distant from Edoo (the chiefe City) but fourteene or fifteene leagues. The place is not so well replenished with victuall and flesh-meat, as Firando is, which want only excepted, Oringgaw is for all other matters to be preferred before Firando.

A Spanish Embassador from the Philippinas.

At my returne to Surunga, I found a Spanish Embassadour arrived there from the Philippinas, who only had

sight of the Emperour, and delivered him his presents, which were certaine China Damaskes, and five Jarres of sweet wine of Europe. After the first time, he could not obtaine accesse to the Emperour. His Embassage was, that such Portugals and Spaniards as were within his Dominions, not authorized by the King of Spaine, might be delivered up unto him to carry away to the Philippinas: which the Emperour denyed to doe, saying, That his Countrey was a free Country, and none should be forced out of it; but if the Embassadour could perswade any to go, they should not be staied. This comming of the Spanish Embassadour for men, was caused by the great want of men they had to defend the Molucca Ilands from the Dutch, who then made great preparation for the absolute conquest thereof. After that the Embassadour had attended for the Emperours answere, the time limitted him by his Commission, seeing it came not, hee departed discontented. But being at the Sea-side, there was an answere returned for him to carry, with a slender Present, viz. five Japan Gownes, and two Cattans or Swords.

The ninth we departed from Surunga at Edoo. About a month before my comming thither, the Emperour being displeased with the Christians, made proclamation, that they should forthwith remove and carry away all their Churches to Langasacque, a Towne situate on the Sea-side, and distant from Firando about eight leagues: And that no Christian Church should stand, nor Masse be sung, within ten leagues of his Court, upon paine of death. A while after, certaine of the Naturalls, being seven and twentie in number, (men of good fashion) were assembled together in an Hospitall, appointed by the Christians for Lepers, and there had a Masse: whereof the Emperour being informed, commanded them to be shut up in an house for one night, and that the next day they should suffer death. The same evening another man for debt was clapt up in the same house, being an Heathen at his comming in, and ignorant of Christ and his Religion: But (which is wonderfull) the next morning, when the

[I. iv. 377.] *A proclamation against the Christians.*

Officer called at the doore for those which were Christians to come forth, and goe to execution, and those which were not, and did renounce the same, to stay behind: this man in that nights space was so instructed by the other, that resolutely he came out with the rest, and was crucified with them.

In our passage towards Miaco from Surunga, we had for the most part much raine, whereby the waters did so rise, that wee were forced to stay by the way, so that it was the sixteenth of October before we got thither.

The description of the Citie of Miaco.

Miaco is the greatest Citie of Japan, consisting most upon merchandizing. The chiefe Fotoqui or Temple of the whole Countrey is there, being built of free-stone, and is as long as the Westerne end of Saint Pauls in London, from the Quier, being as high arched and borne upon pillars as that is: where many Bonzees doe attend for their maintenance, as the Priests among Papists. There is an Altar whereon they doe offer Rice and small money, called Condriius (whereof twentie make one shilling English:) which is employed for the use of the Bonzees. Neare unto this Altar there is an Idoll, by the Natives called Mannada, made of Copper, much resembling that of Dabis formerly spoken of, but is much higher, for it reacheth up to the very Arch. This Fotoqui was begun to be built by Taicosania in his life-time, and since his sonne hath proceeded to the finishing thereof, which was newly made an end of when wee were there. Within the inclosure of the walles of this Fotoqui there are buried (by the report of the inhabitants) the Eares and Noses of three thousand Coreans, which were massacred at one time: Upon their grave is a mount raised, with a Pyramis on the toppe thereof; which mount is greene, and very neatly kept. The horse that Taico-sania last rode on, is kept neare unto this Fotoqui, having never been ridden since, his hooffes being extraordinarily growne with his age, and still standing there.

Their Bonzees, Idols, Altars, Offerings, &c.

The Fotoqui standeth upon the top of an high hill, and on either side, as yee mount up to it, hath fiftie pillars of

free-stone, distant ten paces one from the other, and on every pillar a Lanterne, wherein every night lights are maintained of Lampe-oyle. In this Citie of Miaco, the Portugall Jesuits have a very stately Colledge, wherein likewise are divers Jesuits, Naturall Japonians, which preach, and have the new Testament printed in the Japan language. In this Colledge are many Japonian children trayned up, and instructed in the rudiments of Christian Religion, according to the Romish Church: There are not lesse then five or sixe thousand Japonians in this Citie of Miaco professing Christ.

Colledge of Jesuits in Miaco.

The new Testament in the Japan language.

Besides the Fotoqui before described, there are many other Fotoquis in this Citie. The Tradesmen and Artificers are distributed by themselves, every Occupation and Trade in their severall streets, and not mingled together, as heere with us.

At Miaco we stayed, expecting the Emperours Present, which at length was delivered to me out of the Castle, being ten Beobs, or large Pictures to hang a chamber with.

The twentieth, wee departed from Miaco, and came the same night to Fushimi.

The one and twentieth, about noone we arrived at Osaca: heere wee found the people very rude, following us, crying Tosin, Tosin, that is, Chinaes, Chinaes; others calling us Coré, Coré, and flinging stones at us; the gravest people of the Towne not once reproving them, but rather animating of them, and setting them on. Heere we found the Gally readie, which had attended for us ever since our landing, at the charge of the King of Firando. The foure and twentieth at night we all embarked for Firando.

Osaca.

We embarked for Firando.

The sixt of November we arrived at Firando, and were kindly bid welcome by King Foyne. All this while our people sold little, the custome of the Countrey being, that without expresse permission from the Emperour, no stranger may offer goods to sale. Besides, our chiefest commoditie intended for those parts being Broad-cloath,

November 6.

(which according to former intelligence, had lately been sold there at fortie Rialls of eight the matte, which is two yards, as aforesaid) the Natives were now more backward to buy then before, because they saw that we our selves were no forwarder in wearing the thing which wee recommended unto them. For, said they, you commend your Cloath unto us, but you your selves weare least thereof, the better sort of you wearing Silken garments, the meaner Fustians, &c. Wherefore hoping that good counsell may (though late) come to some good purpose, I wish that our Nation would be more forward to use and spend this naturall commoditie of our owne Countrey, so shall wee better encourage and allure others to the entertainment and expence thereof.

[I. iv. 378.]

§. VIII.

Accidents after his returne to Firando, the setling of a Factory there, departure for Bantam, and thence for England.

THe seventh of November, I visited the Kings with Presents first, and after with Presence, and was kindly entertained. The eighth, Andrew Palmer, Steward of the ship, and William Marnell Gunners Mate, lay ashoare all night, and in a drunken humour, went into the field and fought, and wounded each other so sore, that it is thought Palmer will hardly escape with his life, and Marnell be lame of his hands for ever.

The ninth, in the morning very early I went aboord the Ship, and carried M. Cockes along with me, and called the Master and all the Officers into my Cabbin, making it knowne unto them, that it much greieved me the indirect course some of them tooke, namely, Palmer and Marnell, who went out of the Ship without license, and had wounded one an other so sore, that the one was in danger of his life, and the other a lame man for ever; and that which was more, the Surviver in danger to be hanged if the other died, which could not choose but

bee a great hearts griefe unto me: as also to understand, that Francis Williams and Simon Colphax were in the boat, going ashoare to have fought, and John Dench and John Winston appointed to doe the like, and Dench confessed it was true, and that he saw Palmer and Marnell fighting, and went and parted them, otherwise both had remained dead in the field: these matters, I told them, were grievous unto me, and therefore I willed them it might be amended in time, otherwise they would dispeople the Ship, to the utter overthrow of our Voyage, and deceive the Honourable Companie, that had put their trust in us.

After much contestation, each one departed, with promise to amend what was amisse, and not to offend in any sort hereafter, which God graunt may proove true. I told them also, that Foyne Same, the old King, had made complaint unto me, that if any more came ashoare to fight and shed blood in his Countrey (contrary to his Lawes) he would cause them to be cut in peces, for that he would not suffer strangers to have more Priviledge in that matter then his owne Subjects. And at my returne to the English house, Foyne Same the King came to visit me, and told mee the piece of Poldavis and a Shash I gave him, were consumed with fire when his house was burned, which was a manner of begging two more, which I promised him, and got him to send of his people aboord, with my Jurebasso John Japan, to signifie to the Company, that if any of them came ashoare to fight any more, the King had given order to cut them in pieces, and not to suffer any one to returne aboord. I did this in hope to restraine them from such drunken Combats.

Towards night came a Spaniard from Langasaque, called John Comas, and brought two Letters from Domingo Francisco, one for me, and the other for M. Cockes, and sent me a Present of three baskets of Sugar, and a pot of Conserves, with many no lesse sugred conserved words of complement in his Letters, that he was sorie that our seven men were gone away in his absence, excusing

both himselfe, and the Fathers or Jesuites, that they had no hand in the matter, neither ever spoke such word, that we were heretikes or theeves, yet said our men were gone away from thence, three of them in a China or Japan Soma for the Manillias, and the other foure in a Portugall Vessell; but I hold these but words to excuse themselves, and put other men in fault: for the Spaniards love not the Portugals, neither either of both the Japan, much lesse the Japan them.

The eleventh, I went and visited Nobesane; he used me kindly, and would have had mee come to dinner to morrow, but I excused the matter, in respect of the much businesse I had, and short time of stay. I met the old King Foyne at his house, who desired to have two peeces English poudred Beefe, and two of Porke sod with Turnips, Raddish and Onions by our Cooke, and sent unto him, which I caused to be done. Wind Northerly a fresh gale day and night, faire dry weather, but cold.

The twelfth, the two Kings Governours, came to visit me at the English house; and from thence went abord the Clove (Master Cockes accompanying them) to signifie unto the Master and the rest of the Companie, that from hence forward, our ships Companie should have a care how they came a shore to fight and shed blood, for that the Law of the Countrey was, that they which went out to fight, and drew weapon, were to die the death, and all those which did behold them, obliged to kill both parties, in paine of ruinating all their generation if they did not kill both parties.

The foureteenth, I sent M. Cockes and my Jurebasso to both the Kings, to entreat them to provide me of a dozen Sea-men, that were able to doe their labour, to goe with me for England, and for wages I was willing to give them what in reason their Highnesses thought fit. The Kings were impeached about other matters; so they spake with their Secretaries, who told them, they need not to speake about that matter to the Kings, for that they would provide mee a dozen such as should be fit; but that there

were divers vagrant people about Towne, which no doubt would be willing to goe, yet were not fit to be carried to Sea; for that when they came there, they would serve for [I. iv. 379.] nothing but to spend victuals, and of such the Flemmings served their turne without making request unto them: and what is become of them or the Ship is not known to this day. But seeing that now the matter was referred to them, they would looke out for such as were for our purpose.

The eighteenth, Foyne the old King sent me word he would come and visit me, and bring the dancing Beares or Curtesans of the Countrey, which soone after he did, being three whoores of the Countrey, and two or three other men with them, they all dancing and making musique after the Countrey fashion, although harsh to our hearings.

Severe justice in Japan.

The nineteenth, the Captaine Chinesa and George Duras the Portugall came unto me, desiring me to send to Semidone, to procure the libertie of two honest poore men, who were like to loose their lives, for bidding a poore Knave flie, which had stolne a little piece of Lead not worth three halfe pence, and yet the Malefactor was taken and put to death, and these men in danger to have done the like, had I not sent M. Cocks with my Ring to Semidone, to desire pardon for them for my sake, which he granted to procure, and did effect it.

The twentieth, Samedon the King of Crats sent mee word hee would come aboord our Ship: So I met him there, he beeing accompanied with both the Kings of Firando, they had five peeces of Ordnance at their entrie aboord, and three with shot or Bullets, were shot at a marke at the request of Samedon. He gave me two Pikes or Japan staves with Cattans or Sables on the ends, and so they departed with seven peeces of Ordnance for a farewell, one being with shot at the marke aforesaid.

The twentie two, a Present was laid out, and sent to Samedon King of Crats: it was delivered unto him at

Tomesanes the young Kings house, he being there at Breakfast, and tooke in very kind part, sending me word by M. Cockes, that he was doubly obliged unto mee, first in his kind entertainement aboord, and now in sending him such a Present of worth, of such things as his Countrey affoorded not the like, and all without any desert of his: onely the recompence he could make was, that for his sake, if ever any of the English Nation did come within his Dominions, he would bid them kindly welcome, and shew them any favour he could.

The twentie fifth in the morning betimes, the Purser and M. Hownsell came ashore, and told me Andrew Palmer the Steward departed out of this world about tenne of the clocke the night past, and that the Chirurgion Thomas Warner affirmed (as he told me the like many times before) that Palmer was the occasion of his owne death, his wound beeing curable, if he would have bin ruled. I willed the Purser M. Melsham to goe aboord, and that the Master and he should take order to carry him, and bury him on an Iland as secretly as might be, in respect we were about to get some Japans to goe along in our ship, which it might be hearing of the death of any one, would make them the more unwilling.

The twentie eighth, a Japan was put to death: some said for theft; others said he was a house-burner: He was lead by the Hang-man to execution, one carying a board before him, wherein was written the fact he had committed, as the like was written in a paper flag over his head, and two Pikemen followed him with the points of their Pikes hard to his backe, to have killed him if he had offered to resist. Divers of this place complained, that the Ships Company owed them money, and now the Ship was ready to depart, desired payment, which to prevent a greater inconvenience, I hearkened unto, and wrote to the Master to enquire aboord who they were that were indebted, and what the summe was they owed, to the intent to make satisfaction, and so to abate it out of their wages.

Now touching a Factorie to be left there, I had on the twenty sixth, assembled my Merchandizing counsell, where upon these considerations, viz. The encouragement wee had received in the Moluccas by private intelligence, the Dutch Factorie alreadie planted here in Firando: The large Priviledges now obtained of the Emperour of Japan: The certaine advise of the English Factories setled in Siam and Patane: The Commodities resting unsold upon our hands appointed for these parts, and the hoped for profit which further experience may produce: It was resolved, that a Factorie should be left here, viz. eight English, three Japan Jurebasses or Interpreters, and two servants, who were appointed against the comming of the next ships, to search and discover the Coast of Corea, Tushmay, and other parts of Japan, and Countreys thereunto adjoyning, to see what good might be done in any of them.

The setling of an English Factorie in Japan.

The fifth of December, M. Richard Cockes, Captaine and Cape Merchant of the English Factorie, setled at Firando in Japan, tooke his leave of me aboord the Clove with his Companie, beeing eight English, and five others. After their departure, our Companie was mustered aboord, finding fortie sixe English, five Swarts, fifteene Japaners, three Passengers, in all sixtie nine: having lost since our arrivall here three English, two by sicknesse, one slaine, and seven which ranne away to the Portugals and Spaniards, whilest I was at the Emperours Court. The names of the English we left in the Factorie with M. Cockes were William Adams, (entertained at an hundred pounds the yeere into the Companies service) Tempest Peacocke, Richard Wickham, William Eaton, Walter Carwarden, Edward Sares, William Nelson.

December.

The wind Northerly a stiffe gale, we set saile, beeing foure leagues from the place where wee rid: our course South by West, halfe a point Westerly, Latitude thirtie three degrees foureteene minutes. Note, that by exact observation on the shoare, we found this Iland of Firando to stand in latitude thirtie three degrees thirtie minutes, variation two degrees fiftie minutes Easterly.

We returne home from Japan. [I. iv. 380.] *Variation at Firando 2. deg. 50. minutes Easterly.*

We sayled alongst the Coast of China.

It was resolved to keepe alongst the Coast of China, directly to Bantam, and so wee brought aboord our starboord tacke, and steered away South-west, edging over for China, the wind at North North-east, a stiffe gale and faire weather.

The sixth, Latitude thirty one degrees thirty nine minutes, way South by West forty leagues.

The seventh, it blew very much wind, a storme at North-west, wee steered South South-west no observation, there we felt the great Current which shoots out betweene the Iland Corea and the maine of China, which made a very great Sea, way South South-west halfe point Westerly twentie five leagues.

A great Current shooteth out betweene Corea and the maine of China.

The eight, Latitude twentie nine degrees fortie one minutes, way South-west, twentie sixe leagues, wind North-west a very stiffe gale, we steered West South-west, to make Cape Sumbor upon the Coast of China: the Sea very much growne, so much wind, that it blew our maine course out of the bolt ropes.

Sumbor.

The ninth, Latitude twentie eight degrees, twentie three minutes, way South-west three quarters Westerly, twentie two leagues and two third parts, we sounded and had fortie nine, and fortie five fathome Ozie, the weather cleered, and the wind came to the North, but wee could see no land.

The eleventh, no observation: way West South-west thirtie five leagues, verie greene water, we kept our Leade, and had fortie nine, fortie three, thirtie five, thirtie seven, thirtie fathome, no sight of land, yet very cleere, wind North and North-west by North.

The twelfth, before day we sounded, and had thirtie five fathome Ozie, wind North and North-west by North a stiffe gale, and in the morning esteeming our selves to bee neere the Coast of China, we had sight of (at the least) three hundred sailes of Junckes of twentie, thirtie, and upwards tunnes apiece, whereof two came to the windward close by us, but perceiving them to be Fisher-men, we let them passe, using all the faire meanes wee could to

Three hundred sailes of small Fishermen.

get some of them to come aboard, but could not prevayle. Wherefore we stood on our course West by South, and presently descryed the land, being two Ilands called the Ilands of Fishers, bearing West by North halfe a point Northerly some foure leagues off. Latitude at noone twentie five degrees fiftie nine minutes, way South-west by West fiftie leagues, Depth twentie, and twentie sixe fathome. Soone after, the wind came to North-east, wee brought our Lar-boord tacke aboord, and steered alongst the land South South-east, very much wind. About seven at night we came faire by a Rocke, which, by Gods mercie, wee descryed by Moone-light, and lay right in our course, supposing to have runne from noone to this time twelve leagues. We were within twice our ships length of the Rocke depth thirtie fathome. Then we haled off South one watch to give the land a berth, and after mid-night steered South-west, the wind at North-east very much wind, and continually following us as the Land trents.

Ilands of Fishers.

Latitude 25. deg. 59. minut.

A Rocke.

The thirteenth, Latitude twentie foure degrees thirtie five minutes, variation one degree, thirtie minutes Easterly, way South-west fiftie foure leagues, wind at North-east faire weather, wee steered South-west keeping faire by the Ilands, lying alongst the maine of China, some five leagues off, much wind.

Variation 1. degree 30. minutes Easterly.

The fourteenth in the morning little wind, having this night past had twelve and fourteene fathome, then stood off into deeper water. Latitude at noone twentie two degrees ten minutes, way South-west by South one quarter Westerly fortie two leagues wind at East North-east, and at eight at night we had fifteene, thirteene fathome, at nine a clocke sixteene, twentie seven, twentie one and twentie five, sandie ground.

Latitude 22. de. 10. minutes.

The fifteenth, in the morning we came amongst many Fisher-boates, but had so much wind as that we could not speake with them. They made signes to us to keepe up to the West-ward (as we thought.) Our sounding the last night to this present was twentie, twentie foure, twentie five, twentie fathomes, three leagues off the land. Lati-

Many Fisher-boates.

Latitude, 21. de. 40. minutes. tude at noone twentie one degrees, fortie minutes, way West South-west one quarter Southerly fiftie two leagues. The wind at North North-east a stiffe gale, we steered in West North-west Northerly to make the land, and about two houres after had sight of it, but by reckoning should not have beene neere it by fiftie sixe leagues, so that the distance from Firando hither, is lesse by fiftie sixe leagues.

Note. Note, that the Ilands which lye alongst the Coast of China, lye more Southerly then in the plats; about three in the after-noone wee were by an Iland called Sancha about two leagues off, we steered South-west alongst the land, esteeming to have runne since noone three leagues West North-west.

The sixteenth, at noone no observation: way fortie leagues, South-west by South one quarter Westerly, wind at East with drisling raine.

Latitude 18. deg. 19. minut. Variation 50. min. Westerly. The seventeenth, Latitude eighteene degrees nineteene minutes, course South-west by South one quarter Westerly fortie seven leagues, wind at East, variation fiftie minutes Westerly, we sounded, but had no ground.

[I. iv. 381.] The eighteenth, latitude fifteene degrees fortie three minutes, course South-west by South sixtie leagues, wind at East a stiffe gale, and at five at night wee had sight of *Pulo Cotan.* land beeing an Iland called Pulo Cotan, bearing West South-west, about five leagues off, wee steering South-west. This Iland is high land, and lyeth about twentie *Plaxel.* leagues (by report) from the shoale called Plaxel, to the West-ward of it we sounded about eight of the clocke, but had no ground.

Camboia. The nineteenth in the morning, the maine of Camboia was on our star-boord-side about two leagues off: we steered alongst South by East Easterly, keeping the maine in sight. Latitude at noone thirteene degrees one and thirtie minutes, way South by West fortie foure leagues, *A Varella.* wee steered alongst South South-west, making account to *Camboia is not so far Easterly, as it is set in our Plats.* bee thwart Varella: keeping about two leagues off the shoare, we sounded but had no ground at fiftie fathome. Note, that this land of Camboia lyeth more Easterly in

our plats, then it should, for wee find South South-west to goe alongst the land a faire berth off. So that the land heere lyeth South South-west, and North North-east, having divers Rockes like Ilands, some one league some league and an halfe off the maine, but otherwise no danger that we could see. Note also, that heere wee found the windes trade alongst the shoare, for from Firando hither we did goe large, finding the wind to follow us as the land trents.

The twentieth, Latitude ten degrees fiftie three minutes, course South by West fiftie foure leagues wind at North, a stiffe gale alongst the shoare. And three Glasses after we had observed, wee had sight of a small Iland, which wee made to be the Iland at the end of the shoale, called Pulo Citi, and at five Glasses running we sounded and had eleven fathome, fine sand, two leagues off the shoare. We steered alongst Southwest to bring the point of the shoale called Pulo Citi a starne: then wee sounded about two Glasses after, and had fifteene fathome. Note, that wee found Jan Huijghen Van Linschotens booke very true, for thereby we directed our selves ever from our setting forth from Firando.

Pulo Citi, or Pulo Cecir.

Linschotens Observations true.

The one and twentieth, Latitude nine degrees fortie three minutes course South-west a quarter Westerly thirtie foure leagues, wind at East North-east a continuall stiffe gale till noone, then calme, and found that we were in a tyde girt, our depth all the last night to this noone was ten, sixteene, seventeene, eighteene, twentie one, twentie one, nineteene, twentie, twentie, nineteene, eighteene fathome good ground, but had no sight of land.

The two and twentieth in the morning, we had sight of land being an Iland called Pulo Condor, bearing off us about five leagues off, we steered South-west, the wind at North-east, latitude at noone eight degrees, twentie minutes, way South-west by West, fortie leagues and two third parts. Depth eighteene, nineteene, twentie two, twentie one, twentie one, twentie two and twentie one

Pulo Condor.

Latitude 8. *deg.* 20. *min.*

fathomes, we steered South South-west, for the land called the seven Points.

The three and twentieth, no observing, way South-west by South one quarter Southerly, fiftie one leagues, depth twentie, twentie two, twentie foure, and at noone twentie seven fathomes.

The foure and twentieth, way South-west halfe a point Westerly, thirtie three leagues one third part, wind at North-west by North, depth thirtie seven, thirtie nine, fortie three, fortie, and at noone thirtie five fathome Ozie ground.

Latitude 2. deg. 38. min. The five and twentieth, latitude two degrees, thirtie eight minutes, course South by East, one quarter of a league Easterly, twentie two leagues one third part, the wind at North-west and East by North, Depth, thirtie foure, thirtie two, thirtie, thirtie foure, thirtie foure, thirtie foure, thirtie five. And about foure a clocke in the morning, we made the land, beeing an Iland called Pulo Timon, distant from us some five leagues. And at sixe in the morning, the Northermost part bearing South-west Westerly: and the South part South South-west halfe a point Westerly, we had sight of another Iland called Pulo Tinga, bearing South South-west Westerly, about sixe leagues off at noone.

Pulo Timon.

Pulo Tinga.

The sixe and twentieth, Latitude one degree eighteene minutes, course South-east by South, thirtie two leagues wind at East and East by North, Depth thirtie seven, thirtie sixe, thirtie seven, thirtie five, thirtie, and twentie seven fathome.

The seven and twentieth, course South by East fortie leagues, and two third parts, Depth, twentie seven, thirtie one, twentie eight, twentie nine, twentie eight, twentie sixe, and twentie foure fathomes at noone.

The eight and twentieth, way South South-east, fortie leagues and two third parts, Depth eighteene, nineteene, sixteene, eighteene, nineteene, sixteene, & at noone fifteene fathome sandie ground, making account that China-bata was about one league and an half off being

China-bata, or Pulo bato.

lowland, and at the South-west point full of Trees or Bushes. At sixe Glasses after-noone wee sounded, and had twentie fathomes Ozie ground, steering alongst the Land South South-east, the wind at North North-west. Note, that those long Ilands on our star-boord-side heere, and divers small Ilands on our Lar-boord-side doe make the Straights of China-bata, finding it to be truely laid downe in Plat or Draught made by Jan Janson Mole a Hollander, which he gave to Master Hippon, and he to the Companie.

The Plat of Jan Janson Mole.

The nine and twentieth, a little before noone, we perceived the water to be much changed a head, and therefore doubted it to bee a shoale; so narrowly escaping a very great danger. Wee sounded and had eleven, twelve, fourteene, fifteene fathome, but within halfe a Glasse had eight & seven fathomes & a halfe, it seemed three square sharp to the South-west-ward, & so we steered when we had first sight thereof, not farre from the entrance of the straights of China-bata. This shoale lyeth very dangerously, but is truly placed with his depths. Latitude at noone foure degrees sixe minutes, course South by West thirtie leagues, wind at North-west and North, depth twentie, thirteene, fifteene, twentie foure, twentie seven, twentie, twentie five, twentie, eighteene, ten, ten, ten, eight and ten fathomes soft sand. And at eight a clocke in the night, we came to an anchor in seven fathomes, the weather likely to bee fowle, and our experience little or nothing, the place verie full of shoales, and before our anchor was a ground wee were in sixe sixe and a quarter, five and an halfe, sixe, and then in seven fathomes soft sandie ground, then wind at North-west a small gale and rainie.

[I. iv. 382.]

A dangerous shoale not far from the entrance of the Straight of China-bata.

Latitude foure deg. six min.

The thirtieth, this morning we had sight of the Darling, plying for Coromandell, her Companie one and twentie English, and nine Swarts. By them wee first understood of the death of Sir Henrie Middleton, and losse of the Trades Increase, &c. The weather close, wee observed not: way South South-west halfe a point Westerly fifteene

The Darling saying for Coromandell. Death of Sir H. Middleton, and losse of the Trades Increase.

leagues, depth, ten, thirteene, fourteene, eleven, ten, nine, eight, seven, sixe and an halfe, ten, ten, sixe and a halfe, seven, five, foure and an halfe, foure and a quarter, five, five, and foure fathome, hard sandie ground, esteeming this the shoale described in Moles Plat, and not that which we made it for. This night God mercifully delivered us out of a great danger.

A sunken ledge of rocks. For wee passed by a sunken ledge of Rockes, under all our sayles, within a stones cast of the top thereof, which was onely seene above water, and, had not the noyse of the breach upon it wakened us, wee could not have cleered our selves. Wee did let fall our anchor presently, being in a great Tide girt, and had seventeene, seventeene fathomes and an halfe Ozie ground.

The high land of Sumatra. The one and thirtieth, in the morning as we rid, the high land of Sumatra was about leagues off us, and one Iland a starne. The passed shoale or ledge of Rockes on the star-boord side, and three small Ilands on our lar-boord bow, lying three square: way South three quarters Easterly, one and twentie leagues wind at North-west. Depth, ten, nine, eight, seven, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, fifteene, twentie two fathome, about eight leagues off the high-land of Java. We could not get in, because it fell calme.

January 1. The first of January, beeing calme, was most spent at an anchor. The second having a little wind we set saile,

The Expedition bound for England. and about eight of the clocke met with the Expedition, and understanding that shee was bound home-ward laden with Pepper, we writ by them to our friends in England.

We arrived in Bantam Roade. The third, we came to an anchor in Bantam Roade, finding (to our great griefe) no lading in readinesse: For which I justly blamed those whom I had left there to provide the same, who excused themselves, saying, that they did not as yet expect me.

I questioned with Kewee, the chiefe Merchant of the Chineses, (being come aboord to visit me) what price Pepper did beare, and how he would sell. He answered that it was alreadie knowne ashoare that I was home-ward

bound, and must of necessitie lade Pepper, whereof my Merchants having provided none afore-hand, I might be assured it would rise. He said it was then at twelve Rials of eight, the ten sackes, but he would not undertake to deliver any quantitie at that price. I offered him twelve Rials and an halfe for ten sackes, but found him so farre off, as that there was no hope of dealing at the present.

Note, that of the ten, left in the Factorie heere for the eight Voyage at our departure for Japan, we found now but five living at our returne. Betweene Firando and Bantam, wee lost only one.

The fourth, in the morning, I went ashoare, visited the Governour of Bantam, and presented him with two faire Cattans, and divers other things of worth.

This day I bargained with Kewee and Lackmoye for foure thousand sackes of Pepper, at thirteene Rials of eight the ten sackes: Basse three the hundred, and appointed the Merchants to hasten the milling thereof, all that might be.

The multiplicitie of Factories for each Voyage, caused the prices to rise, each out-bidding others for the particular accounts of their owne Voyage, not without losse to the publike.

The fifth was spent in reducing the severall English Factories in Bantam to one Government, and setling them in one house: also order was taken that the expence of Dyet should bee more frugally managed, and not spent in racke houses abroad, or on Hang-by Swarts at home, as of late it had beene: and that the Ware-houses in the Towne should be fewer in number and better looked unto, as well it might be, the goods being with more discretion orderly stowed.

The sixth, in the reweighing of the Pepper received the day before, wee found most of the sackes hard weight, and many to want of what the Kings Beame did allow. Wherefore I sent for the Weigher, used him kindly, intreated him to take a little more care and paines to amend this fault, which he promised to doe: whereto the better to incourage him, I appointed the value of five Rials of eight to be given him.

The sixteenth, being the Sabbath day, I stayed aboord. About two of the clocke in the afternoone the Towne

was all on a fire. Wherefore our Skiffe being well manned [I. iv. 383.] was presently sent ashoare to helpe the Merchants to guard the goods. The wind was so violent, that in a moment of time almost the whole towne was burnt downe, the English and Dutch houses excepted, which it pleased God of his mercy to preserve.

The whole Towne of Bantam burned downe, saving the English and Hollanders houses.

The twentieth, being ashoare, I procured Lackmoy and Lanching, two Chinesa Merchants, to translate the Letter which the King of Firando in Japan, had delivered mee to carry to our King James; it was written in China Character and Language, they translated it into the Malayan, which in English is as followeth, viz.

To the King of Great Britaine, &c.

MOst mightie King, how acceptable your Majesties loving Letter and bountifull Present of many worthy things sent mee by your servant Captaine John Saris is unto mee, I cannot sufficiently expresse: neither the great happinesse I esteeme my selfe to be in, by enjoying your Highnesse friendship: For which I render you many thankes, desiring the continuance of your Majesties love and acquaintance. I am heartily glad of your subjects safe arrivall at my small Island, from so long a journey. My helpe and furtherance they shall not want to the uttermost, for the effecting of their so worthy and laudable enterprises of Discovery and Merchandizing, greatly commending their forwardnesse therein: referring their hitherto entertainment to the report of your servant, by whom I returne unto your Majestie an unworthy token, wishing your Majestie long life. From my Place of Firando, the sixt day of our tenth moneth.

Your Majesties loving Friend, Commander of this Island Firando in Japan,

FOYNE SAM-MASAM.

* *This comes to passe by the ChinaCharacters, which in proper names borrow the Characters of other words of like or nearest sound, and therefore cause often mistaking, as Joseph Acosta hath observed.*

They could not well pronounce his name, for Lanching said it was * Foyne Foshin Sam: but Lackmoy said as is above written.

The two and twentieth, such houses as the former fire had spared, were now burnt downe; yet the English and Dutch houses escaped againe: thankes be to God.

The sixe and twentieth, heere arrived a Flemmish shippe of a thousand tunnes from Holland, called the Flushing. At the Island Mayo the Company had mutined against the Captaine, and had murthered him in his Cabbin, but that it pleased God a Scotch-man revealed the matter, even when they were armed to the exployt, so that they were taken betwixt the deckes with their weapons about them. In this shippe were divers English and Scottish souldiers. Shee stayed not heere, but towards evening set saile for Jaccatra.

Divers English and Scottish Souldiers.

The seven and twentieth, I went ashoare to hasten the Merchants, divers of our Company being at this present fallen sicke. Our ship had now her full lading in.

The first of February, the Darling was enforced to returne hither, and order by common councell was taken, both for her goods and present sending to Socadanna, and after to Patane and Siam.

February 1.

The thirteenth day, we got out of the Straights of Sunda. Note that in the Straight of Sunda, the Tides set twelve houres to the Eastward, which is floud, and twelve houres to the Westward, which is ebbe.

Tide of twelve houres floud, and twelve ebbe in Sunda.

The sixteenth of May 1614. we came to an anchor in the Bay of Saldania, where wee found the Concord of London, being the first that was set out for the joynt stocke. We found the Naturalls of this place very treacherous at the present, making signes unto us of the forcible carrying away of two of their people. They had wounded one of the Concords men very sore; and whilst we were up in the Land, they did assault those that kept our Skiffe, carried away our Grapnell, and had spoiled those that were left to tend her, but that they tooke the water.

May 16. 1614. *The Concord, the first ship set out for the joynt Stocke.*

The nineteenth, heere arrived a Flemmish shippe bound for Bantam, the Master, Cornelis Van Harte. We remained heere three and twentie dayes, and having well

refreshed our selves, tooke with us fourteene Oxen and seventie sheepe alive, besides good store of Fish and Beefe, which we powdered there, finding it to take salt well, contrary to former reports. For ten dayes after our departing from Saldania, we had the wind at North-west, and West North-west, but then came to South-west, so that we might goe our course North-west.

The Beefe of Saldania taketh salt well.

September 27. We arrived at Plimmouth.

The seven and twentieth of September, we arrived, thankes be to God at Plimmouth, where for the space of five or sixe weekes wee endured more tempestuous weather, and our lives more endangered, then upon the whole Voyage besides. Since which, having had some spare time, I have collected certaine notes (in the Journall omitted) and have thought good to cause them heere to attend the former Relation.

[I. iv. 384.]

§. IX.

Intelligence concerning Yedzo, delivered in the Citie of Edoo in Japan, by a Japanner, who had beene there twice.

Yedzo is an Iland.

THat Yedzo is an Island, and lyeth on the North-west side of Japan, and distant from thence ten leagues: That the people are white, and of good condition, but very hairy all their bodies over like Munkeyes. Their weapons are bowes and arrowes poysoned. The people in the Southermost part thereof doe understand weight and measure: whereof within the Land thirtie dayes journey they are ignorant. They have much silver and sand-gold, whereof they make payment to the Japanners for Rice, &c. Rice and Cotton cloath of Japan, is heere well requested. Iron and Lead is brought to them from Japan. Necessaries for the belly and backe are most vendible to them. Rice transported from Japan to Yedzo, hath yeelded foure for one.

Hairie people.

Matchma.

The Towne where the Japanners have their chiefe residence and Mart, is called Matchma, therein are five hundred housholds of Japanners, who likewise have a

Fort there, the Governour whereof is called Matchmadonna. This Towne of Matchma, is the principall Mart Towne of all Yedzo, whither the Natives most resort to buy and sell, especially in September, for their provision for winter. In March, they bring downe Salmon and dryed fish of sundrie sorts, and other wares, for which the Japanners barter, which the Japanners rather desire then silver.

The Japanners have no setled being or Trade, in any other Towne then Matchma. That further to the Northward, upon the same Land, are people of very low stature like Dwarfes. That the Yedzos are people of the stature of the Japanners: and have no apparrell, but what is brought them from Japan. That there setteth a very violent current betweene Yedzo and Japan, which commeth from Corea, and setteth to the East North-east. That the winds are for the most part, as usually they are in Japan, viz. That the Northerly winds beginne in September, and end in March, and then the Southerly winds begin to blow.

People of low stature farther to the Northward.

A current to the East North-east.

Chap. II.

Observations of the said Captaine John Saris, of occurrents which happened in the East-Indies during his abode at Bantam, from October 1605. till Octob. 1609. As likewise touching the Marts and Merchandizes of those parts; observed by his owne experience, or relation of others, extracted out of his larger Booke, and heere added as an Appendix to his former greater Voyage; and may serve as a continuation of Master Scots premised Relations. To which are added certaine Observations of the said Author, touching the Townes and Merchandize of principall Trade in those parts of the World.

Left eighteene men in all, viz. five Mariners, and thirteene Sailers.

THe seventh of October 1605. Our Generall Henry Middleton, and Captain Christopher Coulthurst departed this Roade for England. The eight, we killed one of Keygus Varowes Slaves, which would have fired our house.

A Flemmish Juncke from Priaman: newes of Sir Edward Michelborne. The danger from our men of warre to our Merchants.

The three and twentieth, here arrived a Junck of the Flemmings from Priaman, by whom we understood of Sir Edward Michelborne and Captaine Davis, there being upon the coast, and that they had taken a Guzerate Juncke in the Straights of Sunda, which came from Bantam, bound to Priaman.

The five and twentieth, we were commanded to the Court, upon the report the Flemmings had made of Sir Edward, where it was demanded whether wee knew him, and wherefore hee should offer violence to the Kings friends, which had done him no wrong. It was answered, we knew a Knight so called, but whether he were upon the coast or no, we knew not, nor did know the Guzerate

to be taken, but by the report of the Flemmings, which we held fabulous, and that upon their better considerations, it might proove rather to be one of the Flemmings ships, which set saile two dayes before the departure of the said Guezerate from Bantam. Whereupon we were willed to depart, till further proofe could be made.

Admirall Verhagen set saile for Holland.

The sixe and twentieth, Admirall Vanhangen of Utricke departed for Holland, with two ships more in company, by whom we advised the Company of all matters at large.

Sir Edward Michelborne came into the road.

The nine and twentieth, Sir Edward Michelborne came to anchor heere, in the Road of Bantam, Master Towerson and my selfe went aboord to him, where we had good entertainment: And he did intimate unto us the taking of the Guzerate: wee intreated him that he would not take the China Junckes, the which he promised us, as he was a Gentleman, he would not. [I. iv. 385.]

Nov. 2. 1605. Sir Edward set saile for the Straights of Pallingban.

The second of November 1605. Sir Edward set saile, directing his course for the Straights of Pallingban.

A Flemmish Pinnasse upon discovery of the Iland called Nova ginnea.

The thirteenth heere arrived a small ship of the Flemmings from the Moluccas, called the little Sunne.

Paul Vansoult set saile.

The eighteenth, heere departed a small Pinnasse of the Flemmings, for the discovery of the Iland called Nova ginnea, which, as it is said, affordeth great store of Gold. The foure and twentieth, Vansoult set saile for Choromandell.

Decem. 2. 1605. A Flemmish Juncke from Patany.

The second of December 1605. heere arrived three Junckes from Pattanny, they brought newes of the great losse the Flemmings had had by fire there.

Generall Warwicke arrived.

The seventeenth, Generall Warwicke arrived heere from Patanny, where hee had taken a very rich Carracke, which came from Mackcan, the greatest part of her lading was raw Silke.

Januar. 2. 1605. A Java Juncke set saile for Tymore fraughted by Chineses.

The second of January 1605. heere departed a Juncke of this Towne, fraughted by Chineses for Temore: their lading or commodities they caried was Brand peeces of silver, beaten very thin of an hand-breadth English, Iron, course Purseline, Taffaties, China Pans and Belles. The

twentieth, arrived a China Juncke, which Sir Edward Michelborne had taken, and restitution was demanded of us, the Governour and principall Courtiers being very much offended, but by the Admirall and Sabandar were pacified. The Nockhoda of the Juncke alledged many rich parcells taken.

May 23. 1606. Newes of the Flemmings loss of Ternata.

The three and twentieth of May 1606. heere arrived a small Frigat of the Flemmings from Ternate, and brought away their Merchants, which had been left there by Bastianson. The Spaniard had taken away all they had, but gave every man his libertie. They carried the King of Ternate for the Mannelyes, and as it was reported, they purposed to send him for Spaine. Some ten leagues from Jackatra, this Flemmish Frigat chanced to meete with the King of Bantams Fleete, which pillaged them of all which they had saved from the Spaniards. The Flemmings laboured to get restitution, but could get none of the Javanes.

The Flemmings Pinnasse pillaged by the Kings Fleete of Bantam.

The Kings Fleet returned.

The nine and twentieth, the Kings Fleete returned, having done verie little against their enemies the Pallingbanes.

June 15. Nockhoda Tingall from Banda. Mace sold for in Bantam an hundred and fiftie Rialls, the Bahar foure hundred and fiftie Cattees.

The fifteenth of June, heere arrived Nockhoda Tingall a Cling-man from Banda, in a Java Juncke, laden with Mace and Nutmegs, the which he sold heere to the Guzerats for an hundred and fiftie Rialls of eight the Bahar Bantam, which is foure hundred and fiftie Cattees: he told me that the Flemmings Pinnasse which went upon discovery for Nova Ginny, was returned to Banda, having found the Iland: but in sending their men on shoare to intreate of Trade, there were nine of them killed by the Heathens, which are man-eaters; so they were constrained to returne, finding no good to be done there.

The Flemmings returne from Nova ginnea.

August 6. The Moone Eclipsed in Bantam.

The sixt of August, the Moone was eclipsed about eight of the clocke in the evening, continuing for the space of two houres, the Chineses and Javanies beating of Pans and Morters during her obscuritie, in such manner, as you would thinke there were no hell but there, and crying out the Moone was dead.

The fourth of October, 1606. the China quarter was all burnt downe, yet it pleased God to preserve Ours. The same night, the Carracke of the Flemmings set saile for Holland, her lading was fifteene thousand sackes of Pepper, some rawe Silke, and great store of China Sugar. *October 4. The China quarter burnt downe.*

The fifth, the West Frisland arrived here from Ternata, whence she was beaten by the Spaniards: she was not above halfe laden with Mace, Cloves, and Cotton-yarne. *The West Frisland beaten from Ternata.*

The ninth, here arrived a small Frigat from Soocadanna, the Merchant was Claes Simonson, his lading was Wax, Caulacca, and great store of Diamonds. The thirteenth, about midnight we had an Earthquake, it continued not long, but for the time it was very fearefull. *A Frigat of the Flemmings from Soocadanna. An earthquake in Bantam.*

The thirteenth of December, here arrived two Junkes of the Flemmings from Jor, by whom we understood, that there was a Fleete of Flemmings, beeing eleven ships before Mallacca. The Commander whereof was Matteleefe the younger. The ships names were as followeth: The Orangia Admirall, Amsterdam Viceadmirall, Midleburgh, Mauritius, Erasmus, Great Sunne, Little Sonne, Nassaw, Provincies, White Lyon, Blacke Lyon. *December 13. Intelligence given by the Junckes of Jore of eleven saile of Flemmings at Mallacca.*

The twentie two of May, they came to an anchor before Mallacca with nine ships: for their Admirall before their comming thither, had sent the Provincies and the Erasmus, for Achen. *May 22.*

The fifth of June, they landed their men, but a little before their landing, the Portugals set fire of one Carracke and foure Juncks which were in the Road. In July, the Provincies and Erasmus came to the Fleet at Mallacca. The twenty fifth of August, the Viceroy with a Fleete of sixteene great ships, were discovered by the Little Sunne, which was appointed to keepe watch at an Iland called Cape Rochado, who immediately came and certified their Admirall, finding him very much unprovided, his Ordnance and men beeing ashoare. But by the Portugalls calling of a Councel, they gave the Flem- *June 5. The Flemmings discovered the Vice-Roy of Goa with a Fleet of sixteen saile of ships.*

mings twenty foure houres time, to get his men and furniture aboord, and to fit himselfe before he came to them. [I. iv. 386.] Thus being readie, the Flemmings weighed, and stood out of the Harbour to them, where they beganne a good fight, which continued two nights and one day: in which fight was burned the ship Middleburgh, the Nassaw, and three Portugal ships. The Orangia having sprung a great leake, was faine to put into Jor, the King beeing their great friend and assistant, the Fleet following him, where he remained one moneth, and then set saile for Mallacca againe, where he met with sixe ships of the Portugals, of the which the Flemmings burnt three, and the Portugals themselves burnt three. From thence they departed for the Nicubars, where they found the Vice-roy with seven ships, but they were haled so close ashoare, that they durst not deale with them.

The Flemmings stand out of the road, and meet with the Vice-roy, where they performe a good fight.

Three Portugal ships burnt by the Flem. and three by themselves.

The Flem. finds the Vice-roy at the Nicubars, but they were so strong ashoare, as they could not deale with them.

The twentieth, he arrived here with sixe ships. The twenty ninth, he departed for the Moluccas.

The foureteenth of May, 1607. here arrived a Malaia Junke from Grese, by whom we understood, that Julius a Flemming, and five more, which departed this Road the thirtieth of November, 1606. for Soocadanna, was put to death at Bemermassen, and all their goods taken by the King of that place, the occasion (as it is reported) proceeded from the Flemming, who had used certein foule speeches of the King, which he came to the hearing of, and thereupon sent for the Merchant and Master, and by the way gave order to kill them.

Mateleefe departed for the Molluccas.

Julius and five Flem. more put to death at Bemermasser.

The seventeenth of August, here arrived the Great Sunne from Choromandell, the Captaine Peter Isaacson, by whom we understood, that upon the Iland of Selon, they tooke a very great ship of the Portugals, out of whom they had eightie Packs several sorts of cloath, eight hundred Bades of Sugar bound for Malacca. Item, that in the Road of Masulipatan, where their Factory lieth, they took a Portugal ship very richly laden with all sorts of Commodities fit for that Coast, which was greatly for their benefit, for that they were ignorant what Commo-

A ship called the Great Sunne arrived from Choromandel.

dities were most vendible there: her lading was Cloves, Mace, Nut-megs, China Taffaties, Velvets and Dammasks of the brightest colours, but no white, China Porseline fine and course, but your great Basons with brims are the best. Item, the Flemming hath Factories in three severall places upon that Coast, but not farre the one from the other, viz. At Masulipatan, at Pettapoli, and Balligat. Mesulipatan lieth in the latitude of seventeene degrees. It is a place of great plentie of victualls, thirty two Hennes for a Riall, two sheep for a Riall, an Oxe for a Riall. Item, in the moneth of May, the wind at West, it is so extreame hot there, that you would thinke the wind would take away your breath, yet can you not by any meanes sweat till the Sunne be downe, and then you shall sweat very much: wherefore in this Moneth they goe not abroad in the day time, but in the night, for there have been many smoothered.

The places where the Flemmings hath left Factors upon the coast of Choromandell.

The latitude of the Countrey.

In the Month of May much wind.

The seventh, here arrived a small Pinnasse from an Iland called S. Lucia, in the latitude of twentie foure degrees and an halfe, about a mile from the Iland of Madagascar, where they were forced in by a leake in the Carracke, which departed from hence the fourth of October, 1606. they were forced to throw away three thousand sacks of Pepper, besides other Commodities to great value. They reported unto us, that it is a very good place to refresh in. The people have no knowledge of Coyne: they bought a fat Oxe for a Tinne spoone, and a sheep for a small peece of Brasse: it is hard ground, and very good riding in seven and eight fathome. The foureteenth of November, 1607. Captaine David Middleton arrived here in the Consent of London.

A Flem. from S. Lucia upon the Iland of Madagascar.

Capt. Middleton arrived in the Consent of London.

The seventeenth, the Flemmish Admirall Matteleefe arrived here from the Coast of China, where he hoped to have gotten Trade, but could not: he proffered them at Canton an hundred thousand Rialls of eight for a gift onely, but they would not accept it; he was there in great danger of taking, by sixe Carracks which came out of Maccau of purpose for him: they made him cast off his

Matteleefe arrived from the coast of China.

Pinnasse, the which the Portugals tooke. He touched at Camboya and Pahang, but bought nothing but victuals.

The ship Gelderland from Holland.

The seventeenth of December, 1607. here arrived the Gelderland from Holland. They came betweene S. Laurence and the maine: their first place of refreshment was at Mayot, one of the Ilands of Gomora, where they set up a fine Pinnasse. It is a good harbour, but there is little cattel to be had. From thence to Callicut, where in their way they tooke a small Boat of Meeca, laden with Rice and people of divers Nations. The Towne of Calicut lieth by the Sea-side, and is thought to be five English miles long. The Sambrin which is their King, came downe unto them, he was very rich in apparell, having a Crowne of Gold over his Turbant, a naked Sword in his hand, which is the manner there, he gave the Flemmings good words, offering to let them leave a Factorie there: but they durst not trust him, the Portugal being so great with him.

Admiral Paulus van Carle with 7. ships.

The twenty seventh, here arrived Admirall Paulus van Carle, with seven very good ships, and one Portugall Frigat. They refreshed at Cape de Lope Gonsalvo, which lieth upon the Coast of Ginnie, where they found very good water and fish; they continued here sixe weekes, having the wind at South-east by East. From hence to an Iland called Annabon, upon the same Coast.

The Flem. assault the Castle of Mosambique.

The thirtieth of March, Stilo novo, we (say they) came to an anchor in the road of Mosambique, letting fall our anchor in eighteene fathomes, the Castle shooting very hotly at us, but wee answered them not againe, but made all the speed we could aboord of two great Guzerate shippes and a Frigat which ride hard by us, laden with Callicoes, course blue cloth with white spots, and some with red spots, the which for the most part we tooke out, and set the great ships on fire, but the Frigat we kept. The thirtie one, we mustred our men, finding nine hundred ninetie five, all well and in perfect health. [I. iv. 387.]

The first of Aprill, we landed seven hundred men, and

seven peeces of Artillerie, viz. eight Demy-Cannons of Brasse, two Demy-Culverings of Iron, and battered upon the Castle, but to little purpose: wherefore we brought our trenches so neere the enemie, as we could heave stones into them. And the same night we began to make our mine, but there fell so much raine, that we were constrained to give it over. Here they heaved fire-pots downe from the walls upon us, which scalded our men very much, and perceiving hereof, sallied out upon us, to our great detriment. Thus having been here sixe weekes ashoare, our men beeing hurt and sicke, wee brought our Ordnance and men aboord, having lost in all fortie men, we set saile out of the Roade, the Castle shooting very hotly at us, so that they sunke the sterne Most of our Fleete, which was a very tall ship: and other of our ships had thirtie shot through their sailes and hull. The Gunner was an Englishman.

Fortie Flem. slaine.

From hence we went for Mayotto, which is one of the Ilands of Gomora, to refresh our men. Here we bought sixe hundred twenty Oxen, thirty five Sheepe, and Goates, to the great comfort of us. These people have knowledge of Coyne, and would deale with us for no Commoditie but Rialls. The King made a decree, that no man should sell us any Cattell, untill the Kings were sold, the which he would not sell us under three Rialls of eight the piece; but his peoples cattell we bought for a Riall of eight the piece, but sheepe and Goats cheaper. Here we mustred our men againe, having bin here six weeks & found our selves nine hundred & forty strong: wherefore it was determined to goe againe for Mosambique, to assault the Castle once againe. But comming into the Roade, we found three Carracks riding there, which were newly come from Portugal, whereupon it was held best, not to goe in againe, but to ply off and on, to see if they would come forth; but they did not, wherefore we stood away alongst the shoare some thirtie leagues off the land for Goa: where at a Towne called Seperdowne, we landed all the Guzerats which wee had out of the ships at Mosam-

Mayot a good place to refresh at.

Seperdowne a good place to refresh at.

bique. At this place is good refreshing and cheape, twentie hennes for a Riall, one hundred and fiftie Egges for a shilling, and as much fresh fish as would serve all the ships companie for a day, for a Riall of eight. It lieth in eighteene degrees to the North of the line, and is not far from Chaul: we rid in seven fathomes clay ground. The people are Moores, and great enemies to the Portugals: it affoords no Marchandise but a little Pepper. From hence hard by the Ilands of Commodo to the North of Goa seven leagues, we tooke a Carracke which was come from Lisbone, her lading was most Rialls of eight, currant Spanish coine; all which we tooke out, and set her on fire. The Captaine we tooke with us, his name was Jeronymus Telbalditto. At Goa we remained a Moneth at anchor, hoping to have met with the Carrackes which we had seene at Mosambique, but they came not: wherefore we set saile, and went for Callicut, purposing to have spoken with the Sambarine, but by reason of tenne Gallies, which were come from Goa and lay there, we went not ashoare, fearing some Treason. We sent him a Present, which was two pieces of Iron Ordnance, and one piece of Brasse, we sent our Caske ashoare to fill with water, but we could find none that we durst drinke. From hence we shaped our course for Cape Commerin to looke for water but could get none: wherefore we directed our course for the straights of Mallacca, but finding the winds and Current contrary, we came directly for Bantam, having been out of Holland twenty one Moneths and an halfe.

A Carracke taken hard by the Ilands of Commodo.

Ten Gallies in the Road of Calicut of the Portugals.

The Flem. give the Sambrine of Callicut a Present.

Paulus van Carle set saile for the straights of Mallacca.

The thirtie one of December, he departed this Roade with seven ships, and one Frigat to spend some time in the straights of Malacca, in hope to have met with the Mackaw shippes, but could not.

Paulus van Carle returned.

The fourth of January, 1607. he arrived in the Road here, leaving his ships riding at Poolo Tindoo. The fifth, he departed hence for the Molluccas.

Mattaleefe set saile for Holland.

The eighteenth, Admirall Matteleefe the younger set saile for Holland: his lading was twelve thousand sackes

of Pepper, foure hundred sackes of Nutmegs, Sugar, Ebony wood, and some raw Silke.

This yeare, 1608. arrived here many Junkes of China, and other places, which I forbeare to mention.

A Flem. ship from Amboyna.

The nineteenth of August, arrived a Flemmish ship called the Erasmus from Amboyna, having in her some seven hundred Bahars of Cloves, which she laded at Hitto.

A Flem. Pinnasse from Mackian.

The first of September, arrived a small Pinnasse of the Flemmings from Mackian, by whom we understood of two ships called the China and the Dove were cast away, riding at anchor afore Mackian, with very litle wind at West, which makes such a Sea, that it is not possible for ships to ride there, by reason it is foule ground, and very deepe water, as seventy and eightie fathomes. Item, that they had taken Mackian and Taffasal without the losse of a man, and had left in each place, one hundred and twenty Flemmings: in like manner they had strengthened the Castle at Malayo.

Mackian and Taffasall taken without losse of one man.

A Flem. Pinnasse for Soocadanna.

The tenth, departed a Pinnasse of the Flemmings for Soocadanna, to fetch away the Merchants whom they heard could get in no part of their debts, left there by Clawes Simonson, and that they were very sicke.

[I. iv. 388.]

A Flemmish ship from Banda.

The Hay from Choromandell.

The Dragon from Priaman.

The three and twentieth, arrived the ship Zeland from Banda, halfe laden with Mace and Nutmegs, her burthen was an hundred and fiftie last. The five and twentieth, arrived the Hay from Choromandell, her lading was divers sorts of Mallayo cloth, and cloth Cherra Java.

The second of October, arrived the Dragon from Priaman, wherein was Generall William Keeling. The seventh, the Generall went up to the Court, and delivered the King our Kings Letter, with a Present, which was five Peeces, one Bason and Ewer, one Barrell of powder.

A Present given the King of Bantam.

The Governour and his Jerotooles killed.

The thirteenth in the morning very early, the Governour and his Jerotoolies were killed by the Pungavas, the Sabandar, Admirall, Key depatty Utennagarra, &c. who assembled themselves over night at Keymas Patties house, and beset the Court, first laying hold of the King and his

Mother; and then they ranne into the Governours Court, thinking to have found him in bed, but he was on the backeside his bed, where they found him, and wounded him first on the head, whereupon he fled to the Priest called Keyfinkkey, who came forth and intreated them for his life, but they would not be perswaded, but perforce ran in, and made an end of him.

A Flem. Pinnasse from Soocodanna.

The eighteenth, arrived the Flemmings Pinnasse from Soocodanna, and brought away their Merchants, leaving the Countrey much indebted unto them.

Five saile of Flem. bound for Holland.

The sixth of November, set saile the Vice-Admirall of Paulus van Carle, with five saile for Holland: their lading was Cloves, Mace, Nutmegs, Pepper and Diamonds. The eighth, arrived a small Pinnasse of the Flemmings from

A Flem. Pinnasse from Malacca.

Malacca, by whom wee understood of thirteene saile of ships which rid there, and that in their Voyage they had taken two Carrackes.

A Pinnasse of the Flemmings, for Soocadanna.

The ninth of November, 1608. Samuel Plummer departed this Roade for Soocadanna, to remayne there.

W. Keeling set sayle for England.

The fourth of December, being Sunday in the afternoone our Generall William Keeling departed this Roade for England in the Dragon. The sixth, hee was forst backe by foule weather and West-winds. The tenth, hee

He returned backe.

departed from the West point. The thirteenth, hee re-

He departed.

turned having met with the Hector in the Straights of Sonda. They were very weake, their men for the most

He returned meeting with the Hector in the Straights.

past toucht with the Scurvie. The Portugalls of Damas had betrayed their Boates at Surat, taken nineteene of their men, and nine thousand Rials in Cloth as it cost there. Item, as they came for Bantam, they tooke a small Frigat of Collumba, out of which they tooke eleven packes of Cloth, contayning in all eightie three Clothes, thirteene pieces poulings, which were sent for the Ilands of Banda.

A Flem. from Holland which had met with two English ships in 32. de. to the North of the Cape of Cop Premeros.

The sixteenth of December, arrived a small ship from Holland, by whom we understood of two ships which they met withall to the North of the Cape Bona Speransa in thirtie two degrees. They made them to bee English ships, but whether they were bound they were not cer-

taine, but the smaller shippe bore the Flagge in the maine-top. This shippe had beene on her Voyage eight monethes and ten dayes, they refresht at one of the Ilands of Comora, called Pulo Lamone, where they had great store of Beeves and Goats for old Knives and Tinne Spoones.

A Flem. Pinnasse set sayle for Mallacca.

The two and twentieth, she set saile for Mallacca, to their fleet which lay there, to will them to give over their siege.

The Dragon for England.

The three and twentieth, departed the Dragon for England: Captaine, Gabriell Towerson.

The Hector for Banda.

The first of January, 1608. our Generall William Keeling set sayle in the Hector for the Ilands of Banda.

Two ships and a Pinnasse from Choromandell.

The seventh, arrived two shippes and a Pinnasse of the Flemmings from Choromandell, laden with Cloath the which some part they had taken, and the rest bought. They had taken five prizes, one a Carricke at Mosambique.

Three Flem. ships for Banda.

The fifteenth of January, 1608. departed the great Sunne, and the two ships which came from Choromandell.

A Fleet from Holland, being twelve saile.

The third of Februarie, arrived Admirall Williamson Verhoofe with twelve sayle of good ships from Mallaca.

Seven Flem. for the Molluc.

The fourteenth, the Admirall with seven ships departed for the Molluccoes.

A meeting at the Court by the Flem. procurement.

The ninth of March, the Flemmings caused a meeting at the Court of all the Pungavas, To tell the King that they had received Letters from their King, which did make mention of peace betweene them and the Portugalls: Wherefore they thought good to certifie so much unto them, To this end that if the Portugalls should come thither under colour to trade with them, and so set upon them for their Countrey, they could not take their parts as aforetime they could have done, by reason the King of Holland and Portugall were friends. Where at the Javans fell all into a great laughter, smoking them, that their pretence was to strike feare into them of the Portugall, doubting the King would if they came, give them peaceable Trade, which would be the overthrow of the Flem-

mings. The Governour gave them no answere, but willed them to take their course.

Our House escaped burning.

The twentieth, It pleased God to deliver us from a great danger, for a Chineses house next unto our Ware-house tooke fire and was burnt downe, but ours escaped.

I was sent for to the Court.

The one and twentieth, I was sent for to the Court by Pangran Areaumgalla the Governour. I went and carryed with me a Present which was one Peece, one Mallee Goobaer, one piece Morey, one piece Mallayo Pintado, one [I. iv. 389.] Bandaleere, one roll of Match, the which he accepted very kindly, he told me he had sent for me, hearing that there were two men in chaines in our house for debt, and he would know by whose order I kept them. I told him by the order of the King we had taken them up, and hoped that he would not take them from me before I were satisfied my debt, or some part, and that it was due by them, I shewed their Bils: hee said, hee thought they were indebted, but that the King gave us leave to chaine them up, he knew to the contrary, wherfore he would have them loosed, but with much intreatie, I perswaded that he gave me leave to keep them til Tanyomge, which ought foure hundred twenty Rials & a half, should pay one hundred, and Bungoone which ought five hundred Rials, & one hundred sacks of Pepper, should pay twentie bagges of Pepper, and one hundred Rials in money, according as hee had before agreed and given me his Bill. Wherefore hee sent one of his slaves home with me to tell the Prisoners thereof, willing them to resolve and pay me.

The Governours order. I was sent for to the Court, and willed to deliver the Chineses up.

The foure and twentieth, I was sent for to the Court, and the Flemmings: hee demanded of the Flemming whether it was their Countrey manner to take up a man for debt without telling of the King, the Flemming said no, whereupon he willed me presently to let them out, cleane forgetting his promise three dayes before, the which I charged him with, but all would not prevayle; wherefore he sent one of the Kings slaves and tooke them out of the house. The which strict course I hold to be taken against us, by the instigation of the Flemmings, wrought

by Lackmoye, to the end we should not trust the Chineses: so that by this course they must needs come to him, & he being fitted with all sorts of Commodities from the Flemming, will wholly overthrow our Trade, in respect wee cannot trust but at hazard, for there is no Justice to bee had.

A Pinnasse of the Flemmings from Soocadana.

The three and twentieth of Aprill, 1609. here arrived a small Pinnasse of the Flemmings from Soocadanna and Ternata: by whom wee understood that Admirall Pauls Vankerle was taken at Ternata.

A Pinnasse of the Flemmings for Bemermassin.

The one and twentieth of May, 1609. A Pinnasse of the Flemmings set saile for Bemermassin, upon a league made betweene them. And with purpose to search every Creeke and corner of the Iland. For they have heard there is much Gold there and Bezars, the which is to bee traded for with Beads and other Haberdasher-ware.

The sixe and twentieth of August, 1609. arrived Captaine William Keeling from Banda, having laden there twelve thousand foure hundred eighty foure Cattees one halfe quarter of Mace, fiftie nine thousand, eight hundred fortie sixe Cattees of Nutmegs, which stood them in nine, ten and eleven Rials the Bahar, the Cattee there weighing thirteene and an halfe of our English Ounces. The smal Bahar Mace is ten Cattees, or one hundred Cattees of Nutmegs: & the great Bahar is one hundred Cattees of Mace, or one thousand Cattees of Nutmegs: so that if a man be indebted unto you ten Cattees of Mace, and will give you one hundred Cattees of Nutmegs you cannot refuse it.

The Hector set sayle from Bantam.

The fourth of October, 1609. Captaine Keeling set saile from Bantam, having taken in the rest of his lading, which was foure thousand nine hundred bagges, three Cattees of Pepper, in the which ship called the Hector, I came for England having beene in the Countrey foure yeares, nine monethes, eleven dayes.

[Certaine Rules

Certaine Rules for the choise of sundry Drugges, as also from whence they may be had, as followeth.

Also from Sumatra, Potannie, Cauchauchene.

Lignum Aloes, is a wood so called by us, but of the Mallayens, it is called Garroo. The best commeth from Mallacka, Syam, and Cambaya. The best is that which is in large round stickes and very massie, of blacke colour intermixed with Ashe-coloured veines. In taste some-what bitter and odoriferous, and being burnt, it becommeth like unto Pitch in bubbles. If a splinter thereof be laid upon a fire-coale, for if it be good, it will not leave frying till it bee quite consumed, casting forth a most delectable Odour.

Benjamin, is a Gumme called by the Mallayens Minnian. The best sort commeth from Syam, which is very pure, cleere and white, with little streakes of Amber colour. The other sort which is not altogether so white, but is also very good, commeth from Sumatra. And a third sort which commeth from Priaman and Barrowse, is very course like Horse-bread, not vendible in England, but well esteemed in Bantam.

Burrowse yeeldeth Tyurall, called in English Buris, worth there a Riall the Cattee, and heere ten shillings the pound, it is kept in Grease.

Civet, the best is that which is of a deepe yellow colour some-what inclining to the colour of Gold, not whitish, for that is usually sophisticated with Grease, yet if it bee newly taken, it is naturally whitish, and will in continuance of time become of a yellowish colour.

Muske, there are three sorts, blacke, browne and yellow, of which the first is naught, the second is good, the last best: which ought to be of colour like the best Spicknard, that is, of a deep Amber colour, inclosed with one onely skinne, and not one over another, as it is oftentimes to be seene, not over-moist which maketh it waightie, but in a meane, having some haires like bristles, but not overmany, cleere of stones, leade, or other trash intermixed, and of so strong and fragrant a smell, that to many it is offensive, and being tasted in the mouth, it pierceth the very braine with the scent, and ought not over-soone to [I. iv. 390.] dissolve in the mouth, nor yet to remayne very long undis-

solved in any hand, it must not be kept neere to any sweet Spices, least it lose the sent.

Bezar, there are heere of two kinds, the one brought from the West, the other from the East-Indies, whereof the East-India Bezar is worth double the price of the other. The formes of both are divers, some round, others long like Date-stones, others like Pidgeons Egges, some like the Kidneyes of a young Goate, and others in forme of a Ches-nut, but all for the most part are blunt at the ends, not picked, and no lesse varietie is also to be seene in the colours, for some are of light redde, others of colour like Honey, many of a darke Ash-colour like that of the Civet-Cat, but for the most part of a waterish-greene. The East-India Bezars consist of many peelings and scales, as it were artificially compacted together, in manner of the skinnes and peeles of an Onion, each inclosing other, bright and splendent, as if they were polished by Art, the one peeling being broken off, the next is more splendent or brighter then the former, these peelings are some thicke, some thinne, according to the largenesse of the stones, and the larger the stone is, the better for sale. This is a certaine way to make tryall of Bezars; take the direct waight of the stone, then put him into water, and let it stand for the space of foure houres, then see if he be not crackt, wipe it dry, and weigh it againe, if it weigh never so small a matter more then he did at the first, then build upon it, it is not good. Thus have I proved my selfe many times in Bantam, and have had divers turne to Chalke with a little sticke in the middle, which hath weighed a Taile Java, which is two Ounces. The most Counterfeites come from Soocodanna, which is upon Burneo. These names in the Margent, are the places from whence they may be had.

Pattany, Bemermassin, Soocadanna, Mackasser, Insula das vacas, which is at the entring into Cambaya.

Amber, there is hereof, if you regard the colour, many sorts, as blacke, white, browne, and gray; of all which the blacke is usually the basest, and the gray the best, of which choose what is best clensed from filth or drosse, pure of it selfe, of colour inclining to a white, and of an

Ash-colour intermixed with veines, some Ash-colour, other whitish, being put into a bowle of water, it ought to floate aloft. The which, although some which is sophisticated may doe, yet this is certaine, that none which is pure will sinke in the water. The greatest quantitie commeth from Mosambique and Sofala.

Of all the chiefe and principall Townes for Trade in these parts, with their severall names and situations, and also what commodities they doe affoord, and what is there desired.

BAntam, a Towne situate in the Iland of Java Major, standeth in the latitude of sixe degrees to the South of the Equinoctiall, and hath three degrees variation West. To this place is great resort of divers Nations, in sundrie sorts of commodities. For of it selfe it affoordeth little but victuals, Cotton wooll and Pepper, whereof the quantitie may be at a harvest (which is in the moneth of October) some thirtie or thirtie two thousand sackes, each sacke containing forty nine Cattees and an halfe China, and each Cattee twenty one Rials and an halfe English, a sacke is called a Timbang, and two Timbanges is one Peecull, three Peeculls is a small Bahar, and foure Peeculls and an halfe a great Bahar, which is foure hundred fortie five Cattees and an halfe. Item, there is a Coolack, by the which the Javanes most commonly deale, because they are not very perfect in the use of the Beame; it containeth seven Cattees and a quarter, and seven Coolackes is a Timbang (water measure) the which is one Cattee and a quarter, greater then the Beame (there should be no difference, but that the weigher, which is alwayes a Chinesa, doth give his Countrimen leave to get) for according as he favours, he can fit them with a great or a small measure, at his pleasure. Item, there commeth in the moneths of December and January to this place, many Junckes and Prawes laden with Pepper from Cherringin and Jauby, so that in the fine of January there is alwayes

The Java Alphabet is twentie letters, the Mallayens foure and twentie.

Bahar Bantam: Coolack of Bantam.

Deceit in the weigher.

Junckes from Cheringin and Jauby.

Pepper sufficient to lade three good shippes. Item, the King hath no Coine of his owne, but what commeth from China, which is called Cashes, and is made of the drosse of Lead, it is round and thin, with holes to string them on, a thousand Cashes upon a string, called a Pecoo, which is of divers values, according as Cashes rise or fall, wherewith they know how to make their accounts, which is as followeth: ten Pecooes is a Laxsau, ten Laxsaues is a Cattee, ten Cattees is an Uta, ten Utaes is a Bahar.

In the fine of Janury three ships may find lading of Pepper in Bantam.

China Cashes.

Item, you are to understand, there are two manner of wayes of the stringing of Cashes; the one called Chuchuck China, the other Chuchuck Java, of which the Java is the best, for there should be two hundred Cashes upon a Tacke, but for the China Tackes you shall find but an hundred and sixtie, or an hundred and seventie: five Tackes should make a Pecoo; so that you lose two hundred Cashes upon a Pecoo, or an hundred and fiftie, which will rise to a great matter, if you deale for much; but by the law of the Countrey they are to be just a thousand Cashes upon a string, or to give Basse, which is allowance.

The best Cashes in Bantam called Chuchuck Java.

Basse called allowance upon Cashes.

Item, upon the departing of the Junckes, you shall buy thirtie foure and thirtie five Pecooes for a Riall, which before the next yeere you may sell for twentie two and twentie for a Riall, so that there is great profit to be made, but the danger of fire is great.

Profit to bee made in ingrossing of Cashes.

Item, the weight used to weigh Bezars, Civit and gold, is called a Taile, which is two Rialls of eight and a quarter, or two ounces, English. Item, a Mallaya Taile is one Riall of eight and a halfe, or one ounce and one third part English. Item, a Taile China is $1\frac{7}{20}$. Riall of eight, or one ounce and one fift part English, so that ten Tailes China is sixe Tailes Java, exactly. Item, the English commodities vendible heere, are as followeth: English Iron, long and thinne barres, sixe Rials the Peecull: Lead, in small pigges, for five and twentie or sixe and twentie peeces, five Rialls and a halfe the Peecull: Powder, fine round cornd, the barrell five and twentie

[I. iv. 391.]

The weight used in weighing of Bezars, Civet and Gold, with the content of their several Tailes.

English Commodities vendible in Bantam.

Rialls: Peeces square, sanguined, the peece ten Rialls, of sixe foot long: Peeces square, damasked all over, fifteene Rialls, of sixe foote long and a halfe: Broad-cloth of ten pound the Cloath, of colour Venice red, a Gasse, which is three quarters of a yard, three Rialls of eight: Opium Misseree, which is the best, eight Rialls the Cattee: Amber, in great beads, one Wamg and a halfe Taile Mallaya, sixe Rialls of eight: Corall, in large branches, five and sixe Rialls, the weight of the Taile Mallaya: Rialls of eight, the principallest commodities you can carry.

February and March, the time of the comming of the China Junckes for Bantam, and what commodities they are laden with.

Item, in the Moneths of February and March, heere commeth three or foure Junckes from China, very richly laden with Silkes raw and wrought, China Cashes, Purseline, Cotton cloath of divers fashions and prices, as followeth, viz. Raw-silke of Lamking, which is the best, an hundred and ninetie Rialls the Peecull: Raw-silke of Canton, which is courser, eightie Rials the Peecull: Taffata in boults, an hundred and twelve yards the peece, fortie six Rials the Corge, twenty peeces: Velvets all colours, thirteene yards the peece, twelve Rialls the peece: Damaske all colours, twelve yards the peece, sixe Rialls the peece; white Sattins, twelve yards long the peeces, eight Rialls: Burgones, ten yards long the peece, fortie five Rialls the Corge: Slevesilke, the best made colours, three Rialls the Cattee: Muske the best, two and twentie Rialls the Cattee: Sewing Gold the best, fifteene knots, every knot thirty strings, one Riall: Velvet Hangings imbroydered with gold, eighteene Rialls; upon Sattins, fourteene Rials: white Curten stuffes, nine yards the peeces, fiftie Rialls the Corge; white Damaske Flat, nine yards the peeces, foure Rialls: Sugar white the Peecull, three Rials and a halfe, very drie: Sugar Candy very drie, five Rials the Peecull: Purseline Basons the peeces, two Rialls, very broad and fine: Callico cloath, course, white and browne, fifteene Rialls the Corge: Course Purseline, Drugges, and divers other commodities they bring, but because they are not for our Countrey, I doe omit. Benjamine very good

Commodities from China.

Benjamine.

and white, five and thirtie, and thirtie Rialls the Peecull: Lignum-Aloes, eightie Rialls the Peecull: Allum, which is as good as the English, and comes from China, two Rialls and a halfe the Peecull. Choromandell Cloath is a principall commoditie heere, the most vendible sorts are called Goobares; Pintadoes of foure and five covets: Fine Tappies of Saint Thomas, Ballachos, Java Girdles, alias Caine-Goolong, Callico Launes, Booke Callicos, and Callicos made up in rowles, white. Item, a Goober is double, and containeth twelve yards, or sixe Hastaes single. Item, Ballachos, course and fine, containing two and thirtie or foure and thirtie Hastaes, but the finest are alwayes longest.

Lignum Aloes to be bought at Bantam.

Commodities vendible in Bantam.

Content of cloath Chera Java, which comes from Choromandell.

Item, the fine Tappyes of Saint Thomas, sixe Hastaes. Item, Moorees is a fine sort of cloath, but not very much used heere, for it is deare and short, containing sixteene Hastaes, at two Rialls and a quarter. Item, Booke Callicos, if they be not corted, are two and thirtie Hastaes. Item, all sorts of Mallayan cloath are generally eight Hastaes long, wherefore it is called, Cherra Mallaya. Item, generally all sorts of Cotton cloath, which is broad, and of good length, is well requested heere.

Generally, Cotton cloath requested in Bantam.

Item, Callico Lawnes, white and red, are two and thirtie Hastaes. Item, a Hasta is halfe a yard, accounted from your elbow to the toppe of your middle finger. Item, the Kings Customes heere, are as followeth: The Kings Custome called Chukey, is eight bagges upon the hundred bagges, rating Pepper at foure Rials of eight the sacke, what price soever it beares: Billa-billian is, if any ship arrive in the Roade, laden with cloath or such like; the King is to be made acquainted therewith, and with the sorts, quantitie, and price thereof, before you may land any part: then hee will send his Officers, and such sorts, as he likes, he will have at the halfe of your price, or somewhat above, as you can agree: for if you prise your cloath at twentie Rialls for Corge, hee will give you but fifteene or sixteene Rialls a Corge: but the Flemmings course hath been to give him seven or eight hundred Rialls at

Custome.

Billa-billian or Labba, is upon six thousand sackes six hundred sixty sixe Rialls, and so higher or lower according to the burden of your shippe.

a time for a shippes lading, to cleare them of the dutie and trouble. But by the custome of the Countrey, this dutie is upon sixe thousand sackes of Pepper, sixe hundred sixtie sixe Rialls, if you lade Pepper, otherwise to take so many thousand sackes of the King, at halfe a Riall, or three quarters of a Riall upon a sacke, more then the price currant is in the Towne.

Item, if you shall have provided afore-hand sufficient lading to dispatch your shippes, yet you are to pay for this dutie as aforesaid, or else they will not permit you to lade.

Rooba. Item, Rooba, Rooba, is a duty for anchorage, and is upon sixe thousand sackes five hundred Rialls of eight. Item, the Sabandars duty is upon sixe thousand sackes two hundred fiftie Rials. Item, the Waighers dutie is one Riall upon an hundred sackes. Item, the Jerotoolis

No custome. or Waighers belonging to the Custome-house, their dutie is one Riall for an hundred sackes.

Jortan, is to the Eastwards of Jacatra, it is called Serebaya. It affoordeth of it selfe victuals, and great store of Cotton-wooll, and spun yarne. There commeth many

[I. iv. 392.] Junkes from Jauby, whose lading is Pepper; also there are small Prawes of the Towne, which goe to Banda; so that there are some few Mace and Nuts to be had there.

Mackassar, is an Iland not farre from the Celebes. It affoordeth great store of Bezar stones, which may be had reasonably: also Rice and other Victualls great plentie. There are Junkes also which trade to Banda, so that a small quantitie of Mace and Nuts is there to be had also.

Balee, is an Iland to the East-wards of Mackassar, standing in eight degrees and an halfe to the South of the Equinoctiall. It hath of it selfe great store of Rice, Cotten-yarne, slaves, and course white Cloth, well requested at Bantam. The commodities for this place are the smallest sort of blue and white beads, Iron and course Purseline.

Tymore, is an Iland which lieth to the East-ward of Baly, in the latitude of tenne degrees, fortie minutes. This place affoordeth great store of Chindanna, by us called, white Saunders; the greatest logges are accounted

best, it is worth at Bantam twentie Rials of eight the Peecull, at the comming of the Junkes: Waxe in great cakes, worth at Bantam eighteene, nineteene, twentie, thirtie Rials the Peecul, as the time serves. Item, you must be verie carefull in the choosing of it, for there is great deceit therein; wherefore you must break it, to see whether it bee mingled or not.

The Commodities which are carried thither, are Chopping-knives, small Bugles, Porseline, coloured Taffataes, but no blackes, China frying-Pannes, China bels, and peeces of silver beaten flat and thin as a wafer, of the bredth of a hand. Item, there is great profit made of this trade, for the Chineses have given to our men which adventured with them thither, foure for one.

Banda lieth in the latitude of five degrees to the Southwards of the Equinoctiall. It affoordeth great store of Mace and Nutmegs, with Oyle of both sorts: it hath no King, but is governed by a Sabandar, which joyneth with the Sabandars of Nero, and Lentore, Puloway, Pulorin, and Labatacca, Ilands neare adjoyning. These Ilands in former times have been under the governement of the King of Ternata, but at this present they governe of themselves. Item, on these Ilands is harvest thrice a yeare, viz. in the Moneth of July, October, and February. But the gathering in July is the greatest, the which is called, the Monson Arepootee.

Oyle of Mace 4. Rials a quart, at Bantam 5. or 6. Rialls a quart.

Item, the manner of dealing for their price, is as followeth. A small Bahar is tenne Cattees Mace, and an hundred Cattees Nuts; & a great Bahar Mace, is an hundred Cattees, and a thousand Cattees Nuts, and a Cattee is five pound, thirteene ounces and an halfe English, the prices variable.

Monson Arepootee. From Poolo Swange, alias, the devils Iland comes the foule called Casuarie.

Item, the Commodities requested in these Ilands, are Choromandel cloth, Cheremallaw, viz. Sarrasses, Pintados of five Coveyts, fine Ballachos, blacke Girdles, Chellyes, white Callicoes, broad cloath Stammell, Gold in coyne, viz. Rose-nobles of England and the Low Countreys, Royalls of eight. Item, you shall have that there, for

Lignum Aloes. Ophion misseree which is soft like wax.

seventy Rialls in Gold, which will cost you ninetie in Rialls, China Basons fine large, and without brims, Damasks of light colours, Taffataes, Velvets, China Boxes, or Counters gilded, Gold chaines, Plate cups gilded, Headpeeces bright damasked, Peeces for shot, but not many Sword blades brand and backt to the point. Item, Cambaya cloth, Callicoes blacke and red, Callico lawnes, &c. Item, Rice is a very good commoditie to carrie thither.

The Ilands of the Moluccos are five, viz. Molucco, Ternate, Tydore, Gelolo, Mackean, and are under the Equinoctiall line. These Ilands affoord great store of Cloves, not every yeare, but every three yeares. The Cattee there is, three pound five ounces English, the Bahar two hundred Cattees. Item, nineteene Cattees Ternata, makes fifty Cattees Bantam exactly.

The commodities vendible for these places, are Choromandell cloth, Cheremallaw, but fine; and Siam girdles, Salolos, fine Ballachos and Chelleys are best requested. Item, China Taffata, Velvets, Damaske, great Basons, varnished Counters, Broad cloath crymson, Opium and Benjamin, &c.

Siam, lieth in the latitude of foureteen degrees & a halfe to the Northward of the Equinoctial. It affoords great store of very good Benjamin, and many rich stones, which are brought thither from Pegu. Item, a Tayle is two Rials of eight and a quarter. Item, here is much Silver in bullion, which commeth from Japan, but Rials of eight are in more request, for two Rialls and a quarter in coine, will yeeld two and a halfe in bullion. Broad cloth stammell colour, Iron, and faire looking glasses are well requested, all manner of China Commodities are there better cheape then at Bantam.

Item, the Guzerat Junkes come to Siam in the moneths of June and July, touching first at the Maldives, and then at Tenassere, from whence they may goe over land to Siam in twentie dayes. Item, at Tenassere, there is alwayes five and an halfe, and sixe fathomes water.

Borneo, lieth in the latitude of three degrees to the

South of the Equinoctial. It affoordeth great store of Gold, Bezar stones, Wax, Rotans, Cayulacca, and Sanguis Draconis. Item, at Bemermassin, a Towne situated on this Iland, is the principallest trade for the Commodities afore-said. Item, the Commodities requested there, are as followeth, Choromandell cloth of all sorts, China Silkes, Damasks, Taffataes, Velvets, all colours but blackes, Broad cloth, Stammell, and Rialls of eight. Item, Bezar stones are there bought by the Taile, which is the weight of one Riall and an halfe of eight, for five or sixe Rials the Taile, which is one Ounce, and the third part English.

Soocodanna, is a Towne situate upon Borneo, in the latitude of one degree and an halfe to the South of the [I. iv. 393.] Equinoctiall, and is North-east from Bantam one hundred and sixtie leagues. There is in the entrance of the harbour five fathomes, and at low water three fathomes, a Faulcon short of the shore, Ozie ground.

To this place is great Trade in Junkes and Prawes, for it yeeldeth great store of Diamonds, the which are accounted the best in the world. There is store to be had at all times, but specially in the moneths of January, Aprill, July and October, but the greatest quantitie in January and Aprill, at which times they are brought downe the River called Lavé by Prawes. The manner of getting of them, is as you dive for Pearle. The reason why more quantitie is gotten in one Moneth then in an other is, for that in July and October, there falleth so much raine that it riseth nine fathomes which causeth such a streame that they can hardly dive and in the other moneths there is but foure, or foure fathomes and an halfe, which is held the best depth for their diving.

Item, Commodities vendible and in request here at Soocodanna, are Mallacca Pintados, verie fine Sarrassa, Goobares, Poulings, Chera Java, Callico Lawnes, China Silkes light colours, sewing Gold, sleave Silke, Broad cloth, Stammell, all sorts of small Bugles, Bugles which are made in Bantam, of colour blue, and in fashion like a Tunne, but of the bignesse of a Beane, and cost at Ban-

tam foure hundred a Riall of eight, worth at Soocodanna, a Masse the hundred, the Masse beeing three quarters of a Riall of eight, China Cashes, Rials of eight, but principally Gold, without which you can doe little, for you shall have a stone for one Rial in Gold, which you shall not have for a Rial and an halfe, or a Riall and three quarters in silver.

Item, you are to understand, that it is the best course when you are bound for this place, to goe for Bemermassen first, where you may barter the Commodities aforesaid for Gold, which you shal have for three Cattees Cashes the Mallacca Taile, which is nine Rials of eight, as I have beene credibly informed, it hath been worth of late years. And bringing it to Soocodanna you shall put it away for Diamonds, at foure Cattees Cashes the Taile, which is one and three quarters and halfe quarter of a Riall in weight, so that you shall gaine three quarters of a Riall of eight upon a Taile. But the principall gaines must be in the Diamonds.

Item, you must understand, that there are Diamonds of foure waters, which is called Varna, viz. Varna Ambon, Varna Loud, Varna Sackar, Varna Bessee. The first is white, greene, yellow, and neither greene nor yellow, but a colour betweene both. But the white water is the best.

Their Weights are called Sa-Masse, Sa-Copang, Sa-Boosuck, Sa-Pead. Item, foure Coopangs is a Masse, two Boosucks is one Copang, and one Pead and an halfe is a Boosuck. Item, there is a Pahaw which is foure Masse, and sixteene Masse is one Taile, and by this weight, they doe not onely weigh Diamonds, but Gold also.

Of China wares, raw Silke the best is made at Lanking, and is called Howsa, worth there eighty Rials the Peecul. Taffata, called Tue, the best made at a small Towne called Hocchu, worth thirtie Rials the Corge. Damaske called Towne, the best made at Canton, worth fiftie Rials the Corge.

Sewing Silke called Couswa, worth one hundred Rials the Peecull. Imbrodered Hangings called Poey, the best

ten Rials the piece. Sewing Gold called Kimswa, is sold by the Chippau, which is a bundle, each Chippau, contayning ten Papers, and in each Paper is five knots sold for three Pawes, two Rials of eight, and the best hath thirtie sixe threds in a knot. Sattins called Lyn, the best one Riall the piece. Great Basons called Chopau, worth three by the Riall. White Sugar called Petong, the best one halfe Riall the Peecull. Purseline of the small sorts called Poa, the best one Riall the Cattee. Pearle Boxes called Chanab, the best five Rials the piece. Velvets called Tangojounck of nine yards long, five Rials the piece. Sleave Silke called Jounckes, the best one hundred and fiftie Rials Peecull. Muske called Saheo, seven Rials the Cattee. Cashes sixtie Pecooes, the Riall.

Item, Broad-cloth called Toloney, Sasocke, which is three quarters of a yard, worth seven Rials of eight. Looking Glasses very large, called Kea, worth ten Rials the piece. Tinne called Sea, worth there fifteene Rials the Peecull. Waxe called La, fifteene Rials the Peecull, Muskets called Cauching, the Barrell twentie Rials. Japon Sables called Samto worth eight Rials the piece. Elephants teeth the greatest and best two hundred Rials the Peecull, and small, one hundred Rials the Peecull, called Ga: White Saunders called Toawheo: The best in great logges fortie Rials the Peecull.

Item, the Custome of Pepper inwards, as one Taile upon a Peecull, and out-wards no Custome.

Item, it is very straightly looked into that they carry no munition out of the Land in any sort.

Item, in the moneth of March, the Junckes bound for the Mannelies, depart from Chauchu in Companies, sometime foure, five, ten, or more together, as they are readie.

Item, there lading out-wards is raw and wrought Silkes, but farre better then those which they carrie for Bantam.

Item, betweene Canton and the Mannelies is ten dayes sayle.

Item, in the beginning of June they returne from the Mannelies, there lading is Rials of eight, and there is not

lesse then fortie sayle in a yeare, which are bound thither, there force is nothing, so that you may take them with your ships Boate.

[I. iv. 394.] Item, in this yeare, 1608. Pepper was worth in China sixe Tades and an halfe the Peecull, and at the same time in Bantam worth two and an halfe Rials the Tinbang.

A note of requestable Commodities vendible in Japan, together with their prices there Current, being Masses, and Canderines, each Canderine contayning the $\frac{1}{10}$. of a Masse: viz.

BRoad-clothes of all sorts, viz. Blackes, Yellowes, and Reds, which cost in Holland eight or nine Gilders the Flemmish ell, two ells three quarters is worth three, foure to five hundred. Note that cloth of a high Wooll is not requestable, but such as is low shorne most vendible. Fine Bayes of the colours afore-said vendible: not according as the Portugalls were, but well cottoned.

Sayes. Rashes. Bouratts single. Bouratts double. Silke Grogarams. Turkey Grogarams. Chamlets. Divo Gekepert. Weersetynen. Canjant. Gewart Twijne. Velvets. Muske sold in weight against Silver. India cloth of sorts requested. Sattins. Taffataes. Damaskes. Holland-cloth from fifteene to twentie Stivers the Flemmish ell, and not above. Diaper. Damaske the better it is wrought with figures or branches. Threed of all colours. Carpets for Tables. Gilded Leather painted, with Pictures and Flowres, the smallest worke best. Painted Pictures, they delight in lascivious Stories of Warres by Sea and Land, the larger the better worth, one, two, to three hundred. Quick-silver the hundred Cattees, from three to foure hundred.

Vermillion, the hundred Cattees, worth from three to sixe hundred. Painting for Womens faces, the hundred Cattees twentie eight. Copper in Plates, one hundred twentie five. Flemmish weight worth from ninetie to an hundred. Lead in small Barres, the hundred Cattees

worth from sixtie to eightie eight. Lead in sheetes best requested, the thinner the better, one hundred pounds Flemmish, to eightie. Tinne in logs fine, one hundred and twentie pound, Flemmish three hundred and fiftie. Iron, twentie five Ounces Holland, worth foure. Steele the hundred Cattees, worth from one to two hundred.

Tapistrie. Civet the Cattee, worth from one hundred and fiftie to two hundred. China roots the hundred Cattees or Peecull worth fortie. China sowing Gold the Paper, three masse, three Powder Sugar of China, the hundred Cattees or Peecull worth fortie to fiftie. Sugar Candie the Peecul, or one hundred Cattees, worth from fifty to sixty. Velvets of all colors, eight els the piece, worth from one hundred & twenty, to one hundred and thirtie. Wrought Velvets like fabricke, worth from one hundred & eighty to two hundred. Taffataes all colours, & good Silke worth the piece, from foure and twentie, thirtie, to fortie. Sattin of seven or eight ells long, the piece worth from eightie to one hundred. Figured Sattin, worth from one hundred and twentie to one hundred and fiftie. Gazen of seven pikes or ells, worth from fortie to fiftie. Raw Silke the Cattee, of twelve pound Flemmish, worth from thirtie to fortie. Untwisted Silke of eight and twentie pound Flemmish, worth from thirtie five to fortie. Twisted Silke, worth from eight and twentie to fortie.

Drinking Glasses of all sorts. Bottles, Cans and Cups, Trenchers, Platters, Beere Glasses, Salts, Wine Glasses, Bekers gilt, Looking-glasses of the largest sort, Muscovie Glasse, much Salt, Writing Table-bookes, Paper-bookes, Lead to neale Pots, Spanish Sope well requested, it is sold for one masse the small Cacke. Amber in beades, worth one hundred and fortie, to one hundred and sixtie. Silke stockings of all colours. Spanish Leather, Neates Leather, with other sorts of Leather used for Gloves, worth from sixe, eight, to nine. Candiques of China, worth from fifteene to twentie. Candiques of the same place blacke, the former being blew, from ten to fifteene. Wax for

Candles one hundred pounds Flemmish, worth from two hundred, to two hundred and fiftie. Hony the Peecull, worth sixtie. Samell of Cochinchina, the Peecull, one hundred and eightie. Pepper the Peecull, if there come not much, worth one hundred. Nutmegs the Peecull, twentie five, Campheir of Barous or Borneo, the pound hollaus, from two hundred and fiftie to foure hundred. Sanders of Solier the Peecull, worth one hundred. Callomback wood good and weightie, the pound worth from one, two, three to five. Sapon, or red wood the Peecull, from twentie to twentie sixe. Elephants teeth the greater, the better worth from foure, five, sixe, seven, to eight hundred. Renosceros horne, the Javan Cattee worth thirtie. Harts hornes gilded the piece, three, foure, or five hundred. Roch Allome esteemed good ware, and enquired after: that which cost but three Gilders, hath beene sold for one hundred Gilders, but not every mans money.

Note, that the Chineses will commonly trucke for your Silver, and give you Gold of twentie three Carrackes: from fifteene to twentie the Ounce Silver, but some times there commeth much, and other some times little.

[I. iv. 395.] A Memoriall of such Merchandize as are to be bought in Japan, and the prices as they are there worth.

HEmpe very good, one hundred Cattees beeing one hundred and twentie pound Holland, worth from sixtie five to seventie. Eye colours for dying blew, almost as good as Indico, made up in round cakes or pieces, and packed one hundred cakes in a Fardell, worth the Fardell, fiftie to sixtie. Dying for white, turning to red colour, made in Fardels or Bales of fiftie Gautins Malios worth five to eight. Rice very white and good, cased, worth the Fares, eight, three fifth parts. Rice of a worser sort, the Bale worth seven, three tenth parts.

At Edo, Saccaio, Osacaio and Meacow, is the best Dying for all sorts of colours whatsoever your desire, viz. Red,

Blacke and Greene, and for gilding Gold and Silver, and is better then the Chinese Varnish.

Brimstone in great abundance, cost the Peecull, seven. Salt-peeter dearer in one place then another, worth one and an halfe. Cotton-wooll the Peecull, ten.

Chap. III.

Relation of Master Richard Cockes Cape Merchant, Of what past in the Generals absence going to the Emperours Court. Whereunto are added divers Letters of his and others for the better knowledge of Japonian Affaires, and later Occurents in those parts.

§. I.

The Kings care, unreadinesse of ours, Japonian Superstitions, strange tempest.

THe seventh of August, all things being in a readinesse, our Generall in company of Master Adams, departed from Firando towards the Emperours Court of Japan, and tooke with him Master Tempest, Peacocke, Master Richard Wickham, Edward Saris, Walter Carwarden, Diego Fernandos, John Williams a Taylor, John Head a Cooke, Edward Bartan the Chirurgions Mate, John Japan Jurebasso, Richard Dale, Cox Swaine, and Anthonie Ferre a Sayler, with a Cavaleere of the Kings for Guardian and two of his Servants, and two Servants of M. Adams. And so they departed in a Barke or Barge of the Kings, which rowed with some twentie Oares on a side, and had thirteene Peeces of Ordnance shot off at departure.

The old King sent 100. *Tais in Japan money for our Generall to spend on the way, which I put to account by our Generals order as money lent.*

I went to complement with the two Kings, (as being sent from the Generall) to give them thankes for providing so well for him for his Journey; they tooke it kindly. And I verily thinke the old King tooke notice of some of

our mens evill behaviour this last night. For he willed me to put the Master in minde to looke well to them aboord, and that I should have a care on shoare, that matters might be as well managed in the Generals absence, as when hee was heere present, otherwise, the shame would bee ours, but the dishonour his. Wind a stiffe gale at North-east, most part of the day but calme all night.

The ninth, a Japan Boy called Juan, came and offered me his service, hee speaking good Spanish, asking me nothing but what I pleased, and so to serve nine or ten yeares, and to goe with me for England, if I pleased. I entertayned him, the rather, because I did find the Juribasso Migell, which Master Adams left with me to bee something stubborne, and loved to runne abroad at his pleasure, leaving mee without any one that could speake a word. I bought him two Japan Garments cost me fourteene Mas, hee is a Christian and most of his Kinred dwell at Langasaque: only one dwelleth heere, who came with him and passed his word for him. Hee served a Spaniard three yeares at Manilias.

The thirteenth, I shewed our commodities to certaine Merchants of Maioco, but they bought nothing, only their chiefe desire was to have had Gun-powder. Semidone went aboord the ship to accompany certaine strange Cavaleroes, and afterward hee brought them to see the English House. I gave them the best entertaynment I could.

Pagan Feast at Firando, being a kind of Candlemas, Alsoules.

The nineteenth at night, began the great Feast of the Pagans, they inviting their dead kindred, banquetting and making merry all night with candle-light at their graves: this Feast endured three dayes, and as many nights. And very strict command was given from the [I. iv. 396.] King, that every house should gravell the street before their doores, and hang out candle-light in the night: in doing whereof I was not slacke; and as I was informed, a poore man was put to death, and his house shut up, for disobeying therein. The China Captaine furnished me

with a couple of paper Lanternes very decent. And I was informed the Kings would ride about the streets, and come to visite me: so I made readie a banquet, and expected them untill after midnight, but they came not at all.

On the twentieth, one and twentieth, and two and twentieth, I sent presents to both the Kings (being informed that it was the use of the Countrey) of Wine and banquetting stuffe; as likewise to Nobesane the yong Kings brother, and to Semidone, the old Kings Governour, and Unagense, which were well accepted. Some Cavaleros came to visite our house, and received the best entertainment I could give.

On the three and twentieth, we made an end of landing our Gun-powder, being in all ninety nine barrells, of which I advised the Generall by letter, to reserve convenient store for our selves, if he sold the Emperour the rest. We landed divers other things, which things the Master thought good to send ashore, because our men begin to filtch and steale, to go to Tavernes and Whore-houses. *Loosenesse of some.* The Purser, Master Melsham and my selfe, dined at Semydones this day: and the Master and Master Eaton were likewise invited, but did not goe: he used us kindly.

This day the great Feast made an end, and three companies of Dancers went up and downe the Towne with flags or banners, their musicke being Drummes and Pans; at the sound whereof they danced at every great mans doore, as also at all their Pagods and Sepulchres. *End of the great Feast.*

The foure and twentieth at night, all the streets were hanged with candle-light, for that the yong King and his brother, Nabesone Semydone, and many others went with a Maskarado, or to dance at the old Kings house: the yong King and his brother were mounted on horse-back, and had Canopies caried over them; the rest went on foote, and the musicke was Drummes and Kettles, as aforesaid; and Nabesone winded a Phife: I was informed they meant to visite the English House at their backe returne: so I sate up untill after midnight, having a banquet in readi- *Masking and dancing.*

nesse, and in the end they returned confusedly, and out of order; so I thinke there was some discontent, once none of them entred into the English house: Captaine Brower went along by the doore, but would not looke at us, and we made as little account of him.

The seven and twentieth, we landed other three peeces of Ordnance, viz. all whole Culverin, all which sixe peeces are Iron Ordnance. The old King came downe when they were about it, and seeing but twentie men, offered them seventie or an hundred Japans to helpe them; but very quickly in his sight, our men got them ashore, which he marvelled at, and said an hundred of his men would not have done it so soone; so hee sent for a barrell of wine, and certaine fish, and gave it to our people for labouring so lustily.

The eight and twentieth, I received two letters from our Generall, by the Governour of Shimonaseke, dated the nineteenth and twentieth of this moneth, with two other from Master Peacock, and Master Wickham: this Governour came not ashore at Ferando, but delivered the Letters aboord to the Master, and so went directly for Langasaque, and promising to returne hither shortly. Also I carried a letter to the old King Foyne, which the said partie brought: Master Melsham and Harnando accompanied me: the King gave a Cattan to Master Melsham, and another with a Spanish dagger to Harnando, and gave both me and them certaine bunches of Garlick, and gave us leave to drie our Gun-powder on the toppe of the Fortresse; offering us of his people to helpe ours, if they thought good. And I received aland into the English House two and twentie barres of lead, and put into our new lodge an hundred and twentie five Culverin shot, round and langrell. And as wee were going to Supper, the old King came and supped with us, being very merry, and tooke such fare as we had, in good part.

Septemb. 1. *A Maske.* The first of September, the old King, with all the Nobilitie, made a Maskerado; and this night following

went to visite the yong King his Grand-child, with musicke as aforesaid, all the streets being hanged with Lanternes; and I was informed he meant to visite our English House at returne: so I made readie for him, and stayed his returne till after midnight, but he passed by with the rest of the company, and entred not into the House. I thinke there was not so few as three thousand persons in company with him, which I make account was the occasion he went by, because he would not trouble us.

Taxe for Forts.

The second, Semydon and others, being appointed by the King, measured all the houses in the street; our English house being measured amongst the rest: I understand it was for a generall taske to bee paid for making Fortresses by the Emperours appointment. I entertained them to content.

The fourth, we had newes the Queene of Spaine was dead, and the King a Suter to the Princes Elizabeth of England.

The sixt, a Cavalero, called Nombosque, came to visite our English House, and brought mee a present of two great bottells of wine, and a basket of Peares. I gave him the best entertainment I could, and he departed content.

The seventh in the morning, much raine, with wind encreasing all day and night variable, from the East to the South, and in the night happened such a storme or Tuffon, that I never saw the like in all my life; neither was the like seene in this Countrey in mans memory, for it overthrew above an hundred houses in Firando, and uncovered many other; namely, the old Kings house, and blew downe a long wall which compassed the young Kings house, and carryed away boughes or branches of trees: & the Sea went so high, that it undermined a great Wharf or Key at the Dutch House, and brake downe the stone-wall, and carryed away their Staires, and sunke and brake them two Barkes, as also fortie or fiftie other Barkes were broken and sunke in the Roade. It brake downe our Kitchen wall at the English House, which was

[I. iv. 397.]

A mighty Tuffon or Tempest, with the strange effects thereof.

newly made, and flowed into our Oven, and brake it downe, and blew downe the tyles, and uncovered part both of the house and kitchen, and the house did shake, like as if there had beene an Earthquake; I never passed night in all my life in such feare, for the barbarous unruly people did runne up and downe the streets all night with fire-brands, that the wind carried great coales quite over the tops of houses, and some houses being carryed away, the wind whirled up the fire which was in them, and carried it into the ayre in great flakes, very fearefull to behold; so that the greatest feare I had was that all would have been consumed with fire; and I verily thinke it had, had it not been for the extreame raine which fell (contrary to the true nature of a Tuffon) being accompanied with lightning and thunder. Our shippe roade at an anchor with five Cables, and as many Anchors, whereof one old Cable burst, but God be thanked no other hurt done: our long Boat and Skiffe were both driven from the shippe, yet both recovered againe: And as it is said, it did more hurt at Langasaque then heere, for it brake above twentie China Junckes, and the Spanish ship which brought the Embassadour from the Manilleas or Philippinas.

Foolish superstitions.

Merchants of Miaco.

Of many misdemeanours, I permit some to passe the Presse that the cause of so many deaths in the Indies, might be found rather to be imputed to their owne then the Elements distemper, and for a caveat to others which shall send, or be sent into Ethnicke Regions; yet doe I conceale the most and worst.

The twelfth two Merchants of Miaco came to our English house, unto whom I shewed all our Commodities; they laid by two broad-cloths, viz. a Stammel and a Blacke, the best they could find, and offered seven Tais Japan money the yard: also they saw our Priaman Gold, and offered eleven Tais Japan plate, for one Tais Gold: but went away without doing any thing. Francis Williams beeing drunke ashoare, did strike one of the old Kings men with a cudgell, which gave him no occasion at all, nor spake a word to him. The man came to the English house and complained, being very angry (and not without cause) giving me to understand, that he would informe the King his Master how he was misused by our people. He had three or foure in Company with him, who did see him abused, and that he which did it, was

newly gone aboord the ship. I gave them faire words, and desired them to goe aboord, and find out the partie, and they should see him punished to their contents; and to that effect, sent Miguell our Jurebasso along with them: so they found out the said Williams, who would have denied it, if the matter had not been too manifest; but he stood stiffely against it with oathes; yet the Master caused him to be brought to the Captaine in their presence, which they seeing, intreated for his pardon, knowing he was drunke, but he was so unruly, that he tooke up a crow of Iron to have stricken the fellow in presence of the Master, using the Master in very bad termes.

The thirteenth, I understood, that Foyne the old King of Firando was sicke, whereupon I sent Miguel our Jurebasso to visit him, and to carry a Present of one great bottle of the Generals sweet wine, and two boxes of Conserves, Comfits, and Sugar-bread, offering him my Service, beeing very sory to heare of his sicknesse, and that I would have come my selfe, but that I knew company was not pleasing to sicke men. He tooke my Present in very good part, and returned me many thanks; wishing me not to let to aske for any thing we had need of, either for the ship, or ashoare, and he would give such order, as we should be furnished.

Unrulinesse of some Mariners.

The foureteenth in the morning betimes, the Master came ashoare, and told me that most part of the ships company had lien ashoare all night without asking him leave, notwithstanding the great wind which had continued all night, and the ship on ground. So he willed me to let Miguell our Jurabasso goe along with him to seeke them out, which I was content he should doe, and would have accompanied him my selfe, but he was unwilling, telling me it was needlesse. But M. Melsham the Purser went along with him, and he found divers drinking and domineering; he bestowed blowes amongst some of them, and notwithstanding the Master had commanded Lambart and Colphax to retire aboord, yet they staid ashoare all

day, notwithstanding the great need was aboord about ships businesse, divers Japans being hired to helpe them: and Lambart and Colphax being drunke, went into the field and fought, Lambart being hurt in the arme, and remained drunken ashoare all night, as Boles did the like, and so had done two or three nights before, and quarrelled with Christopher Evans, about a whoore.

September.17. 1613. Bastian the Bawd angry that his guests were disturbed. The Kings Justice.

The seventeenth of September, I was given to understand the Bastian which keepeth the whoore-house gave it out, that if I came any more into his house to seeke for our people, he would kill me, and such as came with me. Whereupon I went and complained to the young King, because the old was sicke: and at my request, the King made Proclamation, that no Japanese should receive any of our people into their houses after day light was done, upon great paine, and that it should be lawfull for me, or any other that accompanied me to goe into any Japans house to seek for our men, without any molestation; and that they themselves should aide and assist me: and if the doore were not opened at my comming, I might lawfully [I. iv. 398.] breake them downe: and a souldiour was sent to Bastian to signifie unto him, he should take heed he did not molest or disturbe me in my proceedings: for if he did, he should be the first that should pay for it. This angred our people in such sort, that some of them gave it out, they would drinke in the fields, if they might not bee suffered to doe it in the Towne; for drinke they would, although they sought it in the countrey.

The Kings care of good Government.

The sixe and twentieth, Nouasca dona came to visit me at the English house, and brought me two bottles of wine, seven loaves fresh bread, and a dish of flying fish, and as he was with me, the old King came by the doore, and said, he met two men in the street as he came along, which hee thought were strangers, and none of our people, wherefore he willed that Swanton and our Jurebasso might goe along with one of his men, and he would shew them to them, which they did, and found it was John Lambart and Jacob Charke, who were drinking water at a doore in the streete

as he passed by. I was glad the King looked so neare after them; for it caused our men to have a better care of their proceedings.

Death and buriall of W. Pauling.

The seven and twentieth, M. William Pauling Masters mate, having been long sicke of a consumption, died at the English house, whereof I advertised the old King by Miguel our Jurebasso, desiring a buriall place for him among the Christians, which he graunted me. So we put the dead corps into a winding sheete, and coffind it up, others of the ships company, came to the English house, to accompanie the dead corps to the grave, and then were we given to understand, that of force we must transport it by water, as farre as the Dutch house, onely because the Bose (or Priests) would not suffer us to passe through the street (with the dead corps) before their Pagod or Temple: so the Master sent for the Skiffe, and conveied the dead body by water to the place aforesaid, we going all by land, and met it, and so accompanied it to the place of buriall, the Purser going before, and all the rest following after, the coffin being covered with a Holland sheet, and upon that a Silke quilt, we being followed with many of that countrey people, both young and old. And after the corps was enterred, we returned all to the English house, and there made collation, and so our people returned aboord about ships businesse. But I had almost forgot to note downe, that we had much adoe to get any one of these countrey people to make the grave, that a Christian was to be buried in; neither would they suffer the dead corps to be conveied by water in any of their boates.

Bonses superstition, and no lesse in the people.

Good obedience.

The King commaunded that all the streetes in Firando should be made cleane, and channell rowes made on either side, to convey away the water, the streetes being gravelled, and the channels covered over with flat stones; which worke was all done in one day, every one doing it before his owne house. It was admirable to see the diligence every one used therein: our house was not the last a doing, the Captaine Chinesa (our Land-lord) setting men a worke to doe it.

The thirtieth, certaine Merchants of Miaco came and had sight of all our commodities, and laid out the best Stammell cloth we had, and offered twelve Tais a fathome for it, and so departed without doing any thing. We had extream winds both day & night, so that we thought another Tuffon had beene come; for all the fishermen haled their boates on shoare, and every one bound fast the covering of their houses: for a Bose (or Conjurer) had told the King (a weeke since) that this tempest would come. Our Chirurgion being in his pots, came into a house where a Bose was conjuring for a woman to know of her husbands or friends returne from Sea: so when he had done he gave him three pence to conjure againe, and tell him when our General would returne for this place, which in the ende he assured him would be within eighteene dayes; hee said, hee heard a voice answer him from behind a wall, both when he conjured for the woman, as also when hee conjured for himselfe.

Conjuring coosening Knaves.

Octob. 2. 1613. The second of October, the Master sent me word that some of our ships company were runne away with the Skiffe, viz. John Bowles, John Sares, John Tottie, Christopher Evans, Clement Locke, Jasper Malconty, and James the Dutchman. I was in way to goe to the King to get boats to send after them, but our Dutch Jurebasso, (entertained for ships use) came running after mee, and told me our people were on the other side, making merry at a Tap-house: which speeches caused me to returne to the English house, and to get a boat for the Master to goe looke them out: but they prooved to be others; namely, William Marinell, Simon Colphax, and John Dench, who had hired a Boat, and were gone over to an other Iland, because they could not have swinge to walke by night in Firando. So in the meane time, our Run-awayes had the more time to runne away.

Seven English, viz. five English and two Flemmings which were bound for England run away to the Spaniards.

The Kings house burned. This night about eleven a clock, the old Kings house on the other side the water was set on fire, and quite burned downe in the space of an houre. I never saw a more vehement fire for the time, it is thought his losse

is great; and as it is said, he himselfe set it on fire, in going up and downe in the night with lighted canes, the coales whereof fell amongst the mats, and so tooke fire.

The third, I went to visit the old King, giving him to understand by his Governour, that I was very sorry for the mischance happened the night past, and that I pretended to have come my selfe in person to have holpen the best I could, but that I stood in doubt whether my companie would have been acceptable, I being a stranger, yet assuring him that he should find me readie at all times, to doe him the best service I could, although it were with hazard of my life: he returned me many thanks, saying, the losse he had sustained was nothing. And in returning to the English house, I met the young King going to [I. iv. 399.] visit his Grandfather. And before noone wee had word, that our Run-awayes were at a desart Iland, some two leagues from Firando, which I made knowne to both the Kings, desiring their assistance and counsel, how we might fetch them backe againe; they answered, that backe they would fetch them either alive or dead: yet they would be loth to kill them, in respect we might want men to carry our ship backe for England. I gave them thanks for the care they had of us; yet withall gave them to understand, that although these knaves miscarried, yet we had honest men enough to saile the ship for England. In fine, the King made ready two boats full of souldiours to goe after them, with full determination to bring them backe either alive or dead, which I made knowne to the Master, who desired verie much to goe along with them.

§. II.

Lies of or on the Devill, and uproares about fire. Deceit of Nangasack. Suspitions, Feasts, Spanish Occurrents.

THe fourth of October, there was report given out, their Bose or Conjurers, that the Towne of Firando should bee burned to ashes this night, so that cryers went up and downe the streets all night, making such a noyse, that I tooke but little rest; they gave warning that every one should put out their fire, yet God be thanked, the Devill was prooved a lyer therein: for no such matter happened.

Devill a liar, or belied.

The fifth, the old King Foyne Same came to the English house, where I gave him the best entertainement I could: he also told me, that our Fugitives could not escape taking, and that hee had sent out two other men of warre after the two former. And as I was talking with him about these matters, there came a Cavelero, and brought him a Letter from the Emperours Court, and said, that our Generall would be here at Firando within eight or tenne dayes; for that the Emperour had dispatcht him away before his comming from thence.

The King told me, that the Governour (or King) of Langasaque, called Bon Diu, would bee here at Firando to morrow, telling me it were good our ship shot off three or foure Peeces of Ordnance as he passed by. This Governour is the Empresses brother. And there is an other Japan Governour, or King, in Towne, of a place called Seam.

The seventh, our Master, M. James Foster returned from Langasaque, and had brought the Skiffe with him, but all the men were gotten into Sanctuarie in the Towne, so that he could not come to speech of any one of them. I was informed, that Miguell our Jurebasso dealt doubly both with the Master and my selfe: for I sent him along

to be linguist, and assist the Master, and divers Japans came to me, telling me, that he both spake with our people, and gave them counsell to absent themselves. Once I did perceive how the world went, and doubted the privy conveyance of our people, which was like to ensue, if this Bon Diu the Governour were not extraordinarily dealt withall: whereupon a Present was laid out.

Afternoone, the Bon Diu passed along the street before our English house on foot, hee being accompanied with the young King (who gave him the upper hand) with above five hundred followers after them. I went out into the streete, and did my dutie to them, and the Bon Diu stood still when he came to the doore, and gave me thanks for the Ordnance were shot off at his passing by our ship. I desired pardon of his Greatnesse, if I had neglected my dutie hitherto, which was by meanes of the small acquaintance I had in the Countrey, but that I meant to visit him at his lodging, or aboord his Juncke, before he went; he answered me, I should be very welcome. So it was darke night before he came to his lodging. At which time I carried the Present abovesaid, which hee accepted of in very good sort, offering to doe our Nation any good he could at the Court, whither he was now bound, or else where. And so of his owne accord, hee beganne to speake of our Fugitives, asking me if he brought them backe againe, whether they should be pardoned all for his sake for this fault? I answered him, it was not in my power to pardon them, but in our General, which no doubt (except it were one or two, which were the chiefe authors of this and other evils which deserved punishment) that the rest might easily goe free. He said, that his desire was for pardon for all in generall, without exception. I answered, that I knew our Generall would be contented with any thing, his Greatnesse and the two Kings of Firando would desire. To conclude, he told me, that if I would give it under writing of my owne hand, in faith of a Christian, that all in generall should be pardoned for this time, and that I would procure the Generall to confirme the same at

his returne, that then he would send to Langasaque for them, and deliver them into my owne custody: otherwaies he would not meddle in the matter, to be the occasion of the death of any man. I said I was contented with any thing it pleased his Greatnes to command, and so to give the said writing under my hand, provided all our men might be brought backe. And so I returned to the English house, the Dutch comming after with an other Present, but we were before them.

[I. iv. 400.] The eight, Semidone passing by our doore, told mee that Bon Diu had a Brother in companie, which expected a present, although it was not fitting it should be so much, as his Brothers. So upon advice with others I laid by a present for him, as followeth; & going to deliver it, the Flemmings were before me with another, Captaine Brower himselfe being with it. Hee accepted very kindly of the present, offering his assistance to our Nation, either at Court, or in the Countrey. And soone after he came to the English House himselfe, accompanied with many Cavaleeres, where they looked on all our Commodities, yet hee went away and bought nothing, but gave mee a small Cattan, and I gave him two Glasse Bottles, two Gally-pots, and about halfe a Cattee of great Cloves, picked out from the rest of purpose, hee being desirous to have them for Physicall matters, as he told me. I made him and his followers a collation, and so they departed content. And soone after Bon Diu, & the two Kings sent a Cavaleero to me, to have me to give it in writing under my hand, that our Run-awayes should not receive any punishment for this fact, so by counsell of others I condescended thereunto, and made a Writing in promise and faith of a Christian, they procure their pardon for this time of the Generall; if I had not done this, out of doubt, we should never have got them againe, but the Spaniard would have convayed them to the Manillies or Maluccoes, I not doubting but the Generall will allow of what I have done. And presently after this man was gone I had word, that the Bon Diu, and his Brother would goe

aboord to visit our ship, so I sent some banketting stuffe aboord, and went my selfe and met them, where they were entertayned in the best sort we could, and Bon Diu gave mee two Cattans for a present, and so they departed with seven Peeces of Ordnance shot off for a fare-well. But forth-with his Brother returned aboord againe, desiring to have one of the little Monkeyes for his Brothers children: so I bought one of the Master Gunner, cost me five Rials of eight, and sent him to Bon Diu, and being readie to goe ashoare, he was desirous to have me goe along with him in his Boate, which I did, he having three Peeces of Ordnance for a fare-well, which as I understood afterwards, was much esteemed off of both Brothers, and being ashoare hee would needs accompany me home to our English House, which I was unwilling of, yet hee would of force doe it. So I made him collation againe in Captaine Adams chamber: and so hee and the rest departed well contented, (as it seemed) I offering to have accompanyed him backe to his lodging, but he would not suffer mee. And late at night Foyne Same the old King sent a man to me to know the particular of the presents given to both the Brothers, and put it downe in writing, but for what occasion I know not. And I forgot to note downe how Bon Diu went to the Dutch House to wash himselfe in the new Hot-house, and from thence it was that hee came aboord our ship.

The ninth, Bon Diu sent one of his men to me to give mee thankes for his kind entertaynment aboord, and by the same Messenger sent mee two Barrels of Miaco Wine for a Present. And soone after his Brother sent another man with two Barrels of Japan Wine, with the like ceremonie: both of them being very earnest to have a Prospective Glasse, and in the end I found an old one of Master Eatons, but soone after he returned me the said Glasse with thankes, not desiring at all to have it.

The tenth, two of the Governours sonnes of Langasaque (I meane another Governour which dwelleth in the Towne) came to see our English House, they are Christians. I entertayned them in the best sort I could, and shewed them

our commodities, and after made them collation and gave them Musicke, Master Hownsell and the Carpenter by chance being heere: and as wee were at it, old Foyne the King came stealing in upon us, and did as the rest did, and seeing the King and these Langasakians together, I willed our Jurebasso, to put out a word for the speedie sending backe of our Run-awayes: which they all promised, provided, that they should be pardoned for this fault, as I had formerly promised, which now againe I acknowledged. The old King desired to have a piece of English Beefe, and another of Porke, sod with Onions and Turnips, and sent to him to morrow.

The eleventh, I sent Migell our Jurebasso to the old King, with the Beefe and Porke accommodated as aforesaid, with a bottle of Wine, and sixe Loaves of white Bread: he accepted of it in very kind part, having in his company at eating thereof, the young King his Grandchilde, and Nabisone his Brother, with Semidone his Kinsman.

A great Feast among the Pagans began this day, it being told me it was like a Lent, or Pasques of the Papists.

The twelfth, I went to visit both the Kings, and found old Foyne asleepe, but spake with his Governour, and from thence went to the young King, and spake with him himselfe: they gave me thankes for the kind entertaynment I gave unto these strangers; which they tooke as done unto themselves. And towards night the old King sent to visit me, and to tell me he understood these people which are departed, had taken away certaine commodities from me, and payd mee what they themselves thought good, and not that which I required, I returned him answere, that it was true that they had done so, but I know not whether it were the custome of this Countrey or no; for that I was given to understand they used the like course both with Chineses and Portugalls at Langasaque, and that that which they had taken from mee, was not worth the speaking of. I was answered, that although they did so with the Chineses at Langasaque, which were a people defended not to trade into Japan, yet could they not doe so to Strangers that had free priviledge to trade, especially [I. iv. 401.]

heere in this place where these fellowes had no command nor nothing to doe. I replyed, I would come and speake with his Highnesse my selfe, and informe him of the truth: and in the meane-time returned humble thankes, for the care hee had to use Justice to Strangers as well as home-borne. Captaine Brower sent me word that they had taken divers sorts of commodities from him, and paid him what they list for it: he also sent an emptie Bottle, desiring to have it filled with Spanish Wine, for that hee had invited certaine Strangers, and had none.

Bon Dius Brother injurious to the English and Dutch.

The thirteenth, I heard three or foure Gunnes, or Chambers goe off, which I thought had bin done to entertayne the King at the Dutch House: but they were shot out of a China Juncke, which passed by this place, and so went for Langasaque, and presently after the old King sent for me to come to dinner to the Dutch House, and Master Eaton with mee, and to bring a Bottle of Wine. Master Eaton had taken Physicke and could not goe, but I went: wee had a very good Dinner at the Dutch House, the meate being well drest both after the Japan and Dutch fashion, and served upon Tables, but no great drinking. The olde King sate at one Table, accompanied with his eldest Sonne, and both the young Kings Brothers (for the young King himselfe was not there, sending word he was not well) at the other Table. First, sate Nabesone the old Kings Brother, and then my selfe, and next me Semidone, and then the old Kings Governour, and next him Zanzebars Father-in-law, and divers other Cavaleeroes on the other side. Captaine Brower did not sit at all, but carved at Table, all his owne people attending and serving on their knees, and in the end, he gave drinke to every one of his ghests, with his owne hands, and upon his knees, which seemed strange to me, and when they had dined, all the Nobles went away, and Captaine Brower would needs accompany me to the English House. I asked him why he served these people upon his knees, they sitting at Table: he answered me it was the fashion of the Country; and if the King himselfe made a Feast, hee did the

A China Juncke for Langasaque.

Dinner with the Dutch.

like for the more honour of his ghests. And before night the old King Foyne came to the English House, and visited all parts, and made collation, staying an houre talking of one thing and other.

The sixteenth, I was given to understand that two Christians were come from Langasaque, so I went to their lodging to see what they were, as also to understand some newes from our men (or Fugitives) I found the one of them to bee a * Flemming borne in Flushing, (as hee told mee) and the other an Italian borne in the * Duchie of Venice. They told mee that our seven men (or Runawayes) were conveighed away secretly in a small Barke, which is gone for Macoro, and that they were runne to get passage in our ship to returne into their Countries, they told me Master Adams knew them well. And they were very desirous to have gone immediately aboord our ship, there to have remayned, because they were Sea-faring men. The Flemming having served the Spaniard three and twentie or foure and twentie yeares, and came a Masters Mate from Agua pulca for the Manillias or Phillippinas, they had good store of money, and would have sent it aboord our ship, or have brought it to the English House: but I told them that in our Generalls absence I durst not presume to give them entertainment. Yet notwithstanding, I would doe them any favour I could at his returne, and so sent Migell our Jurebasso to the King to let him understand, that two such Strangers were come to Towne to seeke passage in our shippe, they being no Spaniards, nor yet Subjects to the King of Spaine. The King returned mee answere, that if they were such as I said they were, they were welcome: but if they were Castillians, or Portugalls, hee would permit none to stay in this place, his reason is, for that the Spanish Ambassador hath procured order from the Emperour of Japan, that all Spaniards which are to be found in his Empire, shall retyre themselves into the Phillippinas, but these being no Spaniards, are out of that number.

** George Peterson a Flush.*

** Daman Maryn a Venetian.*

The seventeenth betimes, the two strangers came to

mee, desiring me to accompany them to the old King, the better to countenance them; which upon good consideration I did. They told me in the way, that our Fugitives had reported at Langasaque that more would come after them, and not any man of account stay to carry away the ship; the occasion they said was, for that they which had command over them, used them more like dogges then men: adding further, that if but twentie resolute Spaniards would take the matter in hand, with a small Boat or two they might easily take our shippe. The old King gave us all kind entertainment, and asked the strangers many questions about the warres betwixt the Spaniards and Flemmings in the Moluccas; the which they said the Spaniards were determined to pursue very hotly, and to that effect had great forces prepared. They also told the King, they thought verily all our Fugitives were secretly conveyed from Langasaque seven daies past in a Soma, that departed from thence for Macow: but the King would not beleeve them, saying, it was not possible that such a man as Bon Diu, having passed his word to bring them backe, should be found to be false of his promise. In fine, he was very well contented, that these two strangers should stay heere, and goe along in our ship, if it pleased the Generall to carry them. So the poore men returned to their lodgings with much content: and told me in the way, that we might make account we had not lost all our men, but recovered two, that would remaine as faithfull to the death, as the others had proved false. Adding further, that we needed not to wish any worse revenge to our Fugitives, then the bad entertainment they were sure to have of the Spaniards, comming bare and beggerly as they did, in such base sort.

Macow a Town of Portugalls neere the Continent of China.

Miguell the Jurebasso, Capt. Adams his man was suspected of double dealing in this case of the Fugitives: the circumstances I omit.

The eighteenth, there was a great Eclips of the Moone this night, it began about eleven of the clocke, and endured from the beginning to the end houres, it was quite darkned. [I. iv. 402.]

An Eclips of the Moone.

The nineteenth, at night, about eleven of the clocke, a fire began in Firando, neare unto the yong Kings house,

Fire in Firando.

the wind being at North-east, which if it had so continued, most part of the Towne had beene burned: but the wind fell variable South-easterly, and in the end calme: yet notwithstanding forty houses were burned to the ground; and had not our English men bestirred themselves lustily, many more houses had gone to wrack, for the fire tooke hold three or foure times on the other side the street, where our English house was, but they still put it out, and were very much commended of the Kings, and all other in generall. The old King Foyne came on horse-backe to our doore, and wished us to put all things into the Gadonge, and daube up the doores, and then it was out of danger. Captaine Brower, and some of his people, came very kindly to the English house, to have assisted us by land or water, if need had bin: it cannot certainly be known how this fire began, but there is speeches amongst the Japans, that there will be a greater fire then any of these, it being told them by the Divell and their Conjurers: God grant it bee not done by some villanous ill minded people, thinking to rob and steale what they can lay hold on, in time of such trouble and confusion.

The twentieth in the morning, I went to the Dutch house to visite Captaine Brower, and to give him thankes for his friendly visitation and assistance the last night. And towards night Harnando the Spaniard, and Edward Markes, returned from Langasaque, but could not come to sight of any of our Runawayes, yet it is certaine that they are in Langasaque. And a Portugall or Spaniard, a great man in Langasaque about Sea-matters, told Edward Markes that wee should have none of these men backe; but to the contrary, if all the rest would come, and leave the shippe emptie, they would give them entertainment: yea, and that which was more, if they would bring away the shippe and all, they should be the more welcome. The Japan, which the King sent to accompany Edward Markes and Harnando, and to looke out our people, would not let Edward Markes budge out a doores in the

space of one night and halfe a day after they were arrived there at Langasaque, He going abroad himselfe, and the Spaniard Harnando lying at another place. So I doubt some legerdy-maine betwixt them two, and am now out of all hope to have any of our people come backe. I blamed the Jesuits, and the old King liked well of my speeches: and told me he would take such order hereafter, that none of our people should be carried to Langasaque, except they stole away our ship-boats, as the others did: of which I advised the Master, Master James Foster: and so an Edict was set out, that no man should carry or convey away any of our people, without making it knowne unto me, and telling the King thereof.

Solemne Feast, the manner thereof.

The three and twentieth, I was given to understand of a great Pagan Feast that was to be performed this day, and that both the Kings, with all the rest of the Nobilitie, accompanyed with divers strangers, met together at a Summer-house, set up before the great Pagod, to see a Horse-race: I thinke there was not so few as three thousand persons assembled together, as I esteemed in viewing of them. Every Nobleman went on horse-backe to the place, accompanied with a rout of Slaves, some with Pikes, some with Small-shot, and others with Bowes and Arrowes: the Pike-men were placed on the one side of the streete, and the Shot and Archers on the other; the middest of the streete being left void to runne the race: and right before the Summer-house (where the King and Nobles sate) was a round Buckler of straw hanged against the wall, at which the Archers on horse-backe running a full Careere, discharged their arrowes, both in the streete and Summer-house, where the Nobles sate; that neither the Present which we sent, nor we could have entrance: And so we passed along the streete, beholding all, and returned another way to the English house. And late at night Zanzebars wives brother came to the English house, and brought me a Present of a hanch of Venison, and a basket of Orenges: Zanzebar himselfe did accompany him. And about ten of the clocke in the night, the Cap-

taine Chinesa (our Landlord) came and knocked at the doore, telling me that the King had given expresse command, that every house should have a Tubbe of water ready on the toppe of their houses, for that the Divell had said the Towne should be burned this night: yet he proved a lyer. But for all that, we got a great Tubbe of water on the top of our house, which held twentie buckets of water: and men did runne up and downe the streetes all night, bidding every one looke to their fire, that it was strange and fearefull to heare them.

The Divell againe a lyer, if the Knaves belyed not their Master.

The foure and twentieth, this report of burning the Towne being still current, and every one making provision to prevent it, I made readie fifteene buckets, which cost sixe Condrins a peece, and filled them full of water, and hanged them up in the yard, and set another great Tubbe by them full of water, besides that which stood on the toppe of the house; and gave order to make a couple of ladders, to carry water to the top of the house, and had formerly provided nine emptie wine-barrels full of tempered clay, to daube up our Gadonge doores, if need should require, God defend us from any such necessitie. Three or foure men did runne up and downe the streetes all night, making a horrible noyse, that every one should have a care thereof; that it was both strange and fearefull to heare them.

The five and twentieth, the Captaine Chinesa our Land-
[I. iv. 403.] lord, being sicke, sent for a piece of Porke, which I sent him, and presently followed after my selfe to visite him, and carried him a small bottle of Spanish wine, and while I was there, Semedone and our Guardians father in law came likewise to visite him.

The King sent me word by Miguell our Jurebasso, that he had a bad opinion of Harnando Ximenes our Spaniard, and that he went about to have runne away when he was last at Langasaque: but that I know is not so, for he had free libertie to goe when he would, without running away. Another complaint was also made of him, that he was a common Gamster, and had brought on divers to play, and

got their money: which report I doe rather beleeve then the other; and I find by experience, these people are no friend, neither of Spaniard nor Portugall, and love them of Langasaque the worse, because they love them so wel. And I had almost forgotten to note downe, that the night past ill disposed people had thought to have fired the Towne in three places, and in one place set a house on fire, but it was soone put out, and no hurt done; but the partie that did it was not found: out of doubt it is nothing but a villanie of these Conjurers, and other base people, which are given to the spoile, hoping to get or steale away something when the Towne is on fire.

A shame to belye the Divell so often.

The sixe and twentieth, Master Melsham being very sicke, Zanzebar came to visite him, and put him in mind to take the Physicke of this Countrey, and that it would presently stop his Flux; and brought a Bonze or Doctor with him, to administer it: Master Melsham was very desirous to take it, but that first our Chirurgion should see it: and so he gave him two pils yesterday, two in the night, and two in the morning, with certaine other seeds; but for ought I could see, it did him no good at all: God send him his health. All our waste-clothes, pendants, Brasse shivers, and other matters were sent aboord, and the ship put in order to receive the Generall. Another house was set on fire the night past by villaines, but soone put out, and no hurt done. Our night-criers of fire doe keepe such a horrible noise (without forme or fashion) that it is impossible for any man to take rest.

Bonze Physitian.

The Captaine Chinesa being sicke, sent for some spiced Cakes, and a couple of waxe candles which I sent him, as I had done the like heretofore. Master Melsham now being weary of his Japan Physicke, returned to our Chirurgion, Master Warner. Whereat Zanzebar and his Doctor tooke pepper in the nose.

[§. III.

§. III.

A srtange Comœdie acted by Kings and Nobles: Preventions for Night-cries and fires: Returne of the Generall from Court.

THe thirtieth day, the Captaine Chinesa (our Land-Collection which was made throughout every lord) came unto me, and told mee of a generall house in the Towne, to send presents of eatable commodities to the Kings, for the more honor of a great Feast they have to morrow, with a Comœdie or Play: and so by his counsell (with advice of others) I ordained two bottles of Spanish wine, two roasted Hennes, a roasted Pigge, a small quantitie Ruske, and three boxes banquetting stuffe, to send to their Feast to morrow. And before night the yong King sent one of his men unto me, to furnish them with some English apparell, for the better setting out their Comœdie, namely, a paire of Stamel-cloath breeches. I returned answere, I had none such, neither did know any other which had: notwithstanding, if any apparell I had would pleasure his Highnesse, I would willingly give it him. And within night both the Kings sent to me, to bring Master Foster, the Master, and be a spectator of their Comœdie to morrow.

Another Feast with a Comœdie.

The one and thirtieth, before dinner, I sent our Present aforesaid to the Kings by our Jurebasso, desiring their Highnesses to pardon the Master and my selfe, and that we would come to them some other time, when there were lesse people: but that would not serve the turne, for they would needs have our company, and to bring Master Eaton along with us; which wee did, and had a place appointed for us, where we sate and saw all at our pleasures: and the old King himselfe came and brought us Collation in sight of all the people: and after Semidone did the like in the name of both the Kings; and after divers Noblemen of the Kings followers, made us a third Collation. But the matter I noted most of all, was their

Junketting.

Comœdie (or Play) the Actors being the Kings themselves, with the greatest Noblemen and Princes. The matter was of the valiant deeds of their Ancestors, from the beginning of their Kingdome or Common-wealth, untill this present, with much mirth mixed among, to give the common people content. The Audience was great, for no house in Towne but brought a Present, nor no Village nor place under their Dominions, but did the like, and were spectators. And the Kings themselves did see, that every one, both great and small, did eate and drinke before they departed. Their acting Musique and singing (as also their Poetry) is very harsh to us, yet they keepe due time both with hands and feet. Their Musique is little Tabers, made great at both ends, and smal in the middest, like to an Houre-glasse, they beating on the end with one hand, and straine the cords which goe about it, with the other, which maketh it to sound great or small as they list, according their voices with it, one playing on a Phife or Flute; but all harsh, and not pleasant to our hearing. Yet I never saw Play wherein I noted so much, for I see their policie is great in doing thereof, and quite contrary to our Comœdies in Christendome, ours being but dumbe shewes, and this the truth it selfe, acted by the Kings themselves, to keepe in perpetuall remembrance their affaires. The King did not send for the Flemmings, and therefore I accounted it a greater grace for us. At our returne to the English house, I found three or foure Flemmings there, one of them was in a Japan habit, and came from a place called Cushma, within sight of Corea. I understand, they sold Pepper, and other Commodities there, and I thinke have some secret trade into Corea, or else are very likely to have. I hope, if they doe well, we cannot doe amisse, M. Adams being the man that put them forward unto it, and no doubt will bee as forward for the good of his owne Countrey, as for Strangers. Hernando Ximenes was with Captaine Brower, and saw the two men which came from Cushma, and did but aske him from whence they came; whereat Captaine Brower was

Their Play, in which the Kings themselves were Authors, with their greatest Nobles.

Their acting, song and musicke.

[I. iv. 404.]

Cushma.
Corea.

Dutch jealousie.

angry, telling him he would give him no account thereof. And towards night, I understood that two Spaniards were come from Langasaque, and lodged at Zanzibars, and sent for our Jurebassa to come to them; but I would not let him go so soone. After, Zanzibar and they came to the English house, the one of them beeing, Andres Bulgaryn, the Genowes, which passed by this place the other day; and the other is called Benito de Palais, and is Pilot Major of the Spanish ship, which was cast away on the Coast of Japan, and is the same man which came from Langasaque, to visit M. Adams at his being here. They told me they were come of purpose to visit their friends; namely, my selfe first of all, with many other words of complement, and then entred into speeches of our Fugitives; saying, it was not the Fathers (as they call them) which kept our people secret, or went about to convey them away; but rather they of Langasaque themselves, who they reported to be very bad people. In fine, I stood in doubt that these fellowes are come of purpose, to inveigle more of our people to doe as the others have done, and thereof advised the Master, to have a care both to ship and boats, as also to take notice of any such as went about to keepe them company: for that it is good to doubt the worst, for the best will save it selfe.

Langasaque bad people.

November. 1. 1613. The first of November at night, two houses were set on fire on the other side the water, but fire was soone put out, but the villaines that did it could not be found. I sent M. Foster the Master a letter, advising him to take care of ship and boats, as also to looke unto the behaviour of our people, for that I doubted these two Spaniards were but come as Spies to see what we did, and to intice some other of our people to do as the former did. Also, I advised him how I understood the said Spaniards did pretend to invite him to dinner this day; but I wished him to take heed they gave him not a Higo: he returned me answer, that he esteemed them such as I tooke them for, and therefore would have a care to the maine chance. But soone after he came ashoare, and the Spaniards came to

the English house, and with much intreaty, got M. Foster, and M. William Eaton to goe along to dinner with them to Zanzebars, and the other two Spaniards and Harnando did the like. But these two Spaniards came unto me, and bade mee tell the Master or any other that went with them, to take heed they did not eate nor drinke any thing, but such as they did see the others taste before them; for that it was no trusting of them, of which I advised both the Master, and M. Eaton. Also I sent Miguell our Jurebassa, to both the Kings (and other Nobles) to give them thanks for our kind entertainment yesterday, Harnando Ximenes told me that M. Adams had goods in his hands, belonging to this Pilot Major the Spaniard, and that his chiefe comming was, thinking to have met M. Adams here, and doth meane to attend his comming to have an accompt of those matters. As also they brought Letters of recommendation from the Bishop, and other Fathers to the other two Spaniards (or strangers) to perswade them to returne backe to Langasaque: but I thinke it is not their determination so to doe.

Forewarned forearmed.

Bishop in Japan.

The second, some villaines set an house on fire in the Fish streete; and it was soone put out, and the partie escaped: and it is generally thought to be some base people or Renegados, which lie loytering up and downe the Towne, and came from Miaco, and three are much suspected, but no proofe as yet found against them. But there is order given, to make Gates and Partitions over every streete in divers places, and watch to be kept at each place, and no man be suffered to walke in the night, except he be found to have earnest businesse. Another villaine got into a poore widowes house, thinking to have robbed her, but she making an out-cry, hee fled up into the wood, over against the English house, where the Pagod is; and soone after, the wood was beset round about, with above five hundred men, but the theefe could not be found. At night, as we were going to bed, there was an out-cry on a sudden, that theeves were on the top of our house, setting it on fire; but our ladders being

The Pagod is the Idol, or Idol-Temple, or both.

ready reared, both my selfe and others were not long a going up, but found nothing, but that all our neighbours houses were peopled on the tops on a sudden, as well as ours. And it is to be thought it was nothing but a false larum, given of purpose to see how every one would be found in a readinesse. Yet at that very instant there was a house set on fire, but soone quenched, it being a good way from our English house.

[I. iv. 405.] *Order to prevent Fire-knaves, and Night-cryes.*

The night past, three houses were set on fire in divers parts of the Towne, but all put out at beginning, so that no hurt was done. So now order is given, to take notice in every house what people are in them, whether strangers or others; and such as are found to be suspected are to bee banished out of the Countrey; and gates or bars made to shut up the passages or ends of streets, and watch set in divers places, without crying and making a noyse up and downe streets in the night, as hath been for a time heretofore without either forme or fashion: yet notwithstanding all this, a villaine about tenne a clocke in the night, set a house on fire neare unto the Pagod, over against our English house: but he was espied by the watch, who pursued him with all speed, but he got into the wood above the Pagod, which forthwith was beset round about, with above five hundred armed men, and the old King Foyne came in person with many other Noble men, assisted in the pursuit; yet I verily thinke, the villaine did runne up and downe amongst the rest, crying, Keepe theefe, as well as the best.

The fourth, the night past there was fire put in divers places more, one in the Towne and an other in the Countrey, besides the House neere ours, as I said before. Order is now given, to have secret watch in divers parts of the Towne every night, and no man to goe out in the night except upon urgent occasion, and then to have a light before them, to the end they may bee seene. If this decorum be duly kept, our House burners will play least in sight. I told the Kings, and others hereof above a weeke past, and now it is put in execution.

The fifth, this morning I received two Letters, the one from Domingo Francisco the Spanish Ambassadour dated in Ximonaseque five dayes past, and the other from George the Portugall: the Ambassadour went over Land from thence for Langasaque, and sent his Servant with the Letters, unto whom I shewed such Commodities as he enquired for, and referred him off for others till our Generals returne writing him a Letter in answere of his, the Copie whereof I kept: his man tooke liking of two peeces of fine Semian Chowters, and eight pieces of white Bastas, and paid seven Tais the piece for Chowters, and two Tais the piece for Bastas. There came a Spanish Frier or Jesuite, in the Boat with the Ambassadours man, & desired to see our ship, which I willed our Master to let him, and to use him kindly, which he did. For as the olde saying is, It is good sometimes to hold a Candle to the Devill, &c. Master Eaton, Harnando and my selfe dined with Unagense, and were kindly entertayned.

A Jesuite.

Capt. Saris his returne from the Emperours Court.

The sixth, this day about ten a clocke, our Generall and all his company arrived heere from the Japan Court, Master Adams being in company with him. And presently the Generall sent me with John Japan our Jurebasso, to visit both the Kings, and thanke them for their kindnesse in so well accommodating him with a Boate, as also for the care they had of the ship, and the rest in his absence, and that he would come on the morrow to visit them, beeing now weary of his long Voyage. They tooke this visitation kindly, saying, they would be glad to see him at their Houses. Also certaine Merchants of Miaco which came from Langasaque, came to our English House, and had sight of all our commodities, and amongst the rest, took liking of ten pieces of Cassedy nill, and made price for them at three Tais the piece, which is in all thirtie Tais, and so sent them to their lodging, as other Merchants before had done the like, and so returned mee money to my content, but these sent mee nothing but a Paper, and consigned mee to receive my money of Semidone, who was newly gone out of Towne on a Voyage,

our Generall meeting him on the way: but I returned these Merchants word, that I would have my payment of them, or else my Merchandize backe againe, but they made answere, I should have neither the one nor other; neither would the Host of the House where they lodged passe his word for payment, so I was forced to goe to both the Kings to seeke for Justice, but first sent word aboord, that if the Boate of Miaco weighed anchor to goe away, that they should man out the Skiffe, and stay her, which they did, and made her to come to an anchor againe, and in the meane-time I spake to the Kings, but the younger said that Semidone was a man able enough to pay me. And then I answered and asked him, that if Semidone did not, whether he would, and he told me no, and while we were talking of it, old Foyne Same came in and told me he would take order that I should have content: yet his order had come too late, if our Pinnasse had not stayd them. So in the end the Host where they did lodge, passed his word for payment.

Merchants of Miaco play the Merchants.

George the Portugall sent the General a Present of Japan Figs and Chesnuts.

Captaine Brower and all his Merchants came to the English House to visit our Generall, and Nobisana sent him a young Porke for a Present, saying, hee would come himselfe and visit him within a day or two.

Here follow certaine Letters, the first sent from the Emperour to the Prince of Orange, the rest from the English in Japan, and principally from Master Cocke, wherein the Japonian Affaires and various Occurrents for divers yeares are expressed.

[I. iv. 406.] ## The Copie of a Letter sent by the Emperour of Japan, unto the King of Holland, by the Ship called the Red Lyon, with Arrowes, which arrived in the Texel, the two and twentieth of July, 1610.

I Emperour and King of Japan, wish to the King of Holland, who hath sent from so farre Countries to visit me, greeting.

I rejoyce greatly in your writing and sending unto me, and wish that our Countries were neerer the one to the other, whereby wee might continue and increase the friendship begunne betwixt us through your Majesties presence, whom I imagine in conceit to see, in respect I am unknowne unto your Majestie, and that your love toward me is manifested through your liberalitie in honouring mee with foure Presents, whereof though I had no need, yet comming in your name I received them in great worth, and hold them in good esteeme.

And further, whereas the Hollanders your Majesties Subjects desire to trade with their shipping in my Countrey, which is of little value and small, and to traffique with my Subjects, and desire to have their abiding neere unto my Court, whereby in person I might helpe and assist them; which cannot bee as now through the inconveniencie of the Countrey: yet notwithstanding I will not neglect, as alreadie I have beene, to be carefull of them, and to give in charge to all my Governours and Subjects, that in what places and Havens in what part soever they shall arrive, they shall shew them all favour and friendship to their Persons, Ships and Merchandize: wherein your Majestie or your Subjects need not to doubt or feare ought to the contrarie. For they may come as freely as if they came into your Majesties owne Havens and Countries; and so may remayne in my Countrey to trade. And the friendship begunne betwixt mee and my Subjects with you shall never bee impayred on my behalfe, but augmented and increased.

I am partly ashamed that your Majestie (whose Name and Renowme through your valorous Deeds is spred throughout the whole World) should cause your Subjects to come from so farre Countries into a Countrey so unfitting as this is, to visit me, and to offer unto me such friendships as I have not deserved. But considering that your affection hath beene the cause thereof, I could not but friendly entertayne your Subjects, and yeeld to their requests: whereof this shall serve for a testimonie, That

they in all places, Countries, and Ilands under mine obedience may trade and traffique, and build Houses serviceable and needfull for their Trade and Merchandizes, where they may trade without any hinderance, at their pleasure aswell in time to come as for the present, so that no man shall doe them any wrong: And I will mayntayne and defend them, as mine owne Subjects.

I promise likewise, that the persons which I understand shall bee left heere, shall now and at all times be held as recommended unto me, and in all things to favour them, whereby your Majestie shall find us as your Friends and Neighbours.

For other matters passed betwixt me and your Majesties Servants, which would bee too long heere to repeate, I referre my selfe unto them.

Firando in Japan, the tenth of December 1614.

TO this day I have not had time to perfest up my old bookes of Accounts, by meanes of the dispatching away our people, some to one place, some to another, and then the new building of our house, and after that the buying of a Juncke, and repairing of her, which is now ready to depart for Syam, and hath been any time this ten dayes riding at an anchor at Cochi, a league from Firando, where your ship rode at your departure from hence, expecting but a faire wind to set forward on her voyage: shee is called the Sea Adventure, being about some two hundred Tunnes, in whom Master Adams goeth for Master, and Master Wickham and Edward Sayer for Merchants, by meanes of the death of Master Peacock slaine in Cochinchina, and likelihood of casting away Walter Carwarden, returning backe from thence, for to this houre we have no newes of him, nor the Juncke they went in, as I have at large advised the Worshipfull Company, &c. Since your departure from hence, the Emperour hath banished all Jesuits, Priests, Friers and Nunnes out of Japan, and pulled downe, and burned all their Churches and Monasteries, shipping them away, some for

Trade at Syam.

M. Peacocke slaine in Cochinchina.

Jesuites banished.

Amacau in China, and the rest for Manillias. Foyne Same the old King of Firando is dead, and Ushiandono his Governour, and two other Servants cut their bellyes to beare him company; their bodies being burned, and ashes entombed by his. Heere are warres like to ensue betwixt Ogusho-same the old Emperour, and Fidaja-same the yong Prince, sonne to Tico-same, who hath fortified himselfe strongly in his Castle or Fortresse of Osakey, having eightie thousand or an hundred thousand men, run awayes and banished men, mall-contents, which are retyred out of all parts unto him, & victualled themselves for three yeares. The old Emperor himselfe is come downe against him in person with an armie of three hundred thousand souldiers, and is at the Castle of Fushma: their fore-runners have had two or three bickerings already, and many slaine on each part. All Osakey is burned to the ground, but only the Castle. So Master Eaton is gone to Sackey with his goods; yet not without danger, for part of that Towne is burned too.

Foyne Same dead.

Civill Warres in Japan.

Osakay.

Fushma.

Ozacay burnt.

Sacay.

Such a Tempest or Tuffon hath lately happened at Edoo, that the like was never seene in that place, the sea overflowing all the City, driving the people up into the mountains, defacing and breaking downe all the Noblemens houses, which you know were beautifull and faire. So let thus much suffice for newes in Japan.

[I. iv. 407.]

Most terrible Tuffon.

And now for Sales of our goods: the Emperour tooke our Ordnance, with a good part of our Lead, and ten barrels of powder, and two or three Broad-cloathes, and a good part of our other Broad-cloathes are sold, namely, Blacke, Haire-colour, Synanon-colour, at fifteene, fourteene, thirteene, and twelve Taies the Tattamy: but they will not looke on a Venice-red, nor a Flame-colour, neither are Stamels in such request as heretofore: they enquire much after white and yellow Broad-cloath. The Hollanders have sold most of their Broad-cloath at base rates, which maketh us to doe the like. And for our Cloath of Cambaya, they will not looke on our red Zelas, blew Byrams, nor Duttis, which are the greatest part of that

you left with us, only some white Bastas are sold at fourteene and fifteene Masse a peece: And Cassedys nill, Allejas, broad Pintados, Chader Pintados, with such spotted, striped and chequered Stuffes, most looked after, and sold at profit. We have also sold neare halfe our Bantam Pepper for sixtie five Masse the Peecull, and all the rest had been gone before now, had it not been for this rumour of warres. I stand in great hope we shall procure Trade into China, by meanes of Andrea, the Captaine China, and two other of his brothers, which labour in the matter, and make no doubt but to bring it to effect, for three ships a yeere to come and goe to a place neare Lanquin, to which place we may goe from hence in three or foure dayes, if the wind be good. I have written hereof at large to the Worshipfull Company, as the like to my Lord Treasurer.

Hope of Trade in China.

Some little sicknesse I have had, but now I praise God it is past. Master Wickham, Master Eaton, Master Nealson, and Master Edward Sayer, have all foure been very sicke, but now well recovered all, except Master Eaton, who is troubled with the Fluxe and a tertian Ague, God send him his health, for I cannot too much praise that man, for his diligence and paines taken in the Worshipfull Companies affaires. Jacob Speck, who was thought to be cast away in going from hence to the Moluccas, is now returned to Firando, Captaine of a great ship called the Zelandia, with a little Pinnasse, called the Jaccatra: the cause of his so long missing was, for that the ship wherein he went from hence, passed to the Eastward of the Philippinas, the same way we came, yet by currents and contrary winds (as they say) they could not fetch the Moluccas, but were driven to the Westward of the Iland Celebes, and so passed round about it through the Straights of Desalon, and so backe to the Moluccas, &c. The Chinaes doe much complaine of the Hollanders robbing and pilfering their Juncks, for (as they say) they have rifled and taken seven. The Emperour of Japan hath taken some distaste against the Hollanders, for he refused a Present they lately sent

Hollanders distasted by Chinois and Japan: Portugalls not accepted.

up to him, and would not speake to them which brought it: as he did the like by another Present the Portugalls sent him, who came in the great ship from Amacau, this yeare, to Langasaque; he refusing both the Present, as also to speake to them which brought it. You thought at your being heere, that if any other ship came out of England, we might sell our Goods without carrying up any Present to the Emperour: but now I find it to be otherwise, for every ship which commeth in must carry a Present to the Emperour, as a custome: neither can we set out any Juncke, without procuring the yearely License of the Emperour, otherwise no Japan Mariner dare goe out of Japan upon paine of death, only our owne shippes from England may come in, and goe out againe when they will, and no man gain-say it.

Presents a custome for every ship.

Wee cannot yet by any meanes get Trade from Tushma into Corea, neither have they of Tushma any other priviledge, but to enter into one little Towne (or Fortresse) and in paine of death not to go without the walles thereof, to the Landward, and yet the King of Tushma is no Subject to the Emperour of Japan. We could vent nothing but Pepper at Tushma, and yet no great quantitie of that, and the weight is much bigger then that of Japan, but sold at a better rate. I am given to understand, that up in the Countrey of Corea, they have great Cities, and betwixt that and the Sea mightie Bogs, so that no man can travell on Horse-backe, nor very hardly on foote; but for remedie against that, they have great Waggons or Carts, which goe upon broad or flat wheeles under saile, as ships doe. So that observing Monsons, they transport their goods to and fro in these sayling Waggons. They have Damaskes, Sattins, Taffeties, and other Silke stuffes made there, as well as in China: it is said that Ticussame (otherwise called Quabicondono) the deceased Emperour, did pretend to have conveyed a great armie of Souldiers in these sailing waggons, to have assaulted the Emperour of China on a sudden in his great Citie of Paquin, where hee is ordinarily resident, but he was pre-

Corea Bogges and sailing waggons.

Paquin.

vented by a Corean Noble-man, who poysoned himselfe, to poyson the Emperour, and other great men of Japan, which is the occasion the Japans have lost that, which some two and twenty yeares past they had gotten possession of in Corea. James Turner the fidling youth, left a wench with child heere, but the whore, the mother, killed it so soone as it was borne, although I gave her two Taies in plate before to nourish it, because shee should not kill it, it being an ordinary thing here. Master Foster, the Masters whistle and chaine is found, and Master Adams hath it, and will be answerable unto him for it. I did thinke to have sent you a Japan Almanacke in another Letter to the same effect as this, dated the five and twentieth Ultimo, and sent by Sea-adventure, by way of Syam, but forgot to put it in, yet now commeth here inclosed. I pray you let this Letter suffice to Master George Saris your brother, and the rest of my loving friends; and with heartie Commendations in generall, I leave you all to the holy protection of the Almightie, resting alwayes

Your ever loving friend at command,

RICHARD COCKS.

[I. iv. 408.] To the Worshipfull Thomas Wilson Esquire, at his House at the Britaine-Burse, at the Strand, give these.

SIr, my last unto you was of the first of December 1613. dated in the Isle of Firando in Japan; and sent by Captaine John Saris, in the ship called the Cloave: wherein I advertised you, how unkindly the Hollanders dealt with us in the Maluccas. Since which time, there is not any matter of moment to advise you of, more then I have touched in another Letter to my good Lord Treasurer. The Hollanders give it out heere, That it is very likely our East-India Company of England, and that of Holland shall be joyned all in one: which if it prove true, it is thought an easie matter to drive both Spaniards and Portugals out of these Easterne parts of the world; or

else utterly to cut them off, or debarre them from all Trade. For you will hardly beleeve how the Hollanders alreadie have daunted the Spaniards and Portugals in these parts, especially in the Maluccas, where they daily encroach upon the Spaniards, which are not able to withstand their proceedings: but now stand in much feare, that in short time they will also take the Philippinas from them. Also the Portugals, which trade from Ormus to Goa, and so for Malacca and Macao in China, stand daily in feare to be surprised by them.

Hollanders acts in Moluccas.

Spaniards and Portugals feare.

One thing there is, the issue whereof I cannot well conceive: and that is the robbing of the Junckes of China, daily practised by the Hollanders in these parts: the goods whereof cannot choose but amount to great matters, and suffice to set out and maintaine a great Fleete, which is worthy of consideration. And if it should happen, that the King of Japan should fall out with the Hollanders, and debarre them from Trade into his Dominions, (as it may fall out that he will:) then is it likely the Hollanders will make prize as well of Japans as Chinaes. For out of doubt, their Forces at sea in these parts are sufficient to doe what they lust, if they have but a victualing place to retire unto. And they are of late growne very stout, and mocke at them, which, all the world knoweth, were their masters and teachers. And it is very certaine that they have gotten possession of divers Fortresses in the Maluccas, and those parts: yet on my knowledge the people of those parts doe rather encline to the Spaniards, then to them: although at the first, they were glad of their arrivall, by meanes of the intollerable pride of the Spaniards. But now time telleth them, that the Spaniard brought them store of Rialls of plate; and in their proud humors were liberall, which was easie for them to doe, in respect they had wherewithall to doe it. But the poore Hollanders, which serve in these parts for souldiers, both by sea and land, have such bare pay, that it will hardly find them clothing to their backes, and meate for their bellies: Their Commanders alledge, that all the benefite which hapneth,

Hollanders rob the Junckes of China.

Hollanders sea force.

either by reprisall or conquest, is for the States, and Winthebbers, as they call them. So that what will come of this in the end, is hard to judge.

But letting these matters passe, I am verily of opinion, that, if it be not for the misdemeanour of the Hollanders, we shall obtaine a Trade in China: for our demand is but for three ships a yeare to come and goe; and only to leave Factors sufficient to doe the businesse, without bringing in any Jesuits or Padres, as they tearme them, which the Chinaes cannot abide to heare of, because heretofore they came into these parts in such numbers to inhabite, that now they will not endure it, and were alwayes craving and begging without shame, which is a common saying among the Pagans.

Jesuits play the Factors, Agents, and Beggers in these parts, as by all Indian relations may appeare.

One thing there is, which putteth me in good hope, and that is the good report and fame, which our English Nation hath gotten in these parts, since our Arrivall: which, as I am given to understand, is come to the knowledge of the Emperour of China: and how the chiefe King of Japan hath received us, and granted unto us very large priviledges. As also, how that the English at all times, have held the Castilians, as they call them, to hard meate, both by sea and land. These things the Chinaes themselves tell me: and that the Emperour and other great men in China, delight to heare reports of our Nation. But I had almost forgotten to note downe, how some China Merchants put out a question to me, to know, if we had a trade in China, whether the King of England would debarre the Hollanders from robbing and spoiling of their Junckes? Which question was doutfull unto me: yet I answered them, that his Majestie would take such order, that the Hollander should not misuse them.

Fame of the English in the remote East.

Of late heere is come newes from Edoo, a Citie of Japan as bigge as London, wherein the chiefe of the Nobilitie of Japan have beautifull houses, that by meanes of an exceeding Tuffon or tempest, all or the most part of them are defaced; the whole Citie being over-flowen with water, and the people forced to flye up into the mountaines, a

Force of Tempests in Japan.

thing never heard of before: and the Kings Palace being stately builded in a new Fortresse, the tyles being all gilded on the out-side, were all carryed away with a whirlewind, so that none of them are to be found. The Pagans attribute it to some Charmes, or by Conjurations of the Jesuits lately banished: but the Papist Japonians doe rather ascribe it to the punishment of God, for the banishing of such holy men.

Ill successe of some English in Cauchin-China.

Another matter there is, which I thought good to advertise you of, and that is of a disaster lately happened to us in Cauchin-China: To which place we sent a quantitie of goods and money, to the value of seven hundred and thirtie pound sterling, as it cost in England. Master Tempest Peacock, and Master Walter Caerwarden, going for Merchants in a Japan Juncke, carryed the Kings Majesties Letters of England, with a Present of worth for the King of Cauchin-China, and arrived at their Port of Discharge, called Quinham: delivered his Majesties Letters, and the Present, which were taken in good part, and they entertained with kind speeches, and large promises. The Hollanders seeing we adventured to that [I. iv. 409.] place, would needs doe the like, and tooke fraught in other Junkes, and were likewise well entertained at first. But in the ende, Master Peacock and the Chiefe Merchant of the Hollanders, going on shoare, both in one boat, to receive certaine summes of money of the King for broad-Cloath, and other Commodities sold him, were treacherously set upon in the water, and their boat overturned, they beeing killed in the water with harping yrons like fishes, with their Interpreters and other followers which were Japonians: Walter Caerwarden beeing aboord the Juncke, escaped and came away. But from that day to this, wee can heare no newes neither of him, nor of the Junke, wherefore we feare hee is cast away.

Perfidy revenged.

The common report both of the Chinas and Japans is, that the King of Cauchin-China did this, to be revenged on the Hollanders, for burning a Towne of his, and putting his people to death without mercie. The originall

grew, from a great quantitie of false Dollers or Rials of eight, sent to Quinham by the Hollanders, certaine yeeres past; and there put away for Silkes, and other China stuffes, with the Merchants of that place. But the falshood of the money beeing espied, they laid hands on the Holland Factors, and I thinke, some one was put to death in revenge: whereupon the Holland ships comming on that Coast, landed their men, and burned a Towne, putting Man, Woman, and Child to the sword. This was the chiefe occasion (as report goeth) that this mischance is happened now; M. Peacocke being slaine, because he was in company with the Hollanders. Here inclosed, I send you a Japan Almanacke, whereby you may see their order of Printing, Figures, and Characters. And so I leave you to the holy protection of the Almighty. Resting alwaies

Your Worships to command,

RICHARD COCK.

From Firando in Japan. December 10. 1614.

December 5. 1615.

SIr, I received a Letter from you by the hands of Captaine Copendall, Captaine of the Hosiander, which arrived here in Japan the twentie ninth of August, 1615. wherein I understood of your safe arrivall at the Cape Bona Esperanza homeward bound: wherein your Worship gave mee to understand, of the losse of some of your Company, yet I make no doubt, but by the grace of God, you are safely arrived in England long before this time. I sent you a Letter, dated the last of November, 1614. by the Hollanders ship called the old Zealand, wherein I gave you to understand of the death of M. Peacocke, and Walter Carwarden betrayed in Cauchinchina, which was not a little griefe to us all, besides the losse of the Companies goods. This last yeere past, M. Wickham, M. Adams, and my Selfe, beeing bound in a Juncke which we

bought for Siam, having great stormes and foule weather, sprung leakes in her, and were faine to beare up for the Ilands Leuckes, where we stayed so long, and could not stop our leakes, we lost our Monson, and came to Firando againe. This yeere we have trimmed her againe, and at this present readie to set sayle againe for Siam. My greatest hope in these parts is, that we shall have a trade into China, for we have great possibilities, and I make no doubt but ere long, to see a Factory established there, by meanes that the Captaine Cheny and his brothers have made. We have had here the last Summer great troubles of Warres, betwixt the Emperour and Fidaja Sama, which we doe not know whether hee bee slaine or fled, but the Emperour hath got the victory with losse of men of both sides, the summe of foure hundred thousand. Thus having no more newes to write, I commit you to the protection of the Almightie. From Firando in Japan.

Forty thousand Japonians lost in Civill warres.

Your Servant alwaies to command,

EDMOND SAYER.

Firando in Japan. December 4. 1616.

WOrshipfull Sir, my humble dutie alwayes remembred: having so fit an opportunitie, I could not choose but trouble your Worship with these few lines, I being but newly arrived heere in Firando, of a hard and tedious Voyage from Siam, which went in a Junke of the Right Honourable Companies, M. Adams being Master, and my selfe Factor in her, having bought more goods then we could lade, we fraighted an other Junke for Japan: M. Benjamin Fary being principall of the Factory of Siam, thought it fit for me to goe in this Junke for Japan, for the safegard of the Worshipfull Companies goods: wherein I tooke my Voyage, the yeare beeing far spent, that we were from the first of June, to the seventeenth of September, betweene Siam and Shachmar, with much torments and fowle weather, having lost twenty of our men

with sicknesse and want of fresh water. The greatest occasion of this first, was for want of a good Pilot, for we had a China Pilot, which had no understanding of Navigation: for when he was out of sight of the Land, hee knew not where he was, nor what course to take: then he falling sicke, was not able to creepe out of his Cabbin, I beeing forced with the small skill I had, to doe my best, and with the helpe of God brought the Junke safe to Shachmar, where we arrived the seventeenth of September, having but five men able to stand on their legges, comming so late to Firando, that I could not goe this yeere to Siam, but the Companies Junke is gone with M. Wil. Eaton, and two English Pilots, whose names are Robert Burges, and John Burges.

Your Worships servant till death,

EDMOND SAYER.

[I. iv. 410.] Firando in Japan. February 15. 1617.

CAptaine Saris, My last Letter unto you, was the fifth of January, 1616. sent by way of Bantam, in the ship Thomas, which went from hence that yeere, with an other small ship called the Advice: in which Letter I wrote you at large, of all matters which occasion then offered: as also of the receipt of two Letters of yours, the one dated in London the twenty fourth of November, 1614. and the other the fifteenth of August, 1615. Since which time the ship Advice is returned againe into Japan, and arrived at Firando, the second of August last past. By which convaiance I received a Letter from the Honourable Company, dated in London the thirtieth of January, 1615. Wherein they write me, &c.

Capt. George Barkeley. There are some which can tell you, that Captaine Barkely lying on his death bed, escaped a scowring of loosing sixe thousand Rialls of eight; and had he died before it was found out, paid out for Custome of Pepper, it may be some other man might have had the credit of paying it. It is a common Proverbe, that it is a small matter for men

which lie at Bantam, to be rich if they live but a little time: for as the old saying is, No man dieth without an heire.

Wee have beene this yeare againe, before the Emperour of Japan, but cannot get our Priviledges enlarged, but trade onely at Firando and Langasaque, and our English shipping to come for Firando only.

Trade in Cauchinchina unlucky.

M. Edmond Sayer went this last yeare for Cochinchina, with a Cargeson of some one thousand eight hundred Tays Goods and money: and being ready to come away, was coozened of sixe hundred and fifty Tays by a China & others, of whom he had bought Silke for the Worshipful Company, and weighed out the Money, attending to receive the Silke, the Money lying by till it came, he and an other being in the roome where it lay: but those false people made a hole through the Cane-wall, and stole out the Money, they not seeing when it was done. I am sorrie for the mischance, but he hopeth to recover it againe this yeare, having left a man to follow the suite, and returneth backe this Monson in a China Junke, with a Cargeson of two thousand Tais in Plate to bestow in Silke, and one Robert Hawley goeth with him for mortalities sake, and M. William Adams goeth Pilot for the Chines. God send them a prosperous Voyage, and to recover the money lost.

Our Junke, the Sea Adventure, made an other Voyage the last yeare to Siam, M. William Eaton going Merchant in her, and is returned againe in her thither this yeare, God send them a prosperous Voyage.

The Hollanders sent a Fleete of ships the last yeare from the Moluccas to the Manillias, to fight with Spanish Fleete: but they kept in for the space of five or sixe moneths, so that the Hollanders made account they durst not come out at all: and therefore separated themselves, to looke out for China Junkes whereof they tooke and rifled some say twentie five Juncks, others say thirtie five: once they tooke great riches, and all under the name of Englishmen. But in the end, the Spanish Fleete came

Fight of Hollanders and Spaniards.

out, and set upon five or sixe of their ships, burning and sinking the Admirall, and two other Holland ships, the rest escaping: but the Spaniards separating themselves to seeke out the Hollanders, the Viceadmirall of them fell with two fresh Hollanders on the morning, who fought with her all day, and made her to runne on ground, and set her selfe on fire, because the Hollanders should not take them: the which two ships, and one of them which was at former fight, came after to Firando, with two other great Hollanders from Bantam, to looke out for the Amacau ship, but missed narrowly of her, so that five great Holland ships, the least of them as big as the Clove, came into Japan this yeare, one of which, called the Red Lyon (which was she which rid by us at the Moluccas) was cast away at Firando in a storme, with a China Juncke they brought in for Prize, but all the Merchandize recovered, although wet. The Emperour letteth them make good price of all. They sent away the Blacke Lyon for Bantam, a ship of nine hundred Tunnes, full laden with Raw Silke, and other rich China stuffes. Another, called the Flushing, of seven or eight hundred Tunnes, is gone for the Moluccas, full laden with provision and money: and the Sunne, a ship of sixe or seven hundred Tunnes, with the Gallias of above foure hundred Tunnes, are left to scowre the coast of China, to take what booty they can, and returne the next Monson: the Gallias is gone out already, but the Sunne attendeth the going out of the Amacau ship from Langasaque, to be doing with her. She was going out heretofore, but comming in sight of the Gallias, (the wind serving her) returned into Langasaque againe, so I thinke she will hardly goe out this yeare: and as I said before, they have robbed all the Chines in the name of Englishmen, which hath done much hurt to our proceeding, to get trade in that place; so that we were forced to send new supplies, to give the Governours in China to understand, that they are Hollanders which did it, and not Englishmen. In fine, I have advised the Worshipfull Company at large of

Hollanders wronging the English name.

all, of which I make no doubt but you will heare: And so I commit you to God, resting

Your loving Friend assured at command,

RIC. COCK.

The Coppie of my Letter the last yeare, I send you here inclosed.

A piece of another Letter of M. Cockes.

There came two Friers in that ship as Embassadours from the Viceroy of new Spaine, with a Present for the Emperour, but he would neither receive the Present, nor speake to them which brought it, but sent M. Adams [I. iv. 411.] to tell them, they should avoide out of his Dominions, he having formerly banished all of their coate, and remained still in the same opinion. It is said, that Fidaja Same had promised the Jesuites entrance againe, if he had got the victorie, and been setled in the Empire, which if it had taken effect, out of doubt both Hollanders and we had been turned out of Japan. And therefore better as it is.

Also, the last yeere when we set out our Junke, we entertained a Spaniard, called Damian Marina, and was the same man which thought once to have gone along with you, in Company of George Peterson. This Damian was a good helme man: and therefore entertained, and an other Spaniard, called Juan de Lievana went with them as a Passenger: but the Junke loosing her Voyage, they returned to Langasaque, where soone after arrived the Carracke from Amacau; and understanding that these two men had gone in our shipping, they laid hands of them, and put them in chaines aboord the great ship, condemning them to death, as Traytors to their Prince and Countrey, in serving the English their enemies. Which comming to my knowledge, I tooke their defence in hand, and by authoritie from the Emperour got them set at libertie, to the great spight and hearts griefe of both Spaniards and Portugals, these two men going Passengers

in the Hosiander for Bantam, &c. We have had extreame troubles in Japan, by meanes of these warres, in posting or transporting of our goods from place to place, to save it. I long to heare from you of your safe arrivall, &c.

M. Adams is gone againe in the Junke for Siam, accompanied onely with M. Edmond Sayer; and M. Nealson is very sicke, but M. Wickham, and M. Eaton well: I pray you deliver the enclosed to my brother.

Yours, most assured at command,

RICHARD COCK.

Naugasaque in Japan, the tenth of March 1610.

IT is now almost three yeeres last past since I wrote your Worship any Letter, and is by meanes of the unlooked for & unruly proceedings of the Hollanders * against our English Nation in all these parts of the World, not sparing us in these Kingdomes of Japan, contrarie to the large Priviledges which the Emperour of Japan hath given us, that the Japans should not meddle with us. But these Hollanders this yeere having seven ships great & small in the Harbor or Port of Firando, have with sound of Trumpet proclaymed open War

* Hollanders abuses of the English in those parts, are here published for knowledge of the Easterne Affaires, and Occurrents, as it is meet in a Historie. But neither were these Nationall but personall Crimes, and done in time and place of pretended Hostilitie, and now I hope satisfaction is, or shall be made. Neighbourhood of Region, Religion and Customes, are easily violated by Drink, Covetousnesse & Pride, the three Furies that raysed these Combustions. This Historie hath related the worth of many Worthy Hollanders; if it yeelds a Close-stoole for Westarwood (as Excrements rather then true Dutch) or a Graine-Tub or Swil-tub for some brave Brewers and Bores, that embrewed with Nobler bloud then themselves have, preferre their brutish passions to Gods Glorie, Religion, and publike Peace, let it be no imputation to the Nation (which I love and honour) but to such baser spirits as have (like Scorbuticall humours in these long Voyages, and their longer peace and want of wonted employments) beene bred as Diseases to their, and infections to our bodie. My intent is to present others with their Acts, my selfe with Prayers that all may be amended.

against our English Nation, both by Sea and Land to take our English ships & goods, and kill our persons as their mortall Enemies, which was done by one Adam Westarwood, their Admirall or Lord Commander (as they tearme him) and openly proclaymed aboord all their shippes. Also they came to brave us before our owne doores, and picking quarrels entred into our House, thinking to have cut all our throates, yet wounded but two persons, and had it not beene for the assistance of the Japanesses our Neighbours, which tooke our parts, they had killed us all, they being a hundred Hollanders to one Englishman: and not contented with this, they tooke our Boat going out about our businesses, wherein there was one Englishman which they carryed Prisoner into their owne House, threatning to have killed him, putting him in great danger of his life, by meanes of a Company of drunken Consorts which were about him, threatning him to stab him with their Knives. The young mans name is Richard King and sonne to Captaine King of Plimmouth. And besides this, two other of our Barkes going besides their ships within the Towne and Harbour of Firando, they bent a Peece of Ordnance against them, which tooke false fire, but they shot at them with Muskets, but missed the Englishmen, and killed a Japan: Yet for all this there is no justice executed against them by the King of Firando, although the Emperour hath commanded him to doe it.

Also may it please you to understand, that two of these shippes which they brought into Firando this yeere, are English ships which they tooke from Englishmen in the Indies, as also they tooke two other this yeere from them, riding at an anchor in the Roade of Patania, where wee have a Factorie, and not doubting any such matter: in which broyle, they killed Captaine * John Jordaine, our Chiefe President for the right Worshipfull Companie in the Indies, with divers others, and carryed the ships and goods quite away, but sixe of the Mariners which were in the English ships which they tooke, escaped from them and came to the English House, they sending to me to

**This John Jordaine is said in the time of treatie to have beene treacherously slaine.*

have them sent backe againe: unto whom I answered, I would first see their Commission, how they durst presume to take our shipping and goods, and kill our Kings Majesties faithfull Subjects as they did: so then they went to the Tono or King of Firando; desiring to have their * English slaves (as it pleased them to call them) delivered unto them, but they had answere, they must first demaund them of the Emperour, and looke what he ordayned should be fulfilled. Yet in the meane time, they held not the English-men to bee slaves unto them. This was the chiefe occasion which made them to picke quarrels against us, to have killed us all, but I hope in God, his Majestie by the Solicitation of our right Honourable, and right Worshipfull Imployers, will not suffer his true and loyall Subjects to lose their shipping, lives and goods, in such order as they doe by such an unthankefull and theevish Rabble of them, which are assembled together in these parts of the World, who make a daily practice to rob and spoile all, both friends and foes, and I trust that you your selfe will be a Solicitor in this so just a cause, against so common an Enemie.

[I. iv. 412.] **And who was the happy instrument of their deliverie, from that which they account slaverie, but the English?*

Unchristian, uncivill, inhumane, immane, Devillish Impietie.

This Adam Westerwood their Lord Commander, set my life at saile, offering fiftie Rials of eight, to any one that would kill me, & thirtie Rials for each other English-man that they could kill: but hitherto God hath preserved me and the rest in this place, although they wounded two or three, yet they are not dead. And this proceedings of their Lord Commander, was told me secretly by some of their owne people (willing me) and the rest to take heed of our selves. They also informed mee of the Noble Parentage of their Lord Commander Westerwood, telling that his Father is a Close-stoole-maker at Amsterdam, or thereabouts, and the best of their Captaines either Shoomakers, Carpenters, or Beere-brewers Sonnes, God blesse such an Honourable and Worshipfull Generation, I meane, God blesse mee from them. And so to make an end of this matter, I was this yeere above at the Emperours Court at Miaco, to make com-

plaint of the abuses offered to us within his Dominions, contrary to the Priviledges his Majestie had given us, and I had very good words and promises that wee should have Justice, and the Tono or King of Firando commanded to see it performed, but as yet nothing done, although I have many times earnestly sued for it.

And at my beeing at Court, and at the Emperours Palace, Portugals and Spaniards being there at the same time, to doe their duties to the Emperour, as they doe every yeere when shipping commeth. There was a Hollander in the Court, (which had lived in Japan almost twentie yeeres, and speaketh the Japan Language well) this fellow, in my hearing and others, beganne to extoll their King of Holland, to be the greatest King in Christendome, and one that held all the others under, he little thinking that we had understood what he said: but I was not behind hand to tell him that he needed not to lye so loud, for that they had no King at all, in Holland, but were governed by a Count, or rather they governed him. But if they had any King at all, in whom they might boast it was the Kings Majestie of England, who hitherto had beene their Protector, otherwayes they had never bragged of their States, at which speeches, both Spaniards, Portugals, and others did laugh apace, and so the Hollanders mouth was stopped, &c. *Brags of a Hollander.*

And now for newes in these parts, may it please you to understand that this Emperour is a great Enemy to the name of Christians, especially Japans, so that all which are found are put to death, I saw fifty five martyred at Miaco, at one time when I was there, because they wold not forsake their Christian Faith, & amongst them were little Children of five or sixe yeeres old burned in their mothers armes, Crying out, Jesus receive their soules. Also in the Towne of Naugasaque, there was sixteene more martyred for the same matter, whereof five were burned and the rest beheaded and cut in pieces, and cast into the Sea in Sackes of thirtie fathome deepe: yet the Priests got them up againe, and kept them secretly for *Persecution.*

Reliques. There is many more in Prison in divers other places, as also heere, which looke hourely when they shall die, for very few turne Pagans. Also this last yeere before Christmas, the Emperour hath displaced one of the greatest Princes of Japan, called Frushma Tay, of sixtie or seventie Mangocas, and turned him into a Corner, in the North parts of Japan, where hee hath but a small portion in respect of that was taken from him, and this must hee doe or cut his belly. It was thought there would have beene much trouble in Japan about it, for all Frushma Tayes Subjects were in Armes, and meant to have held it out to the uttermost, having fortified the Citie of Frushma, and gotten provision into it for a long time, but the Tay himselfe and his Sonne being in the Emperours Court, he commanded them to write to their Vassals, to lay downe their Armes and submit themselves to the Emperours pleasure, or else forth-with to cut their bellies. So life was sweete unto them, and all rendred unto the Emperour, and those pardoned which had taken up Armes in the defence of the Tay. And the Emperour hath given his Dominions being two Kingdomes, to two of the Emperours owne Kinsmen, and now this yeere the Emperour hath pulled downe his Castle at Frushamy, which I thinke was farre bigger then the Citie of Rochester, a very beautifull and gallant thing, wherein I saw him this yeere, and all the stones are carried to Osackay, and that old ruinated Castle which Ticus Samma built, and Ogosha Samma pulled downe, must now bee built againe, three times bigger then it was before, so that all the Tonos or Kings, have each one their taske set them to doe at their owne proper charge, not without much grudging, they having leave after so many yeeres to returne to their owne Lands, and now on a suddaine, are all sent for againe to come to the Court, which angreth them not a little, but they must, will they nill they; in paine of belly-cutting. Yet at this very instant, heere is a secret muttering, that Fidaja Samma the Sonne of Ticus Samma is alive; and in the Daires House at Miaco, but I thinke it hath beene

Fushma destroyed.

Fidaja Samma sonne of Tico Sama.

reported divers times heretofore that hee was alive, and in other places but proved untrue, yet here are some rich Merchants at Miaco, hereat present, which are affraid, and are readie to goe up on a suddaine, for feare the Emperour should burne Miaco, if it be true, he be alive, and out of doubt if he be alive, it may turne the Emperours Estate upside downe, for hee is no Marshall man, but a great Politician: once, howsoever it bee, it cannot bee worse for us then it is, &c. And as I advised you in my last, of the pulling downe of all the Churches in Japan, yet there were some remnants standing in Naugasaque [I. iv. 413.] till this yeere, and the Monasterie of Misericordia not touched, neither any Church-yard nor Buriall place, but now by order from the Emperour all is pulled downe, and all Graves and Sepultures opened, and dead mens bones taken out, and carried into the Fields by their Parents and Kindred to be buried else-where. And streets made in all their places, where both Churches or Church-yards were, except in some places, where the Emperour hath commanded Pagods to bee erected, and sent Heathen Priests to live in them, thinking utterly to roote out the memory of Christianitie out of Japan. For there were certaine places a little without the Citie of Naugasaque, where divers Fathers and other Christians were martyred, in the time of Ogosha Samma, where their Parents and Friends had planted greene Trees, and set up Altars neere each Tree, unto which place many hundreds went every day to pray, but now by command from the Emperour, all the said Trees and Altars are quite cut downe, and the ground made even, such is his desire to root out the remembrance of all such matters.

Comets which appeared also in these parts.

And in Anno 1618. in the moneths of November and December, heere were two Comets seene over all Japan, the first rising in the East, being like a great fiery beame rent to the South-wards, and there within the space of a moneth vanished away. The other did also rise just East, being a great blasing Starre, and went North-wards, and within a moneth vanished quite away about the Con-

stellation of Charles-wayne or Ursa Major. The Wissards in these parts doe prognosticate great matters thereof, but hitherto nothing of moment hath happened, but the deposing of Frushma Tay, aforesaid.

Ex unque Leonem. You may guesse of their Tales of Miracles at home & abroad, by this.

But I am ashamed to write you the newes the Portugals and Spaniards report, and some of them have shewed me Letters to verifie it, and is of a bloudie Crosse seene in the Ayre in England, against which an English Preacher speaking in the Pulpit was strooke dumbe, which Miracle, as they terme it, caused our Kings Majestie to send to the Pope, to have some Cardinals and Learned men to come into England, for that he meant all England should turne Roman Catholikes. I pray you pardon me for writing such fopperies which I doe, to the intent to have you laugh a little, yet I assure you, heere are many Portugals and Spaniards, will not be perswaded to the contrary. I know not what else to write, but I hope by the next shipping which commeth for this place to come towards England, where God grant I may find you in good health, &c.

Your Worships at command,

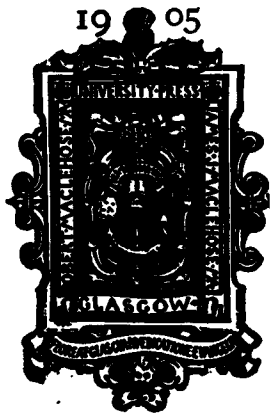
RICHARD COCK.

To the Right Worshipfull Sir Thomas Wilson, &c.

I have heere added for the Readers profit and delight this Map of Japan, published by J. Hondius.

END OF VOLUME III.

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF JAPAN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GLASGOW

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